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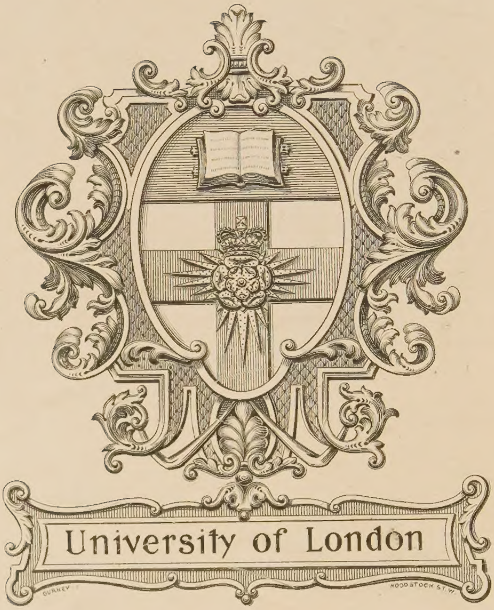

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THE

PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

(AUTHORISED EDITION),

FOURTH SERIES.

FIFTH SESSION OF THE TWENTY-SEVENTH PARLIAMENT

OF THE

UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

4 EDWARD VII.

VOLUME CXXXVI.

COMPRISING THE PERIOD FROM THE FOURTEENTH DAY OF JUNE
TO THE TWENTY-EIGHTH DAY OF JUNE, 1904.

EIGHTH VOLUME OF SESSION

1904.

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Chronology of "The Parliamentary Debates."

THE PARLIAMENTARY HISTORY contains all that can be collected of the Legislative History of this country from the Conquest to the close of the XVIIIth Century (1803), 36 vols. The chief sources whence these Debates are derived are the Constitutional History, 24 vols. ; Sir Simonds D'Ewes' Journal ; Debates of the Commons in 1620 and 1621 ; Chandler and Timberland's Debates, 22 vols. ; Grey's Debates of the Commons, from 1667 to 1694, 10 vols. : Almon's Debates, 24 vols. ; Debrett's Debates, 63 vols. ; The Hardwicke Papers ; Debates in Parliament by Dr. Johnson, &c., &c.

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The Lord Chancellor acquainted the House, That the Clerk of the Parliaments had laid upon the Table the Certificate from the Examiners that the further Standing Orders applicable to the following Bill have been complied with:—North-Western Electricity and Power Gas.

Also the Certificate that no Standing Orders are applicable to the following Bill:—Land Drainage Provisional Order.

The same were ordered to lie on the Table 1

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Brymbo Water Bill.—Read 2ª, and committed 1

London and India Docks Company Bill.—Read 2ª, and committed. The Committee to be proposed by the Committee of Selection 1

Manchester Ship Canal Bill [H.L.]; King's College Hospital Bill [H.L.]. Read 3ª, and passed, and sent to the Commons 2

Education Board Provisional Order (Swansea) Bill; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 14) Bill; Local Government Provisional Order (No. 15) Bill.—Brought from the Commons 2

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Scotch Education Department Provisional Order Confirmation (Edinburgh) Bill [H.L.].—A Bill to conform a Provisional Order made by the Scotch Education Department under the Education (Scotland) Acts, 1878, to enable the School Board of the Burgh of Edinburgh to put in force the Lands Clauses Acts—Was presented by the Earl Waldegrave (for the Lord Kintore (*E. Kintore*)). Then it was moved, that the Order of the 14th of March last, " That no Bill originating in this House confirming any Provisional Order or Provisional Certificate shall be read a first time after Tuesday the 3rd day of May next," be dispensed with in respect of the said Bill, and that the Bill be now read 1^a; agreed to; Bill read 1^a accordingly; to be printed; and referred to the Examiners. (No. 98) 2

Education Board Provisional Order (Swansea) Bill (No. 99).—Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 14) Bill (No. 100). Local Government Provisional Order (No. 15) Bill (No. 101).—Read 1^a; to be printed; and referred to the Examiners 3

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Arundel Port.—Account and Report for 1902–1903. Delivered (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table 3

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Naval and Military Medals Bill [H.L.] [Second Reading].—Order of the day for the Second Reading read.

The Under-Secretary of State for War (*The Earl of Donoughmore*) .. 4

Moved, " That the Bill be now read 2^a."—(*The Earl of Donoughmore.*)

On Question, Bill read 2^a, and committed to a Committee of the Whole House on Thursday next.

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Reserve Forces Bill [H.L.] [SECOND READING].—Order of the day for the Second Reading read.

The Earl of Donoughmore 4

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª."—(*The Earl of Donoughmore.*)

Lord Monkswell 5
The Earl of Donoughmore 7

On Question, Bill read 2ª, and committed to a Committee of the Whole House on Thursday next.

Married Women's Property Act (1882) Amendment Bill [H.L.] [SECOND READING].—Order of the day for the Second Reading read.

The LORD CHANCELLOR (The Earl of HALSBURY) Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª."—(*The Lord Chancellor.*) 7

On Question, Bill read 2ª, and committed to a Committee of the Whole House on Thursday next.

House Adjourned at a quarter before Five o'clock, to Thursday next, half-past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS: TUESDAY, 14TH JUNE, 1904.

The House met at Two of the Clock.

MESSAGE FROM THE KING.

MILITARY MANŒUVRES ACT, 1897.—The Comptroller of the Household reported His Majesty's Answer to the Address 8

UNOPPOSED PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

MARYLEBONE CHAPELS (ST. JAMES, WESTMORELAND STREET) BILL [LORDS]; South Staffordshire Mines Drainage Bill [Lords]. Read the third time, and passed, without Amendment 8

Alexandra (Newport and South Wales) Docks and Railway Bill [LORDS] (BY ORDER).—Read a second time and committed 8

Local Government Provisional Order (No. 4) Bill.—As amended, considered; to be read the third time To-morrow 8

STANDING ORDERS.—Resolutions reported from the Select Committee—

1. "That in the case of the Saddleworth and Springhead Tramways (Abandonment) Bill, Petition for additional Provision, the Standing Orders ought to be dispensed with. That the parties be permitted to introduce their additional Provision if the Committee on the Bill think fit."

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2. " That, in the case of the Trafford Park Dock and Railway Bill [Lords] the Standing Orders ought to be dispensed with. That the parties be permitted to proceed with their Bill."

3. " That, in the case of the Lancashire Electric Power Bill [Lords], Petition for dispensing with Standing Order 128 in the case of the Petition of the ' South Lancashire Tramways Company,' against the Bill, the said Standing Order ought not to be dispensed with."

4. " That, in the case of the Metropolitan District Railway Bill [Lords], Petition for dispensing with Standing Order 128 in the case of the Petition of the ' Urban District Council of Chiswick,' against the Bill, the said Standing Order ought not to be dispensed with."

First two Resolutions agreed to.

Report to lie upon the Table 8

Message from the Lords.—That they have agreed to—Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 1) Bill, with an Amendment.

Amendments to—Elysée Palace Hotel Company, Limited, Bill [Lords], without Amendment.

That they have passed a Bill, intituled, " An Act to authorise the sale and disposal of the site of King's College Hospital, London ; and the acquisition of lands for and erection of a new hospital ; and for other purposes." [King's College Hospital Bill [Lords.]

Also, a Bill, intituled, " An Act for transferring the powers of the West Manchester Light Railways Company, and for providing for the regulation of certain roads in Trafford Park ; and for other purposes." [Trafford Park Bill [Lords.]

And, also, a Bill, intituled, " An Act to authorise the Manchester Ship Canal Company to vary the levels of and depth of water in their canal and to construct new works ; and to alter certain provisions of The Manchester Ship Canal Act, 1885, and The Manchester Ship Canal Act, 1896 ; and for other purposes." [Manchester Ship Canal Bill [Lords.] 9

King's College Hospital Bill [Lords] ; Trafford Park Bill [Lords] ; Manchester Ship Canal Bill [Lords].—Read the first time ; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills 9

Preston and Blackburn Tramways Bill [Lords]. Reported [Preamble not proved] ; Report to lie upon the Table 10

PETITIONS.

Port of London Bill.—Petition of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the City of London, in Common Council assembled, presented by the Sheriffs of the City of London at the Bar, against the Bill and for re-committal (praying to be heard by Counsel) ; to lie upon the Table 10

Licensing Bill.—Petitions against: from Leeds (forty-one) ; Atherstone ; Dipton ; Austwick ; Dudlestone ; Aylesford ; Derwent Cottages ; Annfield Plain ; Dyffryn Bargoed ; Bourton ; Ellesmere ; Bideford ; Braintree ;

Easby; Bradwell; Bromley; Eye; Broughton Gifford; Edale; Birchfield; Gunnislake; Birkenhead; Glasgow; Baddesley Ensor; Gorran; Halstead; Blackfriars; Ely; Erith; Blackhall Mill; Esh Winning; Bethnal Green; Forest Gate; Burley; Blackhill; Birtley; Fearn; Fife; Casterton Magna; Chilvers Coton; Farnley; Castleton; Cullompton; Chopwell; Hunslet (two); Kennington Park (three); Hartshill; Kestle Mill; Halifax; Holbeck (two); Hamsteels; Langley Heath; Litton; Hellifield; High Shields; Haswell; Hollingbourne; Hucklow; Leadgate; Ipswich; Harry; Islington; Mosely Common; Melksham; Old Shildon; Oldham; Leytonstone; Nuneaton (two); Partick; Peak Forest; Newcastle on Tyne (two); New Brancepeth; Portsmouth (four); Nidd Valley; Platt Bridge; Penzance; Padstow; Par Rishton; Roundhay; Rowlands Gill; Redditch (two); Ryhall; Southville; Tyne Dock; Southsea; Tyne Wearside; Stoke Climsland; Tantobie; Whitswick; Whittleford; Tanfield Lea; Stanley; Trowbridge; Tipton; Willingham; Wigglesworth; Wingate; Stratford; Seend, Thornhill; Treeone; St. Columb Minor; St. Hilary (two); South Shields (four); West Hartlepool (four); Whitley; South Lambeth; St. Luke's; Wookey Hole; Withering; Studley; Warrington; Southmoor; St. Mewan; Woodstock; Sevenoaks (two); Sparrow pit; Shotley Bridge; Settle; Sutton at Home; Dundee; Griffydam; Great Totham; Haddesley; West Haddesley; Carlton; Fleur de lis; New castle on Tyne; Greenock; Stalybridge; Bittadon; Rufford; Hove; Knowle; Rishton; Cobbaton; Barnstaple (two); Fremington; Loxhore; Millom; Lambeth; Coggeshall; Kirkby in Furness; Braunton; Broughton in Furness; Cullompton; Grenoside; Disgwylfa; Mawdsley; Halifax (two); Nottingham; Broughton; Birmingham (two); New Tredegar (two); Ebbw Vale; Tredegar; Blaina (three); Blackwood; Rhydlwyd; Burnley; Blaenpennal; Eccleston; Hurst Green; Wadhurst; Ticehurst; Lamberhurst; Stalybridge; Belper; Elland; Leslie; Coniston; Hathersage; Holmes; and Portessie (two); to lie upon the Table 10

Licensing Bill.—Petition from Newbury, for alteration; to lie upon the Table 11

Valuation Bill.—Petitions for alteration; from Alcester; Newcastle upon Tyne; and Easington; to lie upon the Table 11

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

Post Office Savings Banks.—Accounts presented, of all Deposits received and paid during the year ended 31st December, 1903, and of the Sums received and paid by the National Debt Commissioners on account of the Fund for the Post Office Savings Banks in the same year [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 211] 11

Personal Property (Local Taxation) (Miscellaneous, No. 1, 1904).—Copy presented, of Papers respecting the Local Taxation of Personal Property in certain Foreign Countries and British Possessions [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 11

Paper laid upon the Table by the Clerk of the House.—Arundel Port. Copy of Annual Report and General Account of the Commissioners of Arundel Port for period from 25th March, 1903, to 25th March, 1904 [by Act] 11

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

Cost of Protection of Canadian Fisheries by British Navy.—Question, Mr. Runciman (Dewsbury); Answer, Mr. Pretyman 12

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Pensions of Widows and Allowances for Orphans of Men lost in Disaster to Submarine A1.—Question, Mr. Reginald Lucas (Portsmouth); Answer, Mr. Pretyman .. 12

Infant Mortality and Outdoor Medical Relief.—Question, Sir Walter Foster (Derbyshire, Ilkeston); Answer, Mr. Walter Long .. 13

Outdoor Medical Relief.—Question, Sir Walter Foster; Answer, Mr. Walter Long .. 13

Duty on British Woollen Goods and Cordage entering Belgium, Holland, and Canada.—Question, Mr. Lloyd George (Carnarvon Boroughs); Answer, Mr. Gerald Balfour .. 14

Manufacture of British Cigars.—Question, Mr. Sidney Buxton (Tower Hamlets, Poplar); Answer, Mr. Austen Chamberlain .. 14

Delay in Erection of Labourers' Cottages at Strabane.—Question, Mr. Hemphill (Tyrone, N.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham .. 15

Distribution of Meteorological Grants—Publication of Report of Committee.—Question, Sir John Tuke (Edinburgh and St. Andrew's Universities); Answer, Mr. A. J. Balfour .. 15

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE.

Volunteer Army Service Corps.—Question, Mr. McCrae (Edinburgh, E.); Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. Arnold-Forster, Belfast, W.) .. 15

Chinese for the Transvaal—Police Arrangements.—Questions, Mr. Herbert Samuel (Yorkshire, Cleveland) and Mr. Norman (Wolverhampton, S.); Answer, Mr. Lytteltons .. 16

His Majesty's Minister at Pekin and the Coolie Contracts.—Question, Mr. Herbert Samuel; Answer, Mr. Lyttelton .. 17

Labour in Indian Mines and Plantations.—Question, Sir Mancherjee Bhownaggree (Bethnal Green, N.E.); Answer, the Secretary of State for India (Mr. Brodrick, Surrey, Guildford) .. 17

Aden Hinterland Operations.—Question, Mr. Norman; Answer, Mr. Brodrick .. 17

Korea.—Question, Mr. Norman; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Earl Percy, Kensington, S.) .. 19

Wei-hai-Wei.—Question, Mr. Norman; Answer, Earl Percy .. 19

Cost of Accommodation in China for Labourers recruited for the Transvaal.—Question, Mr. Herbert Samuel; Answer, Earl Percy .. 19

Railway Transit of Cattle.—Questions, Mr. Field (Dublin, St. Patrick); Answers, the President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Gerald Balfour, Leeds, Central) .. 19

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HOUSING LOANS—HOUSING OF THE WORKING CLASSES ACT, 1903.—Question, Dr. Macnamara (Camberwell, N.); Answer, The President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Walter Long, Bristol, S.) 20

SMALL DWELLINGS ACQUISITION ACT, 1989.—Question, Dr. Macnamara; Answer, Mr. Walter Long 21

TRAMWAY TRAFFIC IN WESTMINSTER BRIDGE ROAD—Question, Dr. Macnamara; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Akers Douglas, Kent, St. Augustine's) 21

POST OFFICE ADMINISTRATION—DUAL SYSTEM.—Question, Mr. Dobbie (Ayr Burghs); Answer, The Postmaster General (Lord Stanley, Lancashire, Westhoughton) 22

AYR SHERIFF COURT HOUSE.—Question, Mr. Dobbie; Answer, The Lord Advocate (Mr. Scott Dickson, Glasgow, Bridgton) 22

MOYODE CASTLE, ATHENOY.—Question, Mr. Reddy (King's County, Birr); Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. Wyndham, Dover) 23

OUTDOOR RELIEF IN IRELAND.—Question, Mr. John Campbell, (Armagh, S.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham) 23

IVEAGH-PIRRIE MOTOR SCHEME.—Question, Mr. Joyce (Limerick) and Mr. Cullinan (Tipperary, S.); Answers, Mr. Wyndham 24

CAPTAIN CALDBECK'S ESTATE, QUEEN'S COUNTY.—Question, Mr. Delany (Queen's County, Ossory); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 25

ADMINISTRATION OF ARMS ACT AT MARYBOROUGH.—Question, Mr. Delany; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 25

WHITE ESTATE, CLARE.—Question, Mr. Sheehy (Meath, S.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 25

POLICE AT IRISH EVICTIONS.—Questions, Mr. Gilhooly (Cork County, W.) and Captain Donelan (Cork County, E.); Answers, Mr. Wyndham 26

RE-ELECTION OF MINISTERS.—Question, Mr. Loder (Brighton); Answer, The Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. A. J, Balfour, Manchester, E.) 27

PROPOSED MINISTER OF COMMERCE.—Question, Mr. D. A. Thomas (Merthyr Tydvil); Answer, Mr. A. J. Balfour 28

THE FINANCE BILL.—Question, Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman (Stirling Burghs); Answer, Mr. A. J. Balfour 28

THE CUNARD AGREEMENT.—Question, Mr. Gibson Bowles (Lynn Regis); Answer, Mr. A. J. Balfour 29

SELECTION (STANDING COMMITTEES).—MR. WODEHOUSE reported from the Committee of Selection; That they had added to the Standing Committee on Trade (including Agriculture and Fishing), Shipping, and Manufactures, the following Member in respect of the Shop Hours Bill :—The Lord Advocate.

Report to lie upon the Table 29

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SELECTION (STANDING COMMITTEES).—Mr. WODEHOUSE reported from the Committee of Selection; That they had discharged the following Members from the Standing Committee on Trade (including Agriculture and Fishing), Shipping, and Manufactures:—Sir John Barrington Simeon, Mr. Baird, Mr. Hare, Mr. Garfit, and Sir Charles Renshaw; and had appointed in substitution: Mr. O'Neill, Mr. John Gordon, Mr. Goulding, Captain Balfour, and Mr. George Montagu.

Report to lie upon the Table 29

SELECTION (STANDING COMMITTEES).—Mr. WODEHOUSE reported from the Committee of Selection; That they had discharged the following Members from the Standing Committee on Law, and Courts of Justice, and Legal Procedure:—Mr. Solicitor-General and Mr. Lloyd Morgan; and had appointed in substitution; Mr. Attorney-General and Major Seely.

Report to lie upon the Table 29

SELECTION (STANDING COMMITTEES).—Mr. WODEHOUSE reported from the Committee of Selection; That they had added to the Standing Committee on Law and Courts of Justice, and Legal Procedure, the following fifteen Members in respect of the Aliens Bill: Mr. Trevelyan, Mr. Hayes Fisher, Mr. Stuart Samuel, Mr. Forde Ridley, Sir Henry Seton-Karr, Mr. David MacIver, Mr. Renwick, Mr. Runciman, Mr. John Johnson, Mr. Norman, Mr. Herbert Robertson, Mr. Winston Churchhill, Mr. Guest, Major Evans-Gordon, and Mr. Shackleton.

Report to lie upon the Table 29

Education (Scotland) Bill.

(Considered in Committee.)

(In the Committee.)

[Mr. J. W. LOWTHER (Cumberland, Penrith) in the Chair.]

Clause 3.

Question proposed, "That Clause 3, as amended, stand part of the Bill."

Mr. McCrae (Edinburgh, E.) 30
The Secretary for Scotland (Mr. A. Graham Murray, Buteshire) .. 32
Sir John Gorst (Cambridge University) 35
Mr. Bryce (Aberdeen, S.) 36
Mr. Edmund Robertson (Dundee) 37
Mr. Hunter Craig (Lanarkshire, Govan) 37
Mr. George Brown (Edinburgh, Central) 37
Mr. Barran (Leeds, N.) 38
Sir John Leng (Dundee) 38
Mr. Black (Banffshire) 39
Mr. Ainsworth (Argyllshire) 39

Question put, and agreed to.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 2, line 22, to leave out the word 'department,' and insert the words 'Secretary for Scotland.'"—*(Sir Charles Renshaw.)*

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Amendment agreed to.

Mr. Maxwell (Dumfries-shire) 40

Amendment proposed—

"In page 2, line 23, after the first word 'be,' to insert the words 'published in the *Edinburgh Gazette* within one month of the passing of this Act.'"—(*Mr. Maxwell.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Mr. A. Graham Murray 40
Mr. Dalziel 41
Mr. Thomas Shaw (Hawick Burghs) 42
Mr. Caldwell (Lanarkshire, Mid.) 42

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 2, line 26, after the word 'government,' to insert the words 'or other.'"—(*Mr. A. Graham Murray.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Mr. Parker Smith (Lanarkshire, Partick) 42

Amendment proposed—

"In page 2, line 27, 'to leave the words 'Royal and Parliamentary.'" —(*Mr. Parker Smith.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

Mr. A. Graham Murray 42

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Mr. Weir (Ross and Cromarty) 43

Amendment proposed—

"In page 2, line 32, to leave out from the word 'circumstances' to end of line 38."—(*Mr. Weir.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the clause."

Mr. A. Graham Murray 43
Mr. Thomas Shaw 44
Mr. McCrae 45
Sir Lewis McIver (Edinburgh, W.) 45
Mr. Bryce 46
Sir Charles Renshaw 46
Mr. Munro Ferguson (Leith Burghs) 46
Mr. A. Graham Murray 47
Mr. McCrae 48

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Mr. Parker Smith .. 48
Mr. Wallace (Perth) .. 48
Sir Charles Renshaw .. 49
Mr. John Dewar (Inverness) .. 49
Mr. A. Graham Murray .. 50

Question put, and negatived.

Question proposed, " That Clause 4, as amended, stand part of the Bill.

Mr. Caldwell .. 50

Question put, and agreed to.

Clause 5.

Amendment proposed—

" In page 2, line 39, to leave out ' department,' and insert ' Secretary for Scotland.' "—(*Sir Charles Renshaw.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Consequential drafting Amendments agreed to.

Question proposed, " That Clause 5, as amended, stand part of the Bill."

Mr. Edmund Robertson .. 51
Mr. A. Graham Murray .. 51
Mr. Thomas Shaw .. 52

Question put, and agreed to.

Clause 6.

Mr. John Dewar .. 52

Amendment proposed—

" In page 3, line 10, to leave out the word ' not.' "—(*Mr. John Dewar*).

Question proposed, " That the word ' not ' stand part of the clause."

Mr. A. Graham Murray .. 52
Mr. Wallace .. 53
Sir Charles Renshaw .. 54

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn

Amendment proposed—

" In page 3, line 12, to leave out the words ' municipal ward or every.' "—(*Mr. A. Graham Murray.*)

Question proposed, " That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the clause."

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Page
Dr. Macnamara 55
Mr. A. Graham Murray 56
Mr. McCrae 57
Sir Lewis McIver 58
Mr. Bryce 58
Mr. Haldane (Haddingtonshire) 60
Mr. Charles Douglas 61
Mr. Parker Smith 62
Mr. Alexander Cross (Glasgow, Camlachie) 62

Question put.

The Committee divided :—Ayes, 85 ; Noes, 213. (Division List, No. 149.)

Amendment proposed—

“ In page 3, line 14, to leave out from the word ‘ such ’ to end of sub-section, in order to insert the words ‘ burgh, and, except as hereinafter mentioned, any division of such borough into wards shall not have effect for the purposes of such election : Provided that the Secretary for Scotland may by order as aforesaid determine that such election shall be held in electoral districts, each of which shall consist of two or more municipal wards of such burgh.’ ”—(*Mr. A. Graham Murray.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Amendment proposed—

“ In page 3, lines 19 and 20, to leave out the words ‘ ward of a burgh or,’ in order to insert the words ‘ for a burgh or electoral district of a.’ ” —(*Mr. A. Graham Murray.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Amendment proposed—

“ In page 3, line 23, to leave out the word ‘ ward,’ in order to insert the words ‘ electoral district.’ ”—(*Mr. A. Graham Murray.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Mr. Dalziel 67

Amendment proposed—

“ In page 3, line 23, at end, to insert, ‘ (4) At every election of members of a school board for an education district, any person registered as a county elector for any division of such district, and also as a municipal elector for any burgh embraced therein, or registered as an elector for two or more burghs embraced in any one of the enumerated districts , shall only be entitled to vote in respect of one such qualification.’ ”—(*Mr. Dalziel.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Clause 6, as amended, agreed to.

Clauses 7 and 8 agreed to.

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Clause 9.

Mr. Maxwell 67

Amendment proposed—

"In page 5, line 13, after the word 'board,' to insert the words, 'if he is not at the time of the election registered as a county or burgh elector within the education district and.'"—(*Mr. Maxwell.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Mr. A. Graham Murray 68
Sir Charles Renshaw 68
Mr. Tennant (*Berwickshire*) 69

Question put and negatived.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 5, line 14, after the word 'the,' to insert the word 'paid.'" —(*Mr. A. Graham Murray.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Mr. Dobbie (*Ayr Burghs*) 69

Amendment proposed—

"In page 5, line 18, after the word 'Act,' to insert the words 'other than the office of teacher of continuation classes.'"—(*Mr. Dobbie.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Mr. A. Graham Murray 70

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Mr. Dobbie 70

Amendment proposed—

"In page 5, line 37, after the word 'company,' to insert the words 'co-operative society.'"—(*Mr. Dobbie.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Mr. A. Graham Murray 70
Mr. Thomas Shaw 71
Mr. Caldwell 71

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Clause 9, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 10.

Colonel Denny (*Kilmarnock Burghs*) 72

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Amendment proposed—

"In page 6, line 13, to leave out the word 'in.'"—(*Colonel Denny.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'in' stand part of the clause."

Mr. A. Graham Murray .. 72
Mr. McCrae .. 73
Mr. Eugene Wason (*Clackmannan and Kinross*) .. 73
Mr. John Dewar .. 73

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Mr. Dobbie .. 74

Amendment proposed—

"In page 6, line 20, to leave out from the word 'office,' to the word 'shall' in line 23, and insert the words 'a fresh election shall be held to supply such vacancy, and every person so elected.'"—(*Mr. Dobbie.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the clause."

Mr. A. Graham Murray .. 75

Question put, and agreed to.

The Amendment was negatived without a division.

Clause 10 agreed to.

Clause 11.

Mr. Maxwell .. 75

Amendment proposed—

"In page 6, line 29, to leave out the word 'Department' and insert the words 'Secretary for Scotland.'"—(*Mr. Maxwell.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'Department' stand part of the clause."

Mr. Graham Murray .. 76
Sir Charles Renshaw .. 76
Mr. Caldwell .. 76
Mr. Thomas Shaw .. 76

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Clause 11, agreed to.

Clause 12.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 7, line 4, at end of clause, to add the words 'All deeds granted by a school board shall be signed by two members of the board, and by the clerk to the board.'"—(*Mr. A. Graham Murray.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Clause 12, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 13.

Colonel Denny 78

Amendment proposed—

In page 7, line 28, at end, to add the words, ‘ Any contributions made by the town council of any burgh under charter or agreement, or in virtue of Section 46 of the Education (Scotland) Act, 1872, to the school fund, may be withdrawn by the said town council.’ ”—(*Colonel Denny.*)

Question proposed, “ That those words be there added.”—(*Colonel Denny.*)

Mr. A. Graham Murray 78
Mr. Wallace — 79
Mr. Asher (Elgin Burghs) 80
Mr. A. Graham Murray 81
Sir Robert Reid (Dumfries Burghs) 82
Sir Charles Renshaw 82
Mr. John Dewar 82
Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman (Stirling Burghs) 83
Mr. A. Graham Murray 84
Colonel Denny 85

Question put.

The Committee divided :—Ayes, 83 ; Noes, 220. (Division List No. 150.)

Mr. McCrae 87
Mr. A. Graham Murray 87

Clause 13 agreed to.

Clause 14.

Mr. Crombie (Kincardineshire) 88

Amendment proposed—

“ In page 7, line 29, after the word ‘ board,’ to insert the words ‘ incurred in respect of any loan contracted by an existing school board in terms of the forty-fifth Section of the Education (Scotland) Act, 1872.’ ”—(*Mr. Crombie.*)

Question proposed, “ That those words be there inserted.”

Mr. A. Graham Murray 89
Dr. Macnamara 90
Sir Charles Renshaw 91
Mr. A. Graham Murray 91

Amendment by leave withdrawn.

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Amendment proposed—

“ In Clause 14, page 7, line 29, to leave out from the word ‘ shall,’ to the word ‘ become, in line 31.”—(*Mr. A. Graham Murray.*)

Question proposed, “ That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the clause,”

And, it being half-past Seven of the clock, the Chairman left the Chair to make his Report to the House.

Committee report Progress ; to sit again this evening.

EVENING SITTING.

Maidenhead Bridge Bill [LORDS.] (BY ORDER). [SECOND READING.]—Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made and Question proposed, “ That the Bill be now read a second time.” 92

Dr. Shipman (*Northampton*) .. ..
Mr. Weir (*Ross and Cromarty*) 97

Amendment proposed—

“ To leave out the word ‘ now,’ and at the end of the Question to add the words ‘ upon this day three months.’ ”—(*Dr. Shipman.*)

Question proposed, “ That the word ‘ now ’ stand part of the Question.”

Mr. Brynmor Jones (*Swansea District*) 98
Mr. Gardner (*Berkshire, Wokingham*) 101
Mr. Corrie Grant (*Warwickshire, Rugby*) 103
Mr. J. W. Lowther (*Cumberland, Penrith*) 104

Question put.

The House divided :—Ayes, 137 ; Noes, 78. (Division List No. 151.)

Main Question put, and agreed to.

Bill read a second time, and committed.

Pier and Harbour Provisional Orders (No. 2) Bill (BY ORDER). —SECOND READING.].—Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made and Question proposed, “ That the Bill be now read a second time.”

Mr. Ainsworth (*Argyllshire*) 109
Mr. Weir (*Ross and Cromarty*) 110

Amendment proposed—

“ To leave out the word ‘ now ’, and at the end of the Question to add the words ‘ upon this day three months.’ ”—(*Mr. Ainsworth.*)

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Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

Mr. Power (Waterford, E.) 111
The Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade (Mr. Bonar Law, Glasgow, Blackfriars) 112
Mr. Dalziel (Kirkcaldy Burghs) 112
Mr. Leveson-Gower (Sutherland) 113
Mr. John Dewar (Inverness) 114
Mr. Courtenay Warner (Staffordshire, Lichfield) 114

Question put.

The House divided :—Ayes, 172. Noes, 33. (Division List No. 152)

Main Question put and agreed to.

Bill read a second time and committed.

Education (Scotland) Bill.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[Mr. J. W. Lowther (Cumberland, Penrith) in the chair.]

Clause 14.

Amendment again proposed—

"In page 7, line 29, to leave out from the word 'shall' to the word 'become,' in line 31."—(*Mr. A. Graham Murray.*)

Question again proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the clause."

Sir Charles Renshaw 116
Mr. A. Graham Murray 117
Dr. Macnamara 117

Question put and negatived.

Clause 14, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 15, 16, 17, agreed to.

Clause 18.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 8, line 27, to leave out from the word 'or,' to the word 'shall,' in line 29, and insert the words 'such greater number as may from time to time be determined at a meeting of the school board called after special notice.'"—(*Mr. A. Graham Murray.*)

Amendment agreed to.

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Clause 18, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 19,

Mr. A. Graham Murray 118

Amendment proposed—

"In page 8, line 30, to leave out from beginning to the word 'commit' in line 31 and insert the words 'a school board may from time to time.'"—(*Mr. A. Graham Murray.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the clause."

Mr. A. Graham Murray 119
Dr. Macnamara 119
Mr. Buchanan 120
Mr. Maxwell 121
Mr. Bryce 121
Mr. A. Graham Murray 122
Mr. Haldane 123
Mr. Caldwell 124

And, it being Midnight, the Chairman left the Chair to make his Report to the House.

Committee report Progress; to sit again to-morrow.

Select Committee on Workmen's Trains.—That Mr. Bonar Law be discharged from the Committee.

Ordered, that Mr. Gerald Loder be added to the Committee.—(*Sir A. Acland-Hood.*)

Adjourned at three minutes after Twelve o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS: WEDNESDAY, 15th JUNE, 1904.

The House met at Two of the Clock.

UNOPPOSED PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 1) Bill—Lords Amendment considered, and agreed to. 125

Dundee, Broughty Ferry, and District Tramways Order Confirmation Bill; Leith Burgh Order Confirmation Bill; Motherwell and Bellshill Railway (Abandonment) Order Confirmation Bill.—Read the third time, and passed 125

Local Government Provisional Order (No. 4) Bill—Read the third time, and passed 125

Pier and Harbour Provisional Order (No. 1) Bill [Lords] (by Order).—Read a second time, and committed 125

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June 15.]

Llanelly Harbour Bill [Lords].—Reported, with Amendments; Report to lie upon the Table 125

Private Bills (Group J).—Mr. Tennant reported from the Committee on Group J of Private Bills; That, for convenience of parties, they had adjourned till Friday, at half-past Eleven o'clock.

Report to lie upon the Table 125

PETITIONS.

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Licensing Bill.—Petitions against; from Abbey Town; Aberdeen (four); Aikton; Alne; Aston; Auchinleck; Axminster; Ballast Hills; Balne; Barrow-in-Furness (two); Bedminster (two); Belper; Berwick; Birmingham; Bourne; Bridgford; Burhos; Burmantofts; Butterknowle; Cannock Wood; Carlisle; Carmarthen West; Cawthorns; Cheetham (two); Cheetham Hill; Chorlton-upon-Medlock; Cockermouth; Colyton; Cradley Heath; Crewe (four); Crookes (two); Cullompton; Cwmsyfiog; Dodsgreen; Dumfries and Maxwelltown; Durham; Easingwold; East Finchley (three); Ecclesall; Egborough; Elmscott; Etherley; Evenwood; Finchley; Fiskerton; Flimby; Folkestone (two); Forest Gate; Frodsham; Frome; Garlinge; Gowdall, Gravenhurst; Gweek; Hackney; Halesowen and Hasbury; Hanley; Harefield; Hartlepool; Haswell; Heck; Heddon and districts; Hednesford (two); Hensall; Heptonstall; Hindley Green; Hollyhurst; Husthwaite; Ipswich; Islington; Kilmarnock (two); Kingston-on-Thames; Kingston-upon-Hull; Lands; Leeds (four); Leicestershire; Leigh; Lightwood Green; Littleton Panel; Liverpool (two); Longsight; Low Moor (two); Ludworth; Luton (three); Lyminge; Malpas; Manchester (two); Manea; Marden; Maryport; Heddon; Middleton-in-Teesdale; Monton; Mosbro; Mutley; Newark; Newbiggin; Newcastle-on-Tyne (six); New Mills and other places; Newsham; Norbury (Cheshire); Normansheath; North West Manchester; Oswaldwistle; Otterton; Oulston and Craike; Oxenhope; Paisley; Piccadilly (seven); Plymouth; Pollington; Preston Brook and Runcorn; Quarry Hill; Rawcliffe; Rochdale (two); Runcorn; Sandgate; Sanquhar; Seaforth; Selly Oak; Sessacott; Sheffield (two); Shillington; Snaith; Southport (two); Stamford; Stretford; Sutton-on-Forest; Swansea (two); Swinton; Thornton Heath; Thornton-le-Clay; Thurlby; Tilston; Tiverton; Todmorden; Totterdown; Tunstall; United Free Church of Scotland; Wakefield; Walbottle; Walkden; Waterloo; West Auckland; Wigan (three); Winchmore Hill; Wing; Wisbech (two); and Wyke; to lie upon Table 126

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Telegraph Construction Bill.—"To amend the Telegraph Acts, 1863 to 1904, with respect to the construction and maintenance of telegraphic lines," presented by Lord Stanley; to be read a second time upon Monday next, and to be printed. [Bill 231.] 156

Education (Scotland) Bill.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[Mr. J. W. LOWTHER (Cumberland, Penrith) in the Chair.]

Clause 19.

Amendment again proposed—

"In page 8, line 30, to leave out from the beginning to the word 'comit' in line 31, and insert the words 'A school board may form time to time.'"—(*Mr. A. Graham Murray.*)

Question again proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the clause."

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Amendment by leave, withdrawn.

Amendment proposed—

> "In page 8, line 32, after the word 'school' to insert the words 'or schools.'"—(*Mr. A. Graham Murray.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Mr. Black (Banffshire) 167

Amendment proposed—

> "In page 8, line 37, at end, to add the words 'Provided that no manager or managers shall be appointed for a period beyond the term of office of the school board making the appointment.'"—(*Mr. Black.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

Question put and agreed to.

Clause 19, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 20.

Amendment proposed—

> "In page 8, line 41, after the word 'charge' to insert the words 'either singly or in conjunction with other schools.'"—(*Mr. A. Graham Murray.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Question put and agreed to.

Amendment proposed—

> "In page 9, line 1, after the word 'school' to insert the words 'or shcools.'"—(*Mr. A. Graham Murray.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 9, line 2, to leave out from the word 'shall' to the end of the clause, and insert the words 'include a member or members of the school board representing each electoral division or burgh, as the case may be, in which any such school is situated. Such managers shall observe such rules, conditions, and restrictions as the school board shal from time to time prescribe.' "—(*Mr. A. Graham Murray.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 9, line 22, at end, to add the words 'provided that no manager or managers shall be appointed for a period beyond the term of office of the school board making the appointment.' "—(*Mr. Black.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Clause 20, as amended, agreed to.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 9, to leave out Clause 21."—(*Mr. A. Graham Murray.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 9, to leave out Clause 22."—(*Mr. A. Graham Murray.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 9, to leave out Clause 23."—(*Mr, A. Graham Murray.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Clause 24.

Mr. Dobbie (*Ayr Burghs*) 169

Amendment proposed—

"In page 10, line 13, alter the word 'expenditure' to insert the word 'lawfully.' "—(*Mr. Dobbie.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'lawfully' be there inserted."

Mr. A. Graham Murray 169

Question put, and negatived.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 10, line 19, after the word 'Act' to insert the words 'all fees received from scholars.' "—(*Mr. A. Graham Murray.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

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Mr. Thomas Shaw 170

Question put, and agreed to.

Mr. Haldane (Haddingtonshire) 170

Amendment proposed—

" In page 10, line 25, at end, to add the words, ' Provided that any endowment, or part thereof, which prior to the passing of this Act has been specially appropriated under any educational endowment scheme or otherwise for the promotion of education in a particular school shall continue to be so appropriated by the school board.' "—(*Mr. Haldane.*)

Question proposed, " That those words be there added."

Question put, and agreed to.

Question proposed, " That Clause 24 stand part of the Bill."

Mr. Dobbie 172
Dr. Macnamara 172
Mr. Lloyd-George (Carnarvon Boroughs) 172

Question put, and agreed to.

Clause 25.

Amendment proposed—

" In page 10, line 31, to leave out the words ' allocate and.' "—(*Mr. A. Graham Murray.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Amendment proposed—

" In page 10, line 33, to leave out from the word ' district ' to end of line 43."—(*Mr. A. Graham Murray.*)

Question proposed, " That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

Mr. A. Graham Murray 173
Sir Charles Renshaw 173
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Sir Robert Reid (Dumfries Burghs) 175
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Mr. John Stroyan (Perthshire, W.) 176
Mr. Corbett (Glasgow, Tradeston) 176

Question put.

The Committee divided :—Ayes, 54 ; Noes, 233. (Division List No. 153.)

Mr. A. Graham Murray 179

Amendment proposed—

"In page 11, to leave out lines 1 to 6, both inclusive, and insert the words 'in the case of an enumerated district according to their respective valuations in the valuation roll last available, and in all other cases one-half according to their respective populations as ascertained at the last preceding census, and one-half according to their respective valuations in the valuation roll last available; provided that in the case of portions of parishes the populations shall be taken as may be agreed upon between the school board and the parish council, or failing agreement as may be determined by the Secretary of Scotland.' "—(*Mr. A. Graham Murray.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the clause."

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Question put.

The Committee divided:—Ayes, 118; Noes, 169. (Division List No. 154).

And, it being after half-past Seven of the clock, the Chairman left the Chair to make his Report to the House.

Committee report Progress; to sit again this evening.

EVENING SITTING.

Leith Corporation Tramways Order Confirmation Bill (By Order).—Motion to refer to Joint Committee.

Sir Lewis McIver (Edinburgh, W.)	212

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Leith Corporation Tramways Order Confirmation Bill be referred to a Joint Committee of Lords and Commons."—(*Mr. Kerr.*)

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Mr. Munro Ferguson (*Leith Burghs*) 214
Mr. Parker Smith (*Lanarkshire, Partick*) 215
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Mr. Worsley-Taylor (*Lancashire, Blackpool*) 217
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Question put.

The House divided :—Ayes, 103 ; Noes, 83. (Division List No. 155.)

Ordered, That a Message be sent to the Lords to communicate this Resolution and desire their concurrence.

Education (Scotland) Bill.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[Mr. J. W. LOWTHER (Cumberland, Penrith) in the Chair.]

Clause 25.

Amendment again proposed—

" In lieu of the words omitted in page 11, line 1, at commencement, to insert the words ' In the case of an enumerated district according to their respective valuations in the valuation roll last available, and in all other cases one-half according to their respective populations as ascertained at the last preceding census, and one-half according to their respective valuations in the valuation roll last available ; provided that in the case of portions of parishes the populations shall be taken as may be agreed upon between the School Board and the parish council, or, failing agreement, as may be determined by the Secretary for Scotland.' " —(*Mr. A. Graham Murray.*)

Question proposed, " That those words be there inserted."

Dr. Macnamara 225

Amendment proposed to the proposed Amendment—

" To leave out the first words ' one-half,' and insert the words ' one-fourth.' "—(*Dr. Macnamara.*)

Question proposed, " That the words ' one-half ' stand part of the proposed Amendment."

Mr. McCrae 225
Mr. Bryce 226
Mr. Whitley (*Halifax*) 226
Sir Charles Renshaw 227
Mr. A. Graham Murray 228
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Mr. Cathcart Wason (*Orkney and Shetland*) 230
Sir Robert Reid 230

Amendment to the proposed Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Proposed words inserted.

Clause 25, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 26.
Amendment proposed—

> "In page 11, lines 23 and 24, to leave out the words 'allocating and.'"—(*Mr. A. Graham Murray.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Clause 26, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 27.

Amendment proposed—

> "In page 11, line 35, to leave out the words 'annual value for that year,' and insert the words 'valuation as in the valuation roll last available.'"—(*Mr. A. Graham Murray.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Amendment proposed—

> "In page 11, to leave out lines 37 and 38."—(*Mr. A. Graham Murray.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Clause 27, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 28.

Amendment proposed—

> "In page 11, line 41, to leave out from the word 'powers' to end of clause."—(*Mr. A. Graham Murray.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Clause 28, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 29.

Amendment proposed—

> 'In page 12, line 5, to leave out from the word 'school,' to the second word 'the' in line 11."—(*Mr. A. Graham Murray.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Amendment proposed—

> "In page 12, line 14, to leave out from the word 'powers,' to the word 'to' in line 20."—(*Mr. A. Graham Murray.*)

Amendment agreed to.

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Amendment proposed—

“ In page 12, line 20, after the word ‘ committee,’ to insert the words ‘ or committees.’ ”—(*Mr. A. Graham Murray.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Amendment proposed—

“ In page 12, line 21, after the word ‘ committee,’ to insert the words ‘ or committees.’ ”—(*Mr. A. Graham Murray.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Amendment proposed—

“ In page 12, line 28, to leave out from the word ‘ powers to the word ‘ shall ’ in line 29.”—(*Mr. A. Graham Murray.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Amendment proposed—

“ In page 12, line 31, to leave out from beginning of line to end of clause, and insert the words ‘ upon the school attendance committee, or committees.’ ”—(*Mr. A. Graham Murray.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Clause 29, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 30.

Amendment proposed—

“ In page 12, line 36, after the word ‘ shall,’ to insert the words ‘ from and after the date of that Act.’ ”—(*Mr. Bryce.*)

Question proposed, “ That those words be there inserted.”

Mr. Bryce 233

Question put, and agreed to.

Amendment proposed—

“ In page 12, line 40, after the word ‘ playground,’ to insert the words ‘ or recreation field.’ ”—(*Mr. Parker Smith.*)

Question proposed, “ That those words be there inserted.”

Question put, and agreed to.

Clause 30, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 31.

Amendment proposed—

“ In page 13, line 4, after the second word ‘ out ’ to insert the word ‘ or in combining with one or more schools boards to carry out.’ ”—(*Mr. A. Graham Murray.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 13, line 7, after the word 'managers' to insert 'books or apparatus, or.'"—(*Mr. Crombie.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Mr. A. Graham Murray 235
Mr. Thomas Shaw 236
Sir John Gorst 236
Mr. Haldane 237
Sir J. Fergusson 237
Mr. Tennant 238
Mr. A. Graham Murray 238

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Mr. Weir .. ..

Amendment proposed—

"In page 13, line 7, after the word 'instruction,' to insert the words 'including the teaching of Gælic.'"—(*Mr. Weir.*)

Question proposed. "That those words be there inserted."

Mr. Ainsworth (Argyllshire) 241
Mr. John Dewar 241
Mr. A. Graham Murray 242
Mr. Edmund Robertson 243
Mr. William Jones (Carnarvonshire, Arfon) 243
Mr. Weir 244

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Committee report Progress; to sit again upon Monday next.

COMPANIES (MEDICAL AND DENTAL).—Return ordered, "Showing the number and names of Companies registered under The Companies Act, 1862, in England and Wales, Scotland, and Ireland for the specific purposes of carrying on Medical and Dental Practices."—(*Sir John Tuke.*) 244

Adjourned at four minutes after Twelve o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS: THURSDAY, 16TH JUNE, 1904.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

The LORD CHANCELLOR acquainted the House, That the Clerk of the Parliaments had laid upon the Table the Certificates from the Examiners that the further Standing Orders applicable to the following Bills have been complied with:—London County Council (Tramways and Improvements); London County Council (Money).

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Also the Certificates that no Standing Orders are applicable to the following Bills:—Education Board Provisional Order (Swansea); Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 14); Local Government Provisional Order (No. 15).

The same were ordered to lie on the Table 245

Canal Rates and Charges (Regents Canal) Order Confirmation Bill [H.L.]—Report from the Select Committee, That the Committee had not proceeded with the consideration of the Bill, the opposition thereto having been withdrawn; read, and ordered to lie on the Table. The orders made on the 7th of June and Thursday last discharged, and Bill committed to a Committee of the Whole House 245

Scarisbrick Estate (Amendment) Bill [H.L.]; Lord Tredegar's Supplemental Estate Bill [H.L.]; De Trafford Estate Bill [H.L.]. Committed 245

Chesterfield Gas and Water Board Bill [H.L.].—Commons Amendments considered, and agreed to 245

Surrey Commercial Dock Bill.—Read 2ª, and committed 245

Carlisle Corporation Bill.—Read 2ª, and committed. The Committee to be proposed by the Committee of Selection 245

Lytham Improvement Bill—Read 2ª, and committed. 245

Radcliffe Tramways and Improvement Bill; London United Tramways Bill; Middlesbrough, Stockton-on-Tees, and Thornaby Tramways Bill; Thames River Steamboat Service Bill. Read 2ª, and committed. The Committees to be proposed by the Committee of Selection 245

Skipton Water and Improvement Bill.—Read 2ª. 246

Tottenham Improvement Bill.—Read 2ª, and committed 246

Strabane, Raphoe, and Convoy Railway Bill.—Read 2ª, and committed. The Committee to be proposed by the Committee of Selection 246

London County Council (Tramways and Improvements) Bill; London County Council (Money) Bill; North-Western Electricity and Power Gas Bill. Read 2ª 246

Midland Railway Bill.—Read 3ª, with the Amendments, and passed, and returned to the Commons 246

Marylebone Chapels (St. James, Westmoreland Street) Bill [H.L.]; South Staffordshire Mines Drainage Bill [H.L.]. Returned from the Commons agreed to 246

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 1) Bill.—Returned from the Commons with the Amendments agreed to 246

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Dundee, Broughty Ferry, and District Tramways Order Confirmation Bill (No. 104); Leith Burgh Order Confirmation Bill (No. 105); Motherwell and Bellshill Railway (Abandonment) Order Confirmation Bill (No. 106). Brought from the Commons; read 1ª, to be printed; and (pursuant to the Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland, Act, 1899) deemed to have been read 2ª (The Lord Kintore (*E. Kintore*), and reported from the Committee 246

Gas Orders Confirmation (No. 1) Bill [H.L.].—Report from the Committee of Selection, That the Earl of Wharncliffe, the Lord Sherborne, and the Lord Stewart of Garlies (*E. Galloway*), be proposed to the House as Members of the Select Committee on the said Bill in the place of the Marquess of Winchester, the Earl of Dartmouth, and the Lord Digby; read, and agreed to 246

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 5) Bill; Local Government Provisional Orders (Gas) Bill; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 6) Bill; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 7) Bill; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 8) Bill; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 12) Bill. Read 2ª (according to order), and committed to a Committee of the Whole House 246

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 14) Bill; Local Government Provisional Order (No. 15) Bill. Read 2ª (according to order) 247

Commons Regulation (Merrow) Provisional Order Bill; Commons Regulation (Oxshott) Provisional Order Bill; Land Drainage Provisional Order Bill. Read 2ª (according to order), and committed to a Committee of the Whole House on Monday, the 27th instant 247

Education Board Provisional Order (Swansea) Bill.—Read 2ª (according to order) 247

Local Government Provisional Order (No 4) Bill.—Read 1ª; to be printed; and referred to the Examiners. (No. 103) 247

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RE-VACCINATION BILL. [H.L.].—Petition in favour of; of the Incorporated Society of Medical Officers of Health; read, and ordered to lie on the Table 247

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Board of Education.—Regulations for secondary schools (from 1st August, 1904, to 31st July, 1905).

Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie on the Table 248

Public Records (Office of his Majesty's Woods, Forests, and Land Revenues).—Schedule containing a list and particulars of classes of documents in the Office of His Majesty's Woods, Forests, and Land Revenues, which are not considered of sufficient public value to justify their preservation in the Public Record Office. Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table 248

Leith Corporation Tramways Order Confirmation Bill.—Message from the Commons that they have come to the following Resolution, to which they desire the concurrence of this House, viz.: That the Leith Corporation Tramways Order Confirmation Bill be referred to a Joint Committee of Lords and Commons. The said Message to be taken into consideration To-morrow 248

Re-Vaccination Bill [H.L.] [Second Reading.]—Order of the day for the Second Reading read.

The Duke of Northumberland 248

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª."—(*The Duke of Northumberland.*)

The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (*The Marquess of Lansdowne*) 253
Lord Newton 255
The Earl of Tankerville 255

On Question, Bill read 2ª accordingly, and committed to a Committee of the the Whole House.

Open Spaces Bill [H.L.].—House in Committee (according to order).

Clause 1 agreed to.

Clause 2 :—

Lord Burghclere 257
The President of the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries (*The Earl of Onslow*) 257
Lord Monkswell 257

Clause 2 agreed to.

Clauses 3 to 14 agreed to.

Clause 15 :—

Earl of Onslow 257

Amendment moved—

> "In page 9, line 27, after the word 'A,' to insert the words 'municipal borough.'"—(*The Earl of Onslow.*)

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

Clause 15, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 16 agreed to.

Clause 17 :—

The Earl of Onslow 259

Amendment moved—

> "In page 10, to leave out lines 12 and 13."—(*The Earl of Onslow.*)

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

Clause 19, as amended, agreed to.

The Earl of Onslow 259

Amendment moved—

> "After Clause 17, to insert, as a new clause, 'A local authority may borrow for the purposes of this Act in the case of a county council as for the purposes of the Local Government Act, 1888; in the case of a metropolitan borough council as for the purposes of the Metropolis Management Acts, 1855 to 1893; in the case of a municipal borough or urban or rural district council as for the purposes of the Public Health Acts; and in the case of a parish council as for the purposes of the Local Government Act, 1894.'"—(*The Earl of Onslow.*)

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

Remaining clauses agreed to.

Bill recommitted to the Standing Committee; and to be printed as amended. (No. 102.)

Married Women's Property Act (1882) Amendment Bill [H.L.]; Naval and Military Medals Bill [H.L.].—House in Committee (according to order). Bills reported without Amendment; and re-committed to the Standing Committee 259

Seamen's and Soldiers' False Characters Bill [H.L.].—Read 3^a (according to order) and passed, and sent to the Commons 260

House adjourned at a quarter past Five o'clock, till To-morrow, half-past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS: THURSDAY, 16TH JUNE, 1904.

The House met at Two of the Clock.

The Chairman of Ways and Means.—The Clerk at the Table informed the House of the unavoidable absence of the Chairman of Ways and Means .. 260

UNOPPOSED PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

Kirkby-in-Ashfield Urban District Gas Bill.—Lords Amendments considered, and agreed to 260

New River Company Bill [Lords].—Read the third time and passed, with Amendments 260

Matlock and District Gas Bill [Lords].—Reported, with Amendments; Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed 260

PETITIONS.

Licensing Bill.—Petitions against; from Abersychan (two); Adlington; Ashton-under-Lyne; Attleborough; Bagslate; Bailgate; Barrow-in-Furness (two); Bearpark; Bedale; Bewdley; Birmingham (four); Blackburn (two); Bovey Tracey; Brigend (two); Bridge of Allan; Brinscall; Brockdish; Burnbank; Burscough Bridge; Chawnhill; Chorley (two); Coppull; Crown Hill; Croydon; Cullingworth; Denholme; Diss (three); Dringhouses; Dursley; East Heywood; Euxton; Fowey; Glamorgan; Green Mount; Griffithstown; Hambleton; Handsworth; Hapton; Harlesden; Harrow (thirty-eight); Hartlepool (two); Hendon; Hereford (two); Hove; Howden-on-Tyne; Hurlford; Kington; Kinnerton; Lanark; Langley Moor; Lanishen (two); Littletown; Lockwood (two); Lumley Thicks; Luton; Maghull; Melverton; Mevagissey; Milnrow; Monkwearmouth; North Wales; New Pistligo; Ormskirk; Paddington; Penarth (three); Pen Mill; Perth (North West); Plymouth; Polgooth; Porthcawl; Preston; Ramsbottom; Rigton; Rochdale (four); Rowrah; Scalford; Sherburn; Shincliffe; Silvertown; Skelmersdale (two); Skipton (sixteen); Small Heath; Snape; St. Austell; St. Mary's; Sunniside; Tiverton-on-Avon; Tottenham (two); Tow Law; Town Green; Walbottle; Walker-on-Tyne; Waterfall; West Bromwich; West Moor; West Rainton; Wetherby; Wheelton; Whitchurch; Whittington Moor; Whittle le Woods; Whitworth; Willesden; Willington Quay; Withnell Ford; Withnell Mill; and York (two); to lie upon the Table 260

Licensing Bill.—Petition from Folkestone, for alteration; to lie upon the Table 260

Parliamentary Franchise.—Petition from National British Women's Temperance Association, for extension to women; to lie upon the Table .. 260

Port of London Bill.—Petition from Industrial Freedom League and others, against; to lie upon the Table 260

Re-Vaccination Bill.—Petition from Derby, against; to lie upon the Table .. 260

Valuation Bill.—Petition from Windsor, against; to lie upon the Table .. 260

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VALUATION BILL.—Petitions for alteration; from Alcester; Droitwich; Hendon; Kensington; Lewes; Llanelly; Luton; Mutford and Lothingland; and Swansea; to lie upon the Table 261

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

PUBLIC RECORDS.—Copy presented, of Sixty-fifth Annual Report of the Deputy-Keeper of the Public Records [by Command]; to lie upon the Table .. 262

NAVY (DESTROYERS).—Return presented, relative thereto [Ordered 1st June; *Mr. Kearley*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 212] .. 262

BOARD OF EDUCATION.—Copy presented, of Regulations for Secondary Schools (from 1st August, 1904, to 31st July, 1905) [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.. 262

GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS SECURITIES.—Order [28th March] for a Return relative to Government Departments Securities read, and discharged: and, instead thereof:—

Return ordered, "of the amounts of British Government Securities held by the several Government Departments and other Public Offices on the 31st day of March, 1904, specifying whether held in England or Ireland (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 160, of Session 1903):—

£2½ per Cent. Consols.	£2¾ per Cents. (1905).	£2½ per Cents.	£2¾ per Cent. War Loan.	Other Securities.	
				Annuities for terms of years.	Exchequer Bonds and Treasury Bills.

—(*Mr. Victor Cavendish.*) 262

NAVAL EXPENDITURE AND MERCANTILE MARINE (GREAT BRITAIN, ETC.).—Return ordered, "showing aggregate Naval Expenditure on seagoing force; aggregate revenue; aggregate tonnage of Mercantile Marine; annual clearances of shipping in the foreign trade; annual clearances of shipping in the coasting trade; annual value of imports by sea, including bullion and specie; and annual value of exports by sea, including bullion and specie, of various countries, exclusive of China and South American Republics, but including British self-governing Colonies, for the year 1903 (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 284, of Session 1903)."—(*Sir John Colomb.*) 263

CONVENT NATIONAL SCHOOLS (IRELAND).—Return ordered, "in respect of the years 1901, 1902, and 1903, of the names of all Convent Schools in Ireland; average Attendance at each School; and amount of State-aid paid to each School annually."—(*Mr. Sloan.*) 263

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HORSE TROUGH AND FOUNTAIN FOR WESTMINSTER.—Question, Dr. Farquharson (Aberdeenshire, W.); Answer, Mr. Walter Long 263

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Outdoor Relief.—Question, Sir Walter Foster (Derbyshire, Ilkeston); Answer, Mr. Walter Long 264

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Public Health Bill.—Question, Sir Carne Rasch (Essex, Chelmsford); Answer, Mr. Walter Long 264

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Accident on Tenterden and Headcorn Railway Line.—Questions, Mr. Bell; Answers, Mr. Gerald Balfour and Mr. Akers Douglas 266

Inadequate Accommodation at Peebles Railway Station.—Question, The Master of Elibank (Edinburgh, Midlothian); Answer, Mr. Gerald Balfour .. 267

Postal Facilities at the College, St Mary's, Knockbeg, Queen's County. —Question, Mr. Hammond (Carlow); Answer, Lord Stanley 267

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Compensation Allowances to Customs Officers.—Question, Mr. Ernest Gray (West Ham, N.); Answer, Mr. Victor Cavendish 268

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Issues under the Imperial Defence Act.—Question, Mr. Runciman (Dewsbury); Answer, Mr. Austen Chamberlain 269

Train Service from Killarney to Tralee or Killorglin.—Question, Mr. Murphy (Kerry, E.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 269

Acquisition of Land by Belfast Water Commissioners.—Award of Arbitrator.—Question, Mr. Samuel Young (Cavan, E.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 270

Drainage of Lough Leagh—Report of Engineer.—Question, Mr. Charles Craig (Antrim, S.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 271

Population of the Transvaal—Details.—Question, Mr. John Ellis (Nottinghamshire, Rushcliffe); Answer, Mr. Lyttelton 271

Unskilled White Labour on the Rand.—Question, Mr. Herbert Samuel (Yorkshire, Cleveland); Answer, Mr. Lyttelton 271

Safeguarding of White Labour in the Transvaal.—Question, Mr. John Burns (Battersea); Answer, Mr. Lyttelton 272

British Indian Traders in the Transvaal.—Question, Mr. Runciman; Answer, Mr. Lyttelton 272

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THE NEW RIFLE.—Question, Captain Norton (Newington, W.); Answer, The Financial Secretary to the War Office (Mr. Bromley Davenport, Cheshire, Macclesfield) 273

MILITIA FIELD ARTILLERY.—Question, Mr. Whitley (Halifax); Answer, The Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. Lyttelton, Warwick and Leamington) 274

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THE POST OFFICE AND THE NATIONAL TELEPHONE COMPANY.—Question, Mr. Lough (Islington, W.) and Mr. Gibson Bowles (Lynn Regis); Answer, Lord Stanley 276

MOTOR CARS IN LONDON.—Question, Dr. Farquharson (Aberdeenshire, W.) and Captain Donelan (Cork County, E.); Answer, The President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Walter Long, Bristol, S.) 277

RELATIVES ON THE BENCH.—Question, Mr. Riddy (Kings' County, Birr); Answer, The Attorney General for Ireland (Mr. Atkinson, Londonderry, N.) 278

FAIR RENT CASES IN KENMARE RURAL DISTRICT.—Question, Mr. Boland (Kerry, S.); Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. Wyndham, Dover) .. 278

BONONE (KERRY) SCHOOLS—INSTRUCTION IN IRISH.—Question, Mr. Boland; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 279

KENMARE ESTATE.—Question, Mr. Murphy (Kerry, E.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 279

FAIR RENT APPEALS IN COUNTY MONAGHAN.—Question, Mr. T. W. Russell (Tyrone, S.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 280

ROSCOMMON LAND APPEALS.—Question, Mr. Hayden (Roscommon, S.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 280

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ROSSMACOMEN EVICTION.—Questions, Mr. Gilhooly; Answers, Mr. Wyndham 281

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THE ROSSES SALMON FISHERIES.—Question, Mr. Hugh Law (Donegal, W.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 283

BIRR EXTRA POLICE CHARGE.—Question, Mr. Reddy; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 283

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GRAIG ABBEY, ATHENRY.—Question, Mr. Reddy; Answer, Mr. Wyndham .. 285

MIDLETON TOWN HALL.—Question, Captain Donelan; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 285

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IRISH AGRICULTURAL DEPARTMENT—CLERKS' SALARIES.—Question, Mr. Delany (Queen's County, Ossory); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 287

COOSCROUM FISHERIES.—Question, Mr. Boland; Answer, Mr. Wyndham .. 287

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KILBRIDE CANTEEN LICENCE.—Question, Mr. James O'Connor; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 288

LICENCES FOR AIR GUNS.—Question, Mr. Joseph Devlin (Kilkenny, N.); Answer, The Financial Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Victor Cavendish, Derbyshire, W.) 289

SELECTION (STANDING COMMITTEES).—Mr. HALSEY reported from the Committee of Selection: That they had discharged the following Member from the Standing Committee on Law, and Courts of Justice, and Legal Procedure: Mr. Jacoby; and had appointed in substitution: Mr. Dalziel.

Report to lie upon the Table 289

NEW BILLS.

Land Tax Commissioners' Land Bill.—"To appoint additional Commissioners for executing the Acts granting a Land Tax and other Rates and Taxes," presented by Mr. Victor Cavendish. To be read a second time upon Monday next, and to be printed. [Bill 232.] 289

Marine Insurance Bill.—"For codifying the Law relating to Marine Insurance," presented by Mr. Attorney-General; supported by Mr. Solicitor-General. To be read a second time upon Monday next, and to be printed. [Bill 233.] 290

SUPPLY [13TH ALLOTTED DAY].

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[MR. JEFFREYS (Hampshire, N.) in the Chair.]

CIVIL SERVICES AND REVENUE DEPARTMENTS ESTIMATES, 1904–5.

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£146,461, to complete the sum for Board of Trade.

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Mr. Lloyd-George (Carnarvon Boroughs) 344
Sir Joseph Lawrence (Monmouth Boroughs) 347
Sir William Tomlinson (Preston) 347
Dr. Hutchinson (Sussex, Rye) 348

Resolution to be reported upon Monday next; Committee to sit again on Monday next.

ADJOURNMENT.—Motion made and Question, "That the House do now adjourn,"—(*Sir A. Acland-Hood*); put, and agreed to 348

Adjourned accordingly at twenty-five minutes after Seven o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS: FRIDAY, 17TH JUNE, 1904.

EARLDOM OF NORFOLK.—Petition of Charles Botolph Joseph Lord Mowbray, Lord Segrave, and Baron and Lord Stourton of Stourton in the county of Wilts, praying that before the hearing of his Petition to Her late Majesty praying Her Majesty to determine in his favour the abeyance of the dignity of Earl of Norfolk a day may be fixed on which the Letters Patent of Creation, dated 1644, in favour of Thomas Howard Earl of Arundel and Surrey may be considered, and a decision arrived at whether the Duke of Norfolk has now any *locus standi* in the present case; read, and ordered to lie on the Table .. 349

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EARLDOM OF NORFOLK.—Petition of Henry, Duke of Norfolk that the prayer of the Petition, presented this day, of Charles Botolph Joseph Lord Mowbray, Lord Segrave, and Baron and Lord Stourton of Stourton may be refused, and for leave to lodge a supplementary case; read, and ordered to lie on the Table 349

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

The LORD CHANCELLOR acquainted the House, That the Clerk of the Parliaments had laid upon the Table the Certificate from the Examiners that the Standing Orders applicable to the following Bill have been complied with:—Scotch Education Department Provisional Order Confirmation (Edinburgh) [H.L.]

The same was ordered to lie on the Table 349

Barnet District Gas and Water Bill.—A witness ordered to attend the Select Committee 349

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 3) Bill [H.L.]—(HUDDERSFIELD ORDER).—A petition of Alfred Vansittart Frere, of 5, Victoria Street, London, Parliamentary Agent, praying for leave to present a petition of the Longwood Gas Company against the Order, although the time limited by Standing Order No. 92 for presenting such petition has expired; read, and ordered to lie on the Table; and Standing Order No. 92 to be considered on Monday next in order to its being dispensed with in respect of the said petition 349

Skipton Water and Improvement Bill; North Western Electricity and Power Gas Bill. Committed 350

New River Company Bill [H.L.].—Returned from the Commons agreed to, with Amendments. The said Amendments considered, and agreed to 350

Kirkby-in-Ashfield Urban District Gas Bill.—Returned from the Commons with the Amendments agreed to 350

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 3) Bill [H.L.]; Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 6) Bill [H.L.]; Doncaster Corporation Bill; Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 2) Bill [H.L.]; Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway (Steam Vessels) Bill; Barnet District Gas and Water Bill. Report from the Select Committee, That the Committee adjourned this day at One o'clock; read, and ordered to lie on the Table 350

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 3) Bill [H.L.]; Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 6) Bill [H. L.]; Doncaster Corporation Bill; Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 2) Bill [H.L.]; Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway (Steam Vessels) Bill; Barnet District Gas and Water Bill. Report from the Committee of Selection, That the Lord Congleton be proposed to the House as a member of the Select Committee on the said Bills in the place of the Lord Tenterden; read, and agreed to 350

Gas Orders Confirmation (No. 2) Bill [H.L.]; Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 5) Bill [H.L.]. Committed to a Committee of the Whole House 350

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 4) Bill [H.L.]; Tramways Orders Confirmation (No. 1) Bill [H.L.]. Committed. The Committees to be proposed by the Committee of Selection 350

Leith Corporation Tramways Order Confirmation Bill--

Moved, "That the Commons Message be considered."—(*Lord Balfour of Burleigh.*)

Lord Herries 351
The Acting Chairman of Committees (*Lord Balfour of Burleigh*) .. 353

On Question, Motion agreed to.

Motion, "That this House do concur in the following Resolution communicated by the Commons, viz.: "That the Leith Corporation Tramways Order Confirmation Bill be referred to a Joint Committee of Lords and Commons."—(*Lord Balfour of Burleigh.*)

On Question, Motion agreed to, and a Message ordered to be sent to the Commons to acquaint them therewith.

House adjourned at a quarter before Five o'clock, to Monday next, a quarter before Eleven o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS: FRIDAY, 17TH JUNE, 1904.

The House met at Twelve of the Clock.

UNOPPOSED PRIVATE BILL-BUSINESS.

PRIVATE BILLS [LORDS] (STANDING ORDERS NOT PREVIOUSLY INQUIRED INTO COMPLIED WITH).—MR. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in the case of the following Bills, originating in the Lords, and referred on the First Reading thereof, the Standing Orders not previously inquired into, and which are applicable thereto, have been complied with, viz.: Belfast Corporation (Tramways) Bill [Lords]; Derwent Valley Water Board Bill [Lords]; Lothians Electric Power Bill [Lords]; Newcastle and Gateshead Water Bill [Lords].

Ordered, That the Bills be read a second time 354

PROVISIONAL ORDERS BILL [LORDS] (STANDING ORDERS APPLICABLE THERETO COMPLIED WITH).—MR. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in the case of the following Bill, originating in the Lords, and referred on the First Reading thereof, the Standing Orders which are applicable thereto have been complied with, viz.:—Education Board Provisional Order Confirmation (Birmingham) Bill [Lords].

Ordered, That the Bill be read a second time upon Monday next 354

Brixham Gas Bill; Littlestone-on-Sea and District Water Bill. Lords Amendments considered, and agreed to 355

Barnard Castle Gas Bill [LORDS]. As amended, considered; a clause added; Bill to be read the third time 355

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St. Bartholomew's Hospital Bill [Lords].—As amended, considered ; to be read the third time 355

Private Bills (Group J).—Ordered, That Mr. Aubrey Strachan do attend the Committee on Group J. of Private Bills this day, at Two of the clock .. 355

Message from the Lords.—That they have agreed to—Midland Railway Bill, with Amendments ; Amendments to Chesterfield Gas and Water Board Bill [Lords], without Amendment.

That they have passed a Bill, intituled, " An Act to amend the Law relating to the falsification of Seamen's and Soldiers' Certificates of Service or Discharge, and to false statements made, used, or given in connection with entry or enlistment into His Majesty's Naval, Military, or Marine Forces." [Seamen's and Soldiers' False Characters Bill [Lords.]] 356

Leith Corporation Tramways Order Confirmation Bill.—That they concur with the Commons in their Resolution, " That the Leith Corporation Tramways Order Confirmation Bill be referred to a Joint Committee of Lords and Commons." 356

City of London (Central Criminal Court House) Bill.—Reported, without Amendment ; Report to lie upon the Table.
Bill to be read the third time 356

Preston Corporation Water Bill [Lords].—Shipley Urban District Council Bill [Lords] ; Ticehurst and District Water and Gas Bill [Lords] ; Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire Electric Power Bill [Lords] ; Leicestershire and Warwickshire Electric Power Bill [Lords]. Reported, with Amendments ; Reports to lie upon the Table, and to be printed 356

Lancashire Electric Power Bill [Lords]—Reported, without Amendment ; Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed.

Bill to be read the third time 356

PETITIONS.

Education (Scotland) Bill. —Petition from General Assembly of the United Free Church of Scotland, for alteration ; to lie upon the Table 356

Education (Scotland) Bill.—Petition from Bothwell, in favour ; to lie upon the Table 356

Electric Lighting (London) Bill.—Petition from Southwark, against (praying to be heard by Counsel) ; referred to the Select Committee on the Bill .. 357

Housing of the Working Classes, etc., Bill.—Petition from South Shields, against ; to lie upon the Table 357

Licensing Bill. —Petitions against ; from Aberystwith (two) ; Abingdon ; Ackworth ; Ancoats ; Armley (two) ; Ashton in Makerfield ; Bakewell ; Barton upon Humber ; Beddgelert ; Biggleswade ; Binchester ; Birkenhead (two) ; Birmingham ; Bishop Auckland ; Blackness ; Bollington ; Bolton (seven) ; Bothwell ; Bow Brickhill ; Bramley (two) ; Bristol (two) ; Caldecote ; Catforth ; Charleton Horethorne ; Chard ; Cheetham Hill ; Clapham ; Clydach

Coundon; Cowbeach; Crayford; Crumpsall (three); Eastbourne (eleven); East Tilbury; Eccles; Edinburgh; Ferrybridge; Fobbing; Forest Gate; Freckleton; Fulham; Gainsborough; Glasbury; Grays; Greasbro; Greenhaugh; Gregson Lane; Hailsham (five); Halifax (two); Hartlepool; Hastings; Hay; Heapham; Heathfield; Heaton Mersey; Hermon Llannon; Hindley; Horfield; Horndon on the Hill; Horsebridge; Hurstmonceux (two); Ingham; Knottingley; Laughton; Leeds; Linford; Little Thurrock; Lower Crumpsall; Macclesfield (two); Manchester; Micklefield; Newcastle on Tyne; Newport; Nettleham; Newton Heath; Ninfield; Northamptonshire; North Featherstone; Northill; North Kelsey; Old Shildon; Pembrey; Peasedown; Polegate; Pontefract; Purston; Pylle; Rodley; Rogerstone; Rooden Lane; Runcorn; St. Anne's on the Sea (two); St. Helen's; St. Leonard's; Scotton; Shanklin; Sheffield (two); Shefford; South Carnarvonshire; South Elmsall; South Kirkby; Southlands; South Nutfield; South Shields; South Wigston; Stafford; Stalbridge; Stanford le Hope; Stockdalewath; Strathpeffer; Tain; Thorpe Audlin; Todmorden; Upton (two); Usk; West Bromwich; West Coker; Willingdon; Wilmington; Winsford (two); Workington; Wortley; and Wragby; to lie upon the Table 357

Licensing Bill.—Petitions for alteration; from Macclesfield; Pontefract; and Willesden; to lie upon the Table 358

Rating of Machinery Bill.—Petition from Rotherham; against; to lie upon the Table 358

Valuation Bill.—Petitions against; from Bolton; and Warrington; to lie upon the Table 358

Valuation Bill.—Petitions for alteration; from Buckingham; Godston; Potterspury; and Reigate; to lie upon the Table 358

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

Alkali, etc., Works Regulation Acts, 1881 and 1892.—Copy presented, of Fortieth Annual Report on Alkali, etc., Works by the Chief Inspector, being for 1903 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 213.] .. 358

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

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County Court Jurisdiction Extension Act.—Question, Sir Charles Dilke (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean); Answer, Sir Robert Finlay 359

Street Accidents—Motor-Cars and Horse-drawn Carriages.—Question, Mr. Scott-Montagu (Hampshire, New Forest); Answer, Mr. Akers-Douglas 259

Unstripped Tobacco—Weight of Stalk.—Question, Mr. Sydney Buxton (Tower Hamlets, Poplar); Answer, Mr. Austen Chamberlain 360

Rise and Fall of Agricultural Rents in Devon.—Question, Mr. Soares (Devonshire, Barnstaple); Answer, Mr. Austen Chamberlain 360

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INCOME TAX ON FOREIGN COLONIAL INVESTMENTS.—Question, Mr. Soares; Answer, Mr. Austen Chamberlain 360

PUBLICATION OF CORRESPONDENCE REGARDING BRITISH GUINEA ORDINANCE ON INDIAN IMMIGRATION.—Question, Sir Henry Fowler (Wolverhampton, E.); Answer, Mr. Brodrick 361

PAYMENT OF TEACHERS' SALARIES FOR EVENING CLASSES AT CARROWCANNON.—Question, Mr. Hugh Law (Donegal, W.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham .. 361

PENSIONS OF CROWN AGENTS.—Question, Mr. Herbert Samuel (Yorkshire, Cleveland); Answer, Mr. Lyttelton 361

NEW WRIT.

New Writ for the County of York, West Riding (Sowerby Division) in the room of the right hon. John William Mellor (Manor of Northstead).—(*Mr. Herbert Gladstone.*)

SELECTION (STANDING COMMITTEES).

MR. HALSEY reported from the Committee of Selection, That they had discharged the following Members from the Standing Committee on Law, and Courts of Justice, and Legal Procedure:—Mr. Matthew White Ridley, Mr. Henry Hobhouse, and Mr. George Faber; and had appointed in substitution: Mr. Peel, Mr. Claude Hay, and Mr. Moon.

Report to lie upon the Table.

Railways (Private Sidings) Bill.—As amended (by the Standing Committee), considered.

Sir Frederick Banbury (*Camberwell, Peckham*) 362

A clause (Provisions as to Orders under the Act).

(1) "Before making any Order under this Act, the Railway and Canal Commission shall satisfy themselves that adequate sidings have been or will be provided by the applicant for the accommodation of traffic from time to time passing over the junction so as to avoid causing obstruction or delay upon the railway.

(2) "Any signalling or other work necessary to enable the Company to afford facilities under any Order made under this Act with due regard to the traffic using the Company's railway shall be deemed to be services rendered to the applicant at his request at or in connection with the siding.

(3) "Any party to an Order made under this Act by the Railway and Canal Commission may apply to the Commissioners at any time to vary, rescind, or alter any Order made by them under this Act."—(*Sir Frederick Banbury.*)

Brought up, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause be read a second time."

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Sir William Tomlinson (Preston) 364
Mr. Galloway (Manchester, S.W.) 366
Mr. Black (Banffshire.) 367
Mr. Stuart Wortley (Sheffield, Hallam) 368
Mr. Weir (Ross and Cromarty) 368
The Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade (Mr. Bonar Law, Glasgow, Blackfriars) 369
Mr. Alexander Cross (Glasgow, Camlachie) 370

Question put, and agreed to.

Amendment proposed to the clause—

"To leave out Sub-Sections 1 and 2."—(*Sir Frederick Banbury.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Amendment proposed to the clause—

"In line 2, Sub-section 3, after the word 'may' to insert the words "on specifying to the Commissioners that they have a *prima facie* case.'" (*Sir Frederick Banbury.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Clause, as amended, added.

Mr. Weir 371
Mr. Caldwell (Lanarkshire, Mid.) 372

A clause (Extension of private sidings or private branch railways)—

"Where a private siding or private branch railway is connected with a railway under the provisions of Section 76 of the Railways Clauses Consolidation Act, 1845, as amended or explained by this or any other Act, the owners or occupiers of lands adjoining to such private siding or private branch railway shall be entitled to the same reasonable facilities for constructing and connecting a private siding or private branch railway with such private siding or private branch railway, and by means of such private siding or private branch railway with the railway belonging to the railway company, as under said Acts, are possessed by the owners or occupiers of lands adjoining to the railway belonging to the railway company."—(*Mr. Weir.*)

Brought up and read the first time.

Mr. Weir 372

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the clause be read a second time."

Mr. Caldwell 373
Sir Joseph Leese (Lancashire, Accrington) 374

Motion and clause, by leave, withdrawn

Bill read the third time, and passed.

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Hall Marking of Foreign Plate Bill.—As amended (by the Standing Committee) considered.

Mr. Caldwell 375

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"To leave out Clause 1."—(*Mr. Caldwell.*)

Question proposed, "That the words of Clause 1, to the word 'in,' in page 1, line 11, stand part of the Bill."

Mr. Samuel Roberts (*Sheffield, Ecclesall*) 379
Mr. Weir (*Ross and Cromarty*) 380
Sir Joseph Leese (*Lancashire. Accrington*) 382
Mr. Brigg (*Yorkshire, W.R., Keighley*) 383
Mr. Alexander Cross (*Glasgow, Camlachie*) 383
Mr. Soares (*Devonshire, South Molton*) 384

Question put—

The House divided :—Ayes, 95 ; Noes, 68. (Division List No. 156.)

Clause 1 :—

Mr. Caldwell 387

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 1, line 21, at end, to add the words 'but it shall not be necessary to make such statement in writing where any plate or other article is brought to an Assay Office by an officer of Customs under the provisions of the Revenue Act, 1883, for the purpose of being assayed, stamped, or marked as having been imported from foreign parts.'"—(*Mr. Caldwell.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

Mr. Samuel Roberts 387

Question put, and agreed to.

Mr. Caldwell 388

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 2, line 5, after the word 'conviction' insert the words 'under the Summary Jurisdiction Acts.'"—(*Mr. Caldwell.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Clause 1, as amended, agreed to.

Clauses 2 and 3 agreed to.

Clause 4.

Mr. Caldwell 388

Amendment proposed—

"In page 2, line 18, to leave out from '1876' to the word 'hereby' in line 19, and insert the word 'is.'"—(*Mr. Caldwell.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Bill."

Mr. Samuel Roberts 390
Mr. Weir 390
Mr. Alexander Cross 390
The President of the Board of Trade (*Mr. Gerald Balfour, Leeds, Central*) 391
Mr. Dalziel (*Kirkcaldy Burghs*) 391

Question put, and negatived.

Word "is" inserted.

Clause 4, as amended, agreed to.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be read a third time."

Mr. Caldwell 394

Question put, and agreed to.

Bill read the third time, and passed.

Savings Banks Acts Amendment Bill.—As amended (by the Standing Committee), considered.

Mr. Weir (*Ross and Cromarty*) 394

A Clause (Charge on Withdrawals).

"The Postmaster-General shall be entitled to make a charge of one penny on payment of each withdrawal from the Post Office Savings Bank, and such charge shall be collected by means of a penny stamp affixed to the withdrawal order at the time of payment."—(*Mr. Weir.*)

Brought up, and read the first time.

Motion made, and question proposed, "That the clause be read a second time."

The Chancellor of the Exchequer (*Mr. Austen Chamberlain, Worcestershire, E.*) 395
Mr. Caldwell (*Lanarkshire, Mid*) 395

Motion and clause, by leave, withdrawn.

Mr. Weir .. ..

A clause (Regulation in regard to withdrawal orders).

"The Postmaster-General may, by request of a depositor in the Post Office Savings Bank, issue against money standing to the credit of such depositor a book containing eight Savings Bank withdrawal orders,

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each order to be of the fixed value of ten shillings, fifteen shillings, one pound, or two pounds; and payable at any Savings Bank Post Office in the United Kingdom. on the depositor producing his deposit book, and affixing his signature to the order. It shall be lawful for the Postmaster-General to debit the account of any such depositor with the sum of one shilling as representing a commission of three-halfpence on each order." (*Mr. Weir.*)

Brought up, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the clause be read a second time."

Mr. Austen Chamberlain 397
Mr. Caldwell 399
Sir George Bartley (*Islington, N.*) 400

Question put, and negatived.

Mr. Weir 400

A clause (Maximum cost of Post Office Savings Bank postage).

"In page 5, after Clause 12, to insert the following clause, 'The Postmaster-General shall convey all correspondence on behalf of the Post Office Savings Bank at a uniform charge of fifty thousand pounds per annum against the cost of management.'"—(*Mr. Weir.*)

Brought up, and read the first time.

Motion made and Question proposed, "That the clause be read a second time."

Mr. Austen Chamberlain 401
Mr. Caldwell 401

Motion and clause, by leave, withdrawn.

Mr. Caldwell 402

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 1, line 8, to leave out from the word 'appointment' to end of clause."—(*Mr. Caldwell.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Bill."

Sir Albert Rollit 402
Mr. Weir 403

Questions put and negatived.

Mr. Caldwell 403

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 1, line 21, to leave out Clause 3."—(*Mr. Caldwell.*)

Question proposed, "That the words of the clause to the end of line 24, page 1, stand part of the Bill."

Mr. Austen Chamberlain 403
Mr. Caldwell 404
Mr. Weir 404

And, it being half-past five of the Clock, further consideration of the Bill, as amended, stood adjourned.

Bill, as amended (by the Standing Committee) to be further considered upon Monday next.

Registration of Clubs (Ireland) Bill.—As amended (by the Standing Committee) considered; Bill read the third time, and passed 404

Adjourned at twenty-five minutes before Six o'clock till Monday next.

HOUSE OF LORDS: MONDAY, 20TH JUNE, 1904.

SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE.—The LORD CHANCELLOR acquainted the House that His Majesty had (by Commission) appointed the Lord Balfour of Burleigh Speaker of the House in the absence of the Lord Chancellor, the Earl of Morley, the Earl of Cork and Orrery, the Earl de Montalt, the Earl of Halsbury, the Earl Waldegrave, and the Lord Ribblesdale. The said Commission was read. 405

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

Great Eastern Railway Bill.—The King's consent signified; and Bill reported, with Amendments 405

Humber Commercial Railway and Dock Bill.—Reported from the Select Committee, with Amendments 405

Barry Railway (Steam Vessels) Bill [H.L.].—Reported from the Select Committee, with Amendments 405

Manchester Corporation Tramways Bill [H.L.].—Reported from the Select Committee, with Amendments 405

London County Council (Tramways and Improvements) Bill.—Committed. The Committee to be proposed by the Committee of Selection .. 405

London County Council (Money) Bill.—Committed 405

Stretford Urban District Council Bill [H.L.].—Read 3^a, Amendments made; Bill passed, and sent to the Committee 405

South-Western and Isle of Wight Junction Railway (Extension of Time) Bill.—Read 3^a, with the Amendment, and passed, and returned to the Commons 405

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London, Tilbury, and Southend Railway Bill.—Harrow Road and Paddington Tramways Bill. Read 3ª, with the Amendments, and passed, and returned to the Commons 405

Leyton Urban District Council Bill ; Swindon Corporation Bill.—Brought from the Commons ; read 1ª ; and referred to the Examiners 405

Brixham Gas Bill.—Littlestone-on-Sea and District Water Bill. Returned from the Commons with the Amendments agreed to 406

Gas Orders Confirmation (No. 3) Bill [H.L.].—House in Committee (according to order). Amendments made. Standing Committee negatived. The Report of Amendments to be received Tomorrow 406

Canal Rates and Charges (Regents Canal) Order Confirmation Bill [H.L.].—House in Committee (according to order). Bill reported without Amendment. Standing Committee negatived ; and Bill to be read 3ª Tomorrow .. 406

Scotch Education Department Provisional Order Confirmation (Edinburgh Bill [H.L.].—Read 2ª (according to order) 406

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 3) Bill [H.L.]

The Acting Chairman of Committees (*Lord Balfour of Burleigh*) 406

Moved, "That Standing Order No. 92 be considered in order to its being dispensed with, in respect to a Petition of the Longwood Gas Company."—(*Lord Balfour of Burleigh.*)

Lord Wolverton 406

On Question, Motion agreed to.

Leave given to present the said Petition.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

Trade Reports (Annual Series).

No. 3186. Germany (Hamburg). 407

No. 3187. Portugal (Beira) 407

Local Taxation (Ireland).—Returns for the year 1902–1903. 407

Army.

I. Sum of money granted as compensation to the widow and children of an officer killed at the battle of Inkerman.

II. (Volunteers.) Annual Return of Volunteer Corps of Great Britain, for the year 1903.

Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie on the Table 407

ALKALI, ETC., WORKS REGULATION ACTS, 1881–1892.—Fortieth Annual Report on Alkali, etc., Works, by the Chief Inspector. Proceedings during the year 1903, presented to the Local Government Board and to the Secretary for Scotland. Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table 407

Railways (Private Sidings) Bill (No. 107); Hall Marking of Foreign Plate Bill (No. 108).—Brought from the Commons. Read 1^a; and to be printed .. 407

Registration of Clubs (Ireland) Bill.—Brought from the Commons. Read 1^a: to be printed: and to be read 2^a on Thursday next. (*The Lord Clonbrock*). (No. 109) 407

TRANSVAAL (CHINESE LABOUR IN THE MINES).

Lord Coleridge 407

Moved, to resolve, "That, having regard to the assistance given to the Mother Country in the late Boer War by Australia, New Zealand, and Cape Colony, this House expresses its regret that His Majesty's Government have disregarded their opinions on the policy of introducing indentured Chinese labour into South Africa."—(*Lord Coleridge.*)

Lord Harris 420
Lord Norton 433
The Under Secretary of State for the Colonies (*The Duke of Marlborough*) 436
Eart Carrington 447
The President of the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries (*The Earl of Onslow*) 453
The Marquess of Ripon 455

On Question, resolved in the negative.

House adjourned at a quarter before Eight o'clock, till To-morrow, half-past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS: MONDAY, 20TH JUNE, 1904.

The House met at Two of the Clock.

UNOPPOSED PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

PRIVATE BILLS [LORDS] (STANDING ORDERS NOT PREVIOUSLY INQUIRED INTO COMPLIED WITH).—Mr. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in the case of the following Bills, originating in the Lords, and referred on the First Reading thereof the Standing Orders not previously inquired into, and which are applicable thereto, have been complied with, viz.:—

King's College Hospital Bill [Lords]; Manchester Ship Canal Bill [Lords]; Trafford Park Bill [Lords].

Ordered, That the Bills be read a second time 458

cton Improvement Bill—Lords' Amendments considered, and agreed to .. 458

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Tynemouth Gas Bill [H.L.]—Read the third time, and passed, with Amendments 458

Clyde Navigation (Works) Bill.—As amended, considered ; to be read a third time 458

Leyton Urban District Council Bill.—As amended, considered. Ordered, That Standing Orders Nos. 223 and 243 be suspended and that the Bill be now read the third time.—(*Mr. Caldwell.*)

Bill accordingly read the third time, and passed .. .. ..

Preston, Chorley, and Horwich Tramways Bill. [H.L.]—As amended, considered ; to be read the third time 459

Swindon Corporation Bill.—As amended, considered. Ordered, That Standing Orders Nos. 223 and 243 be suspended, and that the Bill be now read the third time.—(*Mr. Caldwell.*)

Bill accordingly read the third time, and passed 459

Tyneside Tramways and Tramroads Bill [H.L.].—As amended, to be considered to-morrow 459

Loch Leven Water Power Bill.—Richard Jaeger's Patent Bill [H.L.]. Read a second time, and committed 459

Education Board Provisional Order Confirmation Birmingham) Bill [H.L.].—Read a second time, and committed 459

MESSAGE FROM THE LORDS.—That they have agreed to—Amendments to New River Company Bill [H.L.], without Amendment.

That they have passed a Bill, intituled, " An Act to empower the Urban District Council of Stretford to construct additional Tramways and other works within their district ; and to make further and better provision for the good government of the said urban district ; and for other purposes." [Stretford Urban District Council Bill [H.L.] 459

Stretford Urban District Council Bill [H.L.]. -Read the first time ; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills 459

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EDUCATION (SCOTLAND) BILL.—Petition from Assynt, for alteration ; to lie upon the Table 459

LICENSING BILL.—Petitions against ; from Aldbrough ; Annan ; Barton ; Blackburn (two) ; Bletchley ; Boltby ; Bondgate ; Boughton ; Brackley ; Brandesburton ; Braiton ; Bristol ; Brunswick ; Carlton Miniott ; Cleasby ; Clifton ; Cockerton ; Cotherstone ; Coventry ; Croston ; Cury ; Darlington (two) ; Doddington ; Eastleigh ; Exeter (two) ; Fareham ; Faversham ; Gainford ;

Gainthorpe ; Great Ayton ; Great Horton ; Greenstreet ; Grimsby ; Ingleby Arncliffe ; Hackney ; Halberton ; Hanley ; Hargrave ; Heaton Park ; Hebburn on Tyne ; Hillam ; Hutton Rudby ; Kildale ; Kington ; Kingswinford and Dudley ; Kiveton Park ; Lee on the Solent ; Littlehampton ; Liverpool (two) ; Lynn (three) ; Mangotsfield ; Meltham ; Middleton Cheney ; Middleton Tyas ; Milbury Heath ; Moldash ; Moor Monkton ; Neston ; North Kelsey ; North Summercotes ; Nun Monkton ; Nunthorpe ; Oare ; Palmersville ; Piercebridge ; Porchester ; Portmahon ; Reading ; Rishton ; Ronaldkirk ; Saltfleetby ; Sanquhar ; Sarisbury Green ; Sheriff Hutton ; Skirlaugh ; South Gosforth ; South Kelsey ; Stalbridge ; Stockton on Tees ; Stoke on Trent ; Stourport ; Stubbington ; Summerhouse ; Sutton under Whitestonecliffe ; Swainby ; Thirlby ; Thirsk ; Truro (two) ; Upsall ; Vale of Euchan ; Wavendon ; Weardale ; Westbury ; Westerham ; Whitehill ; Wickham ; and Winston ; to lie upon the Table 460

LICENSING BILL.—Petition from Maidstone, for alteration ; to lie upon the Table 460

VALUATION BILL.—Petition from Doncaster, for alteration ; to lie upon the Table 460

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

LOCAL TAXATION (IRELAND) RETURNS.—Copy presented, of Returns of Local Taxation in Ireland, for the year 1902–3 [by Command] ; to lie upon the Table 460

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LORD DUNDONALD AND THE CANADIAN GOVERNMENT.—Question, Mr. Charles Devlin (Galway) ; Answer, Mr. Lyttelton 463

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BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.—Questions, Mr. Bryce and Mr. John Redmond (Waterford); Answers, The Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. A. J. Balfour, Manchester, E.) 499

SELECTION (STANDING COMMITTEES).—Mr. HALSEY reported from the Committee of Selection, That they had discharged the following Member from the Standing Committee on Law, and Courts of Justice, and Legal Procedure; Mr. Helder; and had appointed in substitution; Sir Harry Samuel.

Report to lie upon the Table 499

WORKMEN'S TRAINS.—Ordered, That the Minutes of Evidence taken before the Select Committee on Workmen's Trains in the last session of Parliament be referred to the Select Committee on Workmen's Trains.—(*Colonel Bowles.*) 500

ADJOURNMENT.—Mr. CATHCART WASON, Member for Orkney and Shetland, rose in his place, and asked leave to move the adjournment of the House for the purpose of discussing a definite matter of urgent public importance, viz., "the danger to the peace of East Africa arising out of the steps now being taken with the sanction of His Majesty's Government for the establishment of an Alien Settlement in East Africa on lands now in the occupation of Native populations;" but the pleasure of the House not having been signified, Mr. Speaker called on those Members who supported the Motion to rise in their places, and not less than forty Members having accordingly risen:—

The Motion stood over, under Standing Order No. 10, till this Evening's Sitting 500

NEW BILLS.

County of Suffolk Bill.—"To make better provision for the Administration of Justice at Sessions of the Peace, and for the transaction of county business in the county of Suffolk," presented by Sir Cuthbert Quilter; to be read a second time upon Monday next, and to be printed. [Bill 234] 500

NEW WRIT.—New Writ for the County of Surrey (North Western or Chertsey Division), in the room of John Arthur Fyler, esquire (Chiltern Hundreds).—(*Sir A. Acland-Hood.*) 501

Finance Bill

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[Mr. J. W. LOWTHER (Cumberland, Penrith,) in the Chair.]

Clause 1:—

Mr. Sydney Buxton (Tower Hamlets, Poplar) 501

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Clause 1 be postponed."—(*Mr. Sydney Buxton.*)

The Chancellor of the Exchequer (*Mr. Austen Chamberlain*) *Worcestershire, E.*) 502
Mr. McCrae (*Edinburgh, E.*) 503
Mr. Flynn (*Cork County, N.*) 504
Mr. Gibson Bowles (*Lynn Regis*) 505
Mr. McKenna (*Monmouthshire, N.*) 505
Mr. Edmund Robertson (*Dundee*) 506
Mr. Whitley (*Halifax*) 506

Question put.

The Committee divided :—Ayes, 132 ; Noes, 207. (Division List No. 157.)

Mr. J. H. Lewis (*Flint Boroughs*) 509

Amendment proposed—

"In page 1, line 16, to leave out the words 'In lieu of.'"—(*Mr. J. H. Lewis.*)

Question proposed, "That the words 'In lieu of' stand part of the clause."

Mr. Herbert Samuel (*Yorkshire, Cleveland*) 515
Sir Carne Rasch (*Essex, Chelmsford*) 519
Mr. Lough (*Islington, W.*) 520
Mr. Martin (*Worcestershire, Droitwich*) 523
Mr. Soares (*Devonshire, Barnstaple*) 524
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Mr. Labouchere (*Northampton*) 556
Mr. Lambert (*Devonshire, South Molton*) 558
Mr. Tomkinson (*Cheshire, Crewe*) 560

And, it being half-past Seven of the clock, the Chairman left the Chair to make his Report to the House.

Committee report Progress ; to sit again this evening.

EVENING SITTING.

EAST AFRICA (ALIEN SETTLEMENT).—Adjournment (under Standing Order No. 10).

Mr. Cathcart Wason (*Orkney and Shetland*) 561

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House do now adjourn."—(*Mr. Cathcart Wason.*)

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Major Evans Gordon (Tower Hamlets, Stepney) 565
Mr. Trevelyan (Yorkshire, W.R., Elland) 567
Mr. Haviland Burke (King's County, Tullamore) 568
Sir Gilbert Parker (Gravesend) 569
The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Earl Percy, Kensington, S.) 571
Sir Edward Grey (Northumberland, Berwick) 574
Mr. Lloyd-George (Carnarvon Boroughs) 577

Question put, and negatived.

Finance Bill.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[Mr. J. W. LOWTHER (Cumberland, Penrith) in the Chair.]

Clause 1 :—

Amendment again proposed—

In page 1, line 16, to leave out the words ' In lieu of.' "—(*Mr. J. H. Lewis.*)

Question again proposed, " That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the clause."

Mr. Tomkinson 579
Mr. George Whitley (Yorkshire, W.R., Pudsey) 580
Mr. Flynn (Cork County, N.) 583

Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN rose in his place, and claimed to move, " That the Question be now put."

Question put, " That the Question be now put."

The Committee divided :—Ayes, 212 ; Noes, 166. (Division List No. 158.)

Question put accordingly, " That the words ' In lieu of ' stand part of the clause."

The Committee divided :—Ayes, 217 ; Noes, 165. (Division List No. 159.)

Mr. Winston Churchill (Oldham) 592

Motion made, and Question proposed, " That the Chairman do report Progress ; and ask leave to sit again. "—(*Mr. Winston Churchill.*)

Mr. A. J. Balfour 593
Mr. Asquith (Fifeshire, E.) 593
Mr. Lough 594

Question put.

The Committee divided :—Ayes, 151 ; Noes, 196. (Division List No. 160.)

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Mr. Winston Churchill 597

Amendment proposed—

"In page 1, line 16, after the word 'imported' to insert the words 'from foreign countries.'"—(*Mr. Winston Churchill.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Mr. Austen Chamberlain 604
Sir Edward Grey 605
Mr. McCrae 607
Mr. McKenna 609
Mr. Hunt (*Shropshire, Ludlow*) 610
Mr. Cathcart Wason (*Orkney and Shetland*) 611
Mr. Dalziel (*Kirkcaldy Burghs*) 612

Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN rose in his place, and claimed to move, "That the Question be now put."

Question put, "That the Question be now put."

The Committee divided:—Ayes, 158; Noes, 109. (Division List No. 161.)

Question put accordingly, "That the words 'from foreign countries' be there inserted."

The Committee divided:—Ayes, 38; Noes, 198. (Division List No. 162.)

Committee report Progress; to sit again to-morrow.

And it being after One of the clock Mr. SPEAKER adjourned the House without Question put.

Adjourned at eighteen minutes before Two o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS: TUESDAY, 21st JUNE, 1904.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway (Various Powers) Bill.—The LORD CHANCELLOR informed the House that the opposition to the Bill was withdrawn. The order made on the 13th instant discharged, and Bill committed for Tuesday next 621

Radcliffe Tramways and Improvement Bill.—The LORD CHANCELLOR informed the House that the opposition to the Bill was withdrawn. The order made on Thursday last discharged, and Bill committed 621

Gas Orders Confirmation (No. 1) Bill [H.L.].—Reported from the Select Committee, without Amendment, and committed to a Committee of the Whole House 621

Oakengates, Dawley, and District Joint Water Board Bill [H.L.], Now Oakengates and Dawley Joint Water Board Bill [H.L.]. Reported from the Select Committee, with Amendments 621

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Baker Street and Waterloo Railway Bill.—The King's consent signified; and Bill reported from the Select Committee, with Amendments 621

Crystal Palace District Gas Bill.——Reported, with an Amendment .. 621

Southend-on-Sea Gas Bill; Brymbo Water Bill; Great Central and Midland Joint Railways Bill. Reported, with Amendments 621

London and North-Western Railway Bill.—The King's consent signified: and Bill reported, with Amendments 621

Mullingar, Kells, and Drogheda Railway Bill; Donegal Railway Bill. Reported, without Amendment 621

Bexhill Water and Gas Bill.—Read 3^a, with the Amendments; a further Amendment made; Bill passed, and returned to the Commons 621

Clyde Navigation (Works) Bill.—Brought from the Commons: read 1^a, and referred to the Examiners 621

Tynemouth Gas Bill [H.L.].—Returned from the Commons; agreed to, with Amendments 622

Acton Improvement Bill.—Returned from the Commons with the Amendments agreed to 622

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 4) Bill [H.L.].—Report from the Committee of Selection, That the Five Lords appointed a Select Committee on the Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No.3) Bill [H.L.] and other Bills do form the Select Committee for the consideration of the Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 4) Bill [H.L.] so far as relates to the Walton-on-Thames Order: read, and agreed to. All petitions referred to the Committee, with leave to the petitioners praying to be heard by counsel against the Bill to be heard as desired, as also counsel for the Bill 622

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 3) Bill [H.L.]; Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 6) Bill [H.L.]; Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 2) Bill [H.L.]; Doncaster Corporation Bill; Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway (Steam Vessels) Bill; Barnet District Gas and Water Bill; Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 4) Bill [H.L.] (Walton-on-Thames Order). Report from the Committee of Selection, That the Lord O'Neill be proposed to the House as a member of the Select Committee on the said Bills in the place of the Lord Cranworth; read, and agreed to .. 622

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 4) Bill [H.L.]; (Kingswood Order opposed); Tramways Orders Confirmation (No. 1) Bill [H.L.]; Water Orders Confirmation Bill [H.L.]; Gas and Water Orders Confirmation Bill [H.L.]; Thames River Steamboat Service Bill; London United Tramways Bill; Strabane, Raphoe, and Convoy Railway Bill. Report from the Committee of Selection, That the following Lords be proposed to the House to form the Select Committee for the consideration of the said Bills, viz.: E. Lauderdale (Chairman), E. Bradford, L. Clements (*E. Leitrim*), L. Chesham, L. Elphinstone; agreed to; and the said Lords appointed accordingly. The Committee to meet on Monday the 4th of July next at Twelve o'clock; and all petitions referred to the Committee, with leave to the petitioners praying to be heard by counsel against the Bills to be heard as desired, as also counsel for the Bills 622

Gas Orders Confirmation (No. 3) Bill [H.L.].—Amendments reported (according to order), and Bill to be read 3^{a} on Thursday next 623

Canal Rates and Charges (Regent's Canal) Order Confirmation Bill [H.L.].—Read 3^{a} (according to order), and passed, and sent to the Commons 623

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

Board of Agriculture and Fisheries (Agricultural Statistics, 1903).—Report on the Agricultural Returns relating to acreage and produce of crops and number of live stock in Great Britain; with summaries for the United Kingdom, British Possessions, and Foreign Countries; and particulars of prices, imports, and exports of agricultural produce 623

Irish Land Commission (Proceedings).—Return for the month of February, 1904.

Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie on the Table 623

Greenwich Hospital and Travers' Foundation.—Statement of the estimated income and expenditure of Greenwich Hospital and of Travers' Foundation, for the year 1904–1905. Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table 623

Married Women's Property Act (1882) Amendment Bill [H.L.].—Reported from the Standing Committee without Amendment, and to be read 3^{a} on Thursday next 623

Naval and Military Medals Bill [H.L.].—Reported from the Standing Committee without Amendment, and to be read 3^{a} on Thursday next 623

Supply of Electricity Bill [H.L.].—The following Lords were named of the Select Committee:—

M. Bath.

E. Ellesmere,

Lord Colchester.

L. Stanley of Alderley.

L. Wolverton.

The Committee to appoint their own Chairman 624

Chantrey Trust.

The Earl of Lytton 624

Moved, "That a Select Committee be appointed to inquire into the administration of the Chantrey Trust; and, if necessary, to make recommendations."—(*The Earl of Lytton.*)

The Earl of Wemyss 633
Lord Davey 636
The First Commissioner of Works (*Lord Windsor*) 639
The Earl of Carlisle 641
The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (*The Marquess of Lansdowne*) 643

On Question, Motion agreed to, and ordered accordingly.

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THE WAR OFFICE RECONSTITUTION COMMITTEE.—

The Duke of Bedford 644
The Under-Secretary of State for War (The Earl of Donoughmore) .. 654
Lord Tweedmouth 661
The Earl of Camperdown 669
The Marquess of Ripon 670
The Marquess of Lansdowne 672

House adjourned at a quarter before Eight o'clock, to Thursday next half-past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS: TUESDAY, 21ST JUNE, 1904.

The House met at Two of the Clock.

UNOPPOSED PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

Midland Railway Bill.—Lords Amendments considered, and agreed to .. 679

Barnard Castle Gas Bill [LORDS].—Read the third time, and passed, with Amendments 679

City of London (Central Criminal Court-House) Bill.—Read the third time, and passed 679

Lancashire Electric Power Bill [LORDS].—Read the third time, and passed, without Amendment 679

St. Bartholomews' Hospital Bill [LORDS].—Read the third time, and passed, with Amendments 679

Newcastle-upon-Tyne Corporation Bill [LORDS] (BY ORDER).—Read a second time and committed.

Ordered, That it be an Instruction to the Committee on the Newcastle-upon-Tyne Corporation Bill (Lords) to insert the following Clause in Part VIII. of the Bill: Any scheme for the establishment of a superannuation or provident fund under this Act shall not come into operation until the Corporation shall, in respect of that fund, have been registered under The Friendly Societies Act, 1896, and the provisions of that Act (except the proviso to sub-section one of section eight and section forty-one), so far as they are applicable and are not inconsistent with the provisions of this Act, shall apply as if (a) the Corporation were a society to which that Act applies and were the trustees of such society; (b) as if the scheme were the rules of such society; (c) as if the superannuation or provident funds were the funds of such society; and (d) as if the contributors to the fund were the members of such society.

Provided, "That the powers of sections seventy, seventy-one, seventy-three, seventy-eight, and seventy-nine of the said Act shall not be exercised without the consent of the Corporation."—(*Sir Edward Strachey*) 679

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Clyde Navigation (Works) Bill.—Ordered, "That Standing Order 243 be suspended, and that the Bill be now read the third time."—(*Mr. Caldwell.*)

(King's Consent signified). Bill accordingly read the third time, and passed 630

London County Council (General Powers) Bill.—Reported with Amendments, from the Police and Sanitary Committee [Section A]: Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed 680

PETITIONS.

EDUCATION (LOCAL AUTHORITY DEFAULT) BILL.—Petition from Isle of Wight, for alteration; to lie upon the Table 680

FACTORY AND WORKSHOP ACT (1901) AMENDMENT BILL.—Petition from Manchester, in favour; to lie upon the Table 680

LICENSING BILL.—Petitions against; from Altrincham; Ampthill; Ashton under Lyne; Ashwell; Askrigg; Aspatria (three); Attercliffe; Avonbridge; Baldock; Balham; Banks Hill; Barrowford (four); Bathgate; Beaumaris; Bedford (three); Beeston; Bedlingston; Bermondsey (four); Bewdley; Billingborough; Birmingham; Birtenshaw; Blaby; Boddam (two); Bodmin; Bofarnel; Bo'ness (two); Bootle (four); Bowling (three); Bradfield; Brazecott; Brea; Brierley Hill; Briercliffe; Brighton; Brompton; Burtersett; Buxton; Canterbury; Carlisle; Carlton; Carnkie; Carzantic; Chatburn; Chelmsford; Churwell; Clapham (Beds.); Clophill; Clydach; Colan; Cornwall (two); Crawshawbooth; Croydon; Delabole; Denby Dale; Derby; Dewsbury; Didsbury; Downicary; Dumbartonshire (three); Duntiblae; East Ardsley; East Harlsey; East Somerset; Eglos Kerry; Enderby; Enfield; Farnworth; Farsley; Foulridge; Gayton; Gildersome (two); Glasgow; Glenfield (two); Grantham; Grimston; Guiseley; Gwynfa; Hadfield; Hallamshire; Harrow (five); Haslingden; Haven Street (Isle of Wight); Headingley; Hebburn on Tyne (two); Helmsburgh; Higher Bebington; Holloway; Holyhead (three); Honington; Hornby; Horsforth; Hosear Moss; Hove; Hull (sixteen); Huncote; Hunslet; Ickleford; Illogan; Irby; Kepwich; Kexby; Kibblesworth; Kibworth; Kimpton; Kingston; Kingston upon Hull (two); Kirkdale; Kirkintilloch (three); Kirkstall (three) Lane; Laneast; Lanner; Larbert; Launceston; Leeds (fifteen); Lees and Bocking; Leicester (three); Lifton Down; Lincoln (three); Little Sutton; Liverpool; Llangefni; Llanrhaiadr; Lofthouse; Longsight; Longstone; Lovesome Hill; Lower Bebington (two); Lower Weston; Low Gate; Lutterworth; Lye; Maddey; Manchester (two); Marfleet; Market Deeping; Marsett; Marton; Maunby; Mawgan; Mawla; Middleton; Milford Haven (two); Mitchell; Morden; Moreton; Morley (four); Morton; Mount Tabor; Mumbles; Murton; Narberth; Nether Silton; Newcastle on Tyne; New Ferry (two); Newlyn East; Noel Park; Northallerton; North Petherwyn; Nuthing Grove; Oadby; Old Basford; Oldham (two); Osmotherley; Paddington; Paignton; Pavenham; Penffordd Petherwin; Piperspool; Porthtown; Portreath; Poulton; Preston; Primethorpe; Pudsey (three); Pulham Market; Queen's; Radcliffe; Rawdon; Rawtenstall (five); Redlynch; Redruth (eight); Reeth; Rejerrah; Richmond (Yorks.); Ridgmount; Rippingale; Rochdale; Rosenannon; Rose Perranporth; Runcorn (two); Ryde; Sabden; St. Columb; Salisbury; Salwayash; Saundersfoot; Scorrier; Shanklin; Sheffield (two); Shepton Mallet; Sherburn in Elmet; Shipdham;

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Shoreditch ; Sidmouth ; Sketty ; Skinner's Bottom ; Soothill Upper ; South Cheriton ; South Wigston (two) ; Spittlegate ; Stanbury ; Stanningley ; Stepaside ; Stithians ; Stoneferry ; Stonehouse ; Stotfold ; Summertown ; Sunniside ; Swaffham (two) ; Swalwell ; Swansea ; Tabernacle ; Tenby ; Thornhill Lees ; Thornley ; Tingley ; Tingley Common ; Tooting ; Torquay ; Tow Law ; Trawden ; Trebudannon ; Trefor ; Tregada ; Tregadillett ; Tregarth ; Tregeare; Tremaine; Treskillard; Tuckingmill; Upper Tooting; Voguebeloth ; Waddington ; Warrington ; Watlington ; Welton ; West Bridgford ; West Kirby ; West Lane and Bridgehouse ; West Winch ; Whatley Range ; Wheal Buller ; Whetstone ; Whitley Bay ; Wigton ; Willingham ; Wilton ; Wolsingham ; Woolwich (two) ; Worcester ; Wray ; Yeadon (two) ; Yeolmbridge ; York ; and Zelah ; to lie upon the Table 680

LICENSING BILL.—Petition from Grantham, for alteration ; to lie upon the Table 682

MONTGOMERY, W. B. AND E. H.—Petition of W. B. and E. H. Montgomery, for redress of grievances ; to lie upon the Table 682

SALE OF TOBACCO TO CHILDREN.—Petition from Leeds, for legislation ; to lie upon the Table 682

VALUATION BILL.—Petition from Keighley, against ; to lie upon the Table .. 682

VALUATION BILL.—Petitions for alteration ; from Barton upon Irwell ; Christchurch ; Leek ; Pocklington ; Sevenoaks ; and Woolwich ; to lie upon the Table 682

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

IRISH LAND COMMISSION (PROCEEDINGS).—Copy presented, of Return of Proceedings during the month of February, 1904 [by Command] ; to lie upon the Table 682

IRISH LAND ACT, 1903.—Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 9th June ; *Mr. Wyndham*] ; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 215.] .. 682

BOARD OF AGRICULTURE (AGRICULTURAL RETURNS).—Copy presented, of Agricultural Returns for Great Britain, with statistics for the United Kingdom, British Possessions, and Foreign Countries for 1903 [by Command] ; to lie upon the Table 683

CHINA (No. 4, 1904).—Copy presented, of Map to accompany Despatch from His Majesty's Minister at Peking, inclosing a Report by Mr. George J. Kidston on a journey in Mongolia [by Command] ; to lie upon the Table 683

TRADE REPORTS (ANNUAL SERIES).—Copies presented, of Diplomatic and Consular Reports. Annual Series. Nos. 3186 and 3187 [by Command] ; to lie upon the Table 683

ARMY (VOLUNTEER CORPS).—Copy presented, of Annual Return of the Volunteer Corps of Great Britain for the year 1903 [by Command] ; to lie upon the Table 683

ARMY (COMPENSATION).—Copy presented, of Statement relating to a sum of money granted as compensation to the Widow and Children of an Officer killed at the Battle of Inkerman [by Command] ; to lie upon the Table .. 683

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Greenwich Hospital and Travers' Foundation.—Copy presented, of Statement of the estimated Income and Expenditure of Greenwich Hospital and of Travers' Foundation for the year 1904–5 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 216.] 683

Trustees Savings Banks.—Return ordered, "(1) from each Savings Bank in England and Wales, Scotland, Ireland, and the Channel Islands, containing, in columns, the names of the Officers, their respective salaries, and other allowances, if any; the amount of security each gives; the annual expenses of management, inclusive of all payments and salaries, for the year ended the 20th day of November, 1903; the rate per centum per annum on the capital of the Bank for the expenses of management; the rate of interest paid to Depositors on the various amounts of deposit, and the average rate of interests on all accounts; the number of accounts remaining open; the total amount owing to Depositors; the total amount invested with the Commissioners for the Reduction of the National Debt; the balance in the hands of the Treasurer on the 20th day of November, 1903; the total amount of the separate Surplus Fund on the 20th day of November, 1903; other assets, including estimated value of Bank premises, furniture, etc.; the total assets; the total amount of Government Stock standing to the credit of Depositors; the number and amount of annuities granted; and the average cost of each transaction; also the year in which business commenced in each Bank, and the name of the day or days, and the number of hours in the week, on which the Banks are open for the deposit and withdrawal of moneys; including in such Return a list of all such Savings Banks as, under the provisions of the Act 26 Vic. c. 14, or otherwise, have been closed and have transferred their funds, or any part thereof, to the Post Office Savings Banks; showing, in each case the number of such Banks, as well as the number and amount of Depositors' accounts so transferred, and the amount of compensation, if any, made to all or any of the Officers of such Banks respectively; and showing also the years in which such Banks were respectively opened and closed, and the number and amount of their Depositors' balances, and the number of days and hours in each week on which the same Banks were open for public business at the close of the year next preceding the date of such closing; distinguishing the same, as in the Return for each separate county, as well as collectively, for England and Wales, Scotland, Ireland, and the Channel Islands, and for the United Kingdom: and (2) for the year ending the 20th day of November, 1903, showing the total number of Depositors in Trustee Savings Banks; the total number of deposits; the average amount of each deposit account; the average sums paid in and drawn out; the total number of persons who have deposited in single sums the entire amount allowed to be deposited during the year (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 211, of Session 1903)."—(*Mr. Mount.*) 683

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

Imports into the Transvaal via the Cape and Delagoa Bay.—Question, Mr. Buchanan (Perthshire, E.); Answer, Mr. Lyttelton (Warwick and Leamington) 685

Whitgift School, Croydon—Pension for Rev. G Huddlestone.—Question. Mr. Stevenson (Suffolk, Eye); Answer, Sir William Anson (Oxford University) 685

Admiralty Contracts for Armour-Plating, etc.—Question, Mr. J. F. Hope (Sheffield, Brightside); Answer, Mr. Pretyman (Suffolk, Woodbridge) .. 686

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HALL-MARKING OF GOLD AND SILVER WATCH CASES MADE OUTSIDE THE UNITED KINGDOM.—Question, Mr. Charles Murray (Coventry); Answer, Mr. Gerald Balfour (Leeds, Central) 686

INQUIRY INTO ACCIDENT NEAR DUFFIELD STATION.—Question, Mr. Channing (Northamptonshire, E.); Answer, Mr. Gerald Balfour 686

PUBLICATION OF POOR LAW STATISTICS,—Question, Mr. Henry Hobhouse (Somersetshire, E.); Answer, Mr. Walter Long (Bristol, S.) 687

ALLEGED ILL-TREATMENT OF A CHILD AT ST GEORGE'S RECEIVING HOME.—Question, Sir Walter Foster (Derbyshire, Ilkeston); Answer, Mr. Walter Long.. 687

THE WAR IN SAMOA—BRITISH CLAIMS.—Question, Sir Charles Dilke (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean); Answer, Earl Percy (Kensington, S.) 688

PENNY POSTAGE TO AUSTRALIA.—Question, Mr. Henniker Heaton (Canterbury); Answer, Lord Stanley (Lancashire, Westhoughton) 686

PENSIONS FOR MEN ON SUNDAY DUTY IN THE GENERAL POST OFFICE.—Question, Mr. Claude Hay (Shoreditch, Hoxton); Answer, Lord Stanley.. .. 689

SUNDAY PAY IN THE POST OFFICE.—Question, Mr. Claude Hay; Answer, Lord Stanley 689

POSTAL AND TELEGRAPH FACILITIES AT CLOONFAD, COUNTY ROSCOMMON.—Question, Mr. Hayden (Roscommon, S.); Answer, Lord Stanley 690

TOBACCO DRAWBACK.—Question, Mr. Sydney Buxton (Tower Hamlets, Poplar); Answer, Mr. Austen Chamberlain (Worcestershire, E.) 690

DUM-DUM BULLETS IN TIBET.—Question Mr. Swift MacNeill (Donegal, S.); Answer, Mr. Brodrick (Surrey, Guildford) 691

MILITIA SERVING ABROAD DURING SOUTH AFRICAN WAR.—Question, Colonel Bain (Cumberland, Egremont); Answer, Mr. Arnold-Forster (Kent, Sevenoaks) 691

CHINESE LABOURERS FOR THE TRANSVAAL—DISTURBANCE AT TIENTSIN.—Question, Mr. Swift MacNeill; Answer, Mr. Lyttelton 691

CENSUS RETURNS OF SOUTH AFRICA.—Question, Dr. Macnamara (Camberwell, N.); Answer, Mr. Lyttelton 692

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE.

WOOLWICH ARSENAL—DISCHARGES AND SUSPENSION OF WORKMEN.—Question, Mr. Crooks (Woolwich); Answer, The Financial Secretary to the War Office (Mr. Bromley-Davenport, Cheshire, Macclesfield) 692

BRITISH TROOPS IN INDIA.—Question, Captain Norton (Newington, W.); Answer, Mr. Bromley-Davenport 693

PENSIONS FOR EX-CROWN AGENTS.—Question, Mr. Herbert Samuel (Yorkshire, Cleveland); Answer, The Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. Lyttelton) 693

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THE TIBET MISSION.—Questions, Mr. Charles Devlin (Galway), Mr. Lambert (Devonshire, South Molton), and Mr. Herbert Samuel; Answers, The Secretary of State for India (Mr. Brodrick, Surrey, Guildford) 694

LICENSING BILL.—Question, Mr. Alfred Davies (Carmarthen Boroughs); Answer, The Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. A. J. Balfour, Manchester, E.) 695

UNCLAIMED STOCK.—Question, Mr. McCrae (Edinburgh, E.); Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Austen Chamberlain, Worcestershire, E.) 695

STOKEDOWN RURAL DISTRICT AND THE INCOME TAX.—Question, Mr. James O'Kelly (Roscommon, N.); Answer, Mr. Austen Chamberlain 695

SLAUGHTERED HORSES AS FOOD.—Questions, Mr. Cremer (Shoreditch, Haggerston) and Mr. Whitley (Halifax); Answers, The President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Gerald Balfour, Leeds, Central) 697

APPOINTMENT OF MEDICAL OFFICERS FOR EDGEWORTHSTOWN POST OFFICE.—Question, Mr. J. P. Farrell (Longford, N.); Answer, The Postmaster-General (Lord Stanley, Lancashire, Westhoughton) 697

THE PARLIAMENT STREET SUBWAY.—Question, Mr. Cremer; Answer, Lord Balcarres (Lancashire, Chorley) 697

THE WHITE ESTATE, CULLEENMORE.—Question, Mr. J. P. Farrell; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. Wyndham, Dover) 698

TURBARY RIGHTS IN COUNTY LONGFORD.—Question, Mr. J. P. Farrell; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 699

FLOODS IN NORTH LONGFORD.—Question, Mr. J. P. Farrell; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 699

TECHNICAL AND AGRICULTURAL SCHEMES IN THE CONGESTED DISTRICTS.—Question, Mr. Murphy (Kerry, E.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 700

EVICTED TENANTS ON MR. CHARLES STAFFORD'S ESTATE.—Question, Mr. James O'Kelly; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 700

IRISH UNIVERSITY EDUCATION.—Question, Mr. Charles Devlin; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 701

PROTECTION OF IRISH ESTATES FROM THE RIVERS AND THE SEA.—Question, Mr. Thomas O'Donnell (Kerry, W.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 701

SALARIES OF IRISH NATIONAL SCHOOL ASSISTANT TEACHERS.—Question, Mr. Thomas O'Donnell; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 701

THE RAE ESTATE.—Question, Mr. Thomas O'Donnell; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 701

RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE CONSTABULARY COMMISSION.—Questions, Mr. Sloan; Answers, Mr. Wyndham 702

THE CONSTABULARY FORCE FUND.—Question, Mr. Sloan; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 702

Commission on Trinity College Lands.—Questions, Mr. Murphy; Answers, Mr. Wyndham 702

Lighting of Galway Harbour.—Question, Mr. Charles Devlin; Answer, The Financial Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Victor Cavendish, Derbyshire, W.) 703

Salaries of Irish National School Teachers.—Question, Mr. Hayden (Roscommon; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 704

The Anderson Case.—Question, Colonel Saunderson (Armagh, N.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 704

The Valuation Bill.—Question, Mr. Trevelyan (Yorkshire, W.R., Elland); Answer, Mr. A. J. Balfour 704

Rules of Procedure.—Question, Mr. Gibson Bowles (Lynn Regis); Answer, Mr. A. J. Balfour 705

Motion for adjournment refused.

Mr. Crooks 706

Shop Hours Bill.

Reported, with Amendments, from the Standing Committee on Trade, etc.

Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 217.]

Minutes of the Proceedings of the Standing Committee to be printed. [No. 217.]

Bill, as amended (in the Standing Committee), to be taken into consideraion upon Monday next, and to be printed. [Bill 235.] 706

New Member Sworn.—The honourable Philip James Stanhope, for the County of Leicester (Southern or Harborough Division) 706

Selection (Standing Committees).—Mr. Halsey reported from the Committee of Selection, That they had discharged the following Members from the Standing Committee on Law, and Courts of Justice, and Legal Procedure: Sir George Fardell, Sir George Bartley, Mr. Haldane, Mr. Samuel Evans, Mr. Soares, and Lieutenant-Colonel Pryce-Jones; and had appointed in substitution: Mr. James Bailey, Mr. Seymour Ormsby-Gore, Mr. Theodore Taylor, Mr. Thomas Shaw, Mr. T. W. Russell, and Mr. John Rutherford.

Report to lie upon the Table 706

Selection (Standing Committees).—Mr. Halsey reported from the Committee of Selection, That they had discharged the following Members from the Standing Committee on Trade (including Agriculture and Fishing), Shipping, and Manufactures: Mr. O'Neill, Mr. John Gordon, Mr. Goulding, Captain Balfour, Mr. George Montagu, and the Lord Advocate; and had appointed in substitution: Sir John Barrington Simeon, Mr. Baird, Mr. Hare, Mr. Garfit, and Sir Charles Renshaw

Report to lie upon the Table 707

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STANDING ORDERS.—Resolution reported from the Select Committee, "That, in the case of the Great Western Railway Bill [H.L.], Petition for dispensing with Standing Order 128 in the case of the Petition of the 'Owners, Lessees, and Occupiers in the Parish of Hanwell.' against the Bill, the said Standing Order ought not to be dispensed with."

Report to lie upon the Table 707

Seamen's and Soldiers' False Characters Bill [H.L.]—Read the first time; to be read a second time upon Monday next, and to be printed. [Bill 236.] .. 707

Finance Bill.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[Mr. J. W. LOWTHER (Cumberland, Penrith) in the Chair.]

Clause 1.

Mr. Hugh Law (*Donegal, W.*) 707

Amendment proposed—

"In page 1, line 17, to leave out the words 'or Ireland.'"—(*Mr. Hugh Law.*)

Question proposed, "That the words 'or Ireland' stand part of the clause."

The Chancellor of the Exchequer (*Mr. Austen Chamberlain, Worcestershire, E.*) 709
Sir William Harcourt (*Monmouthshire, W.*) 710
Mr. John Redmond (*Waterford*) 711
Mr. T. W. Russell (*Tyrone, S.*) 714
Mr. Flynn (*Cork County, W.*) 715
Mr. Lough (*Islington, W.*) 717
Mr. Hemphill (*Tyrone, N.*) 719
Mr. Winston Churchill (*Oldham*) 721
Mr. Clancy (*Dublin County, N.*) 725
Mr. Field (*Dublin, St. Patrick*) 728
Captain Norton (*Newington, W.*) 730
Mr. Sloan (*Belfast, S.*) 732
Mr. Sheehy (*Meath, S.*) 733
Mr. Power (*Waterford, E.*) 734
Mr. Murphy (*Kerry, E.*) 736
Mr. Haviland Burke (*King's County, Tullamore*) 738
Mr. Joseph Devlin (*Kilkenny, N.*) 738
Mr. Sydney Buxton (*Tower Hamlets, Poplar*) 740
The Chancellor of the Exchequer (*Mr. Austen Chamberlain, Worcestershire, E.*) 741
Mr. Cullinan (*Tipperary, S.*) 742

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN rose in his place, and claimed to move, "That the Question be now put."

Question put, "That the Question be now put."

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The Committee divided :—Ayes, 260 ; Noes, 194. (Division List No. 163.)

Question put accordingly, " That the words ' or Ireland ' stand part of the clause."

The Committee divided :—Ayes, 270 ; Noes, 185. (Division List No. 164.)

Mr. Soares (Devonshire, Barnstaple) 751

Amendment proposed—

" In page 1, line 19, to leave out the word ' August,' and insert the word ' May.' "—(*Mr. Soares.*)

Question proposed, " That the word ' August ' stand part of the clause."

Mr. Austen Chamberlain 753
Mr. McKenna (Monmouthshire, N.) 753
Mr. Gibson Bowles (Lynn Regis) 754
Mr. Lough (Islington, W.) 756
Mr. Whitley (Halifax) 757
Mr. Austen Chamberlain 757

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Amendment proposed—

" In page 1, line 19, to leave out the word ' August ' and insert the word ' July.' "—(*Mr. Gibson Bowles.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Mr. Theodore Taylor (Lancashire, Radcliffe) 758

Amendment proposed—

" In page 1, line 21, after the word ' tea,' to insert the words ' the value of which on import exceeds eightpence per pound.' "—(*Mr. Theodore Taylor.*)

Question proposed, " That those words be there inserted."

Mr. Gibson Bowles 761
Mr. Flynn 761
Mr. McKenna 761

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Mr. Kearley (Devonport) 762

Amendment proposed—

" In page 1, line 21, after the word ' pound, to insert the words ' fifty per cent. *ad valorem*, but not to exceed.' "—(*Mr. Kearley.*)

Question proposed, " That those words be there inserted."

And, it being half-past Seven of the clock, the Chairman left the Chair to make his Report to the House.

Committee report Progress ; to sit again this evening.

June 21.

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EVENING SITTING.

Finance Bill.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[Mr. J. W. LOWTHER (Cumberland, Penrith) in the Chair.]

Clause 1 :—

Amendment again proposed—

" In page 1, line 21, after the word ' pound,' to insert the words ' fifty per cent. *ad valorem*, but not to exceed.' "—(*Mr. Kearley.*)

Question proposed, " That those words be there inserted."

Mr. Whitley 764
Mr. J. F. Hope (Sheffield, Brightside) 765
Mr. Renwick (Newcastle-on-Tyne) 768
Mr. Eugene Wason (Clackmannan and Kinross) 770
Mr. Austen Chamberlain 770
Mr. McKenna 774
Mr. H. C. Richards (Finsbury, E.) 775
Sir Frederick Banbury (Camberwell, Peckham) 776
Mr. Markham (Nottinghamshire, Mansfield) 777
Mr. Runciman (Dewsbury) 777
Mr. T. W. Russell (Tyrone, S.) 780
Mr. Sydney Buxton 780

Question put.

The Committee divided :—Ayes, 148 ; Noes, 194. (Division List, No. 165.)

Mr. Kearley 785

Amendment proposed—

" In page 1, line 21, to leave out the words ' eight pence,' and insert the words ' four pence. ' "—(*Mr. Kearley.*)

Question proposed, " That the words ' eight pence ' stand part of the clause."

Mr. Austen Chamberlan 787
Mr. Runciman 788
Mr. Lough 790
Mr. Flynn 971
Mr. Renwick 792
Mr. Goddard (Ipswich) 792
Mr. Sydney Buxton 793

Question put.

The House divided —Ayes, 201 ; Noes, 146. (Division List No. 166.)

Mr. Kearley 797

Amendment proposed—

> "In page 1, line 21, at end, to add the words 'Provided that the increased duty hereby imposed shall not be levied or paid on any tea lying in a bonded warehouse licensed by His Majesty's Customs upon which the former rate of duty has already been paid.'"—(*Mr. Kearley.*)

Question proposed, "That these words be there added."

Mr. Austen Chamberlain 797
Mr. Lough 799

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Question proposed, "That Clause 1, as amended, stand part of the Bill."

Mr. Soares 799
Mr. Ainsworth (Argyllshire) 800
Mr. Toulmin (Bury, Lancashire) 800
Mr. Shackleton (Lancashire, Clitheroe) 801

Question put.

The Committee divided :—Ayes, 148 ; Noes, 115. (Division List No. 167.)

Committee report Progress ; to sit again to-morrow.

Adjourned at one minute before One o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS : WEDNESDAY, 22ND JUNE, 1904.

The House met at Two of the Clock.

MR. SPEAKER'S ABSENCE.—The House being met, the Clerk at the Table informed the House of the unavoidable absence of Mr. SPEAKER.

Whereupon Mr. JAMES WILLIAM LOWTHER, the Chairman of Ways and Means, proceeded to the Table, and after Prayers, took the Chair as Deputy Speaker, pursuant to the Standing Order 805

UNOPPOSED PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

Derwent Valley Water Board Bill [LORDS]; Lothians Electric Power Bill [Lords] ; Newcastle and Gateshead Water Bill [Lords]. Read a second time, and committed 805

Selby Urban District Council Bill.—Reported, with Amendments, from the Police and Sanitary Committee [Section A] ; Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed 805

Barrow-in-Furness Corporation Bill [LORDS].—Reported, with Amendments ; Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed 805

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PETITIONS.

Education (Scotland Bill).—Petition from Zetland, for alteration; to lie upon the Table 805

Licensing Bill.—Petitions against; from Abersychan; Ashfield Magna; Baldhu; Ballachulish; Barrow-in-Furness; Bideford (three); Blackburn; Blackheath; Blantyre; Broadoak; Bronington; Buckley; Budock; Burnham; Bye Lane End; Cadeshead; Calder Vale; Cambois; Carlton; Castle Gresley; Chorlton on Medlock; Cleator Moor; Cleckheaton; Constantine; Croston; Crow's Nest; Cwmnantyneichiaid; Dobwalls; Dolphinholme; Durham; East Howle; Eaton Bishop; Garstang; Glen Magna; Goosnargh; Great Steeping; Grimsby; Hagworthingham; Hanley (two); Heckmondwike; Hedon Hall; Heeley; Helmsley; Hessenford; High Wycombe; Holbeach; Hollin's Lane; Holloway; Horseman's Green; Irlam; Keal; Keighley; Lancaster; Landkey; Lanlivery; Lazonby; Leicester (eleven); Leverton; Liskeard; Littlehampton; Llanfechain; Luton; Manchester (three); Marwood; Mawgan; Melsonby; Menhay Budoch; Midsomer Norton (two); Morecambe; Motherwell; Newbold; Newcastle Emlyn; Nolton; North Bierley; Northgate; Norton and Cuckney; Oakenshaw; Old Bolingbroke; Ollerton; Parkham; Partney; Pensilva; Portsmouth; Prestatyn; Quethiock; Rixton; Robinhood Bay; Rochdale (two); Romsey; Runcorn; St. Austell; St. Albans; St. Pancras; Saltcoats; Scaleby Hill; Scremby and Candlesby; Shafton; Shildon; Shirwell; Shrewsbury (two); Skelmanthorpe; Slough; Spilsby; Stickford; Strichen; Swadlincote; Swimbridge; Tamar; Taunton; Trengrove; Trevelmond; Upton Cross; Urmston; Walesby; Walworth; Welton le Marsh; Whalley Range; Whaplode and Moulton; Whaplode Washway; Wharfedale; Whenby; Whitby (four); Woburn Sands; Wolverhampton; and York; to lie upon the Table 805

Licensing Bill.—Petitions for alteration; from Bridport; Leominster; and Newcastle-on-Tyne; to lie upon the Table 806

Re-Vaccination Bill.—Petition from Leicester, against; to lie upon the Table 806

Sea Fisheries Bill [Lords].—Petition from Aldeburgh, against; to lie upon the Table 806

Vaccination.—Petition from Blackburn, for alteration of Law; to lie upon the Table 806

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

Colonial Reports (Annual).—Copy presented, of Colonial Report, No. 417 (British Honduras, Annual Report for 1903) [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 807

Trade Reports (Annual Series).—Copies presented, of Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Annual Series, Nos. 3188 to 3191 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 807

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

Captain Bloomfield's Estate at Castlecaldwell.—Question, Mr. Swift MacNeill (Donegal, S.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 807

Glasgow Sore Throat Epidemic and the Milk Supply.—Question, Mr. Weir (Ross and Cromarty); Answer, Mr. A. Graham Murray 807

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TELEGRAPHIC WITHDRAWALS FROM POST OFFICE SAVINGS BANK.—Question, Mr. Weir ; Answer, Lord Stanley 808

POSTAL FACILITIES IN GWEEDORE AND BUNBEG DISTRICTS, COUNTY DONEGAL.—Question, Mr. Hugh Law (Donegal, W.) ; Answer, Lord Stanley 809

FATAL ACCIDENTS TO RAILWAY SERVANTS.—Question, Mr. Channing (Northamptonshire, E.) ; Answer, Mr. Gerald Balfour 809

DARENTH PUMPING STATION—POLLUTION OF WATER.—Question, Mr. Pike Pease (Darlington) ; Answer, Mr. Walter Long 809

LIQUOR TRAFFIC IN BOMBAY.—Question, Mr. Herbert Roberts (Denbighshire, W.) ; Answer, Mr. Brodrick 811

SANITARY CONDITION OF QUARTERS OF BRITISH INDIAN CONTINGENT IN CHINA.—Question, Sir Seymour King (Hull, Central) ; Answer, Mr. Arnold-Forster 811

ALLEGED ANNOYANCE OF REV. R. D. PATTERSON, OF DUBLIN.—Question, Mr. Sloan (Belfast, S.) ; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 812

INSANITARY CONDITION OF THE CLONMEL DISTRICT.—Question, Sir Michael Foster (London University) ; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 813

CITY IMPERIAL VOLUNTEERS.—Question, Sir John Colomb (Great Yarmouth) ; Answer, Mr. Arnold-Forster 813

STRENGTH OF VOLUNTEERS EMPLOYED IN SOUTH AFRICAN WAR.—Question, Sir John Colomb ; Answer, Mr. Arnold-Forster 814

STRENGTH OF VOLUNTEER ARTILLERY BEFORE THE SOUTH AFRICAN WAR.—Question, Sir John Colomb ; Answer, Mr. Arnold-Forster 814

DISCHARGES AND SUSPENSIONS IN GOVERNMENT AND PRIVATE WORKSHOPS.—Questions, Mr. H. J. Wilson (Yorkshire, W.R., Holmfirth) ; Answers, Mr. Arnold-Forster 814

ARMY ESTIMATES—PAY OF SOLDIERS.—Question, Mr. Frederick Wilson (Norfolk, Mid.) ; Answer, Mr. Arnold-Forster 815

FINANCES OF TRANSVAAL.—Question, Mr. Buchanan (Perthshire, E.) ; Answer, Mr. Lyttelton 815

MALTESE GOVERNMENT BUDGET FIGURES.—Question, Mr. Boland (Kerry, S.) ; Answer, Mr. Lyttelton 816

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE.

SERVICE RIFLES.—Question, Captain Norton (Newington, W.) ; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. Arnold-Forster, Belfast, W.) 817

GOVERNMENT FACTORIES AND PRIVATE FIRMS.—Questions, Captain Norton, Mr. Crooks (Woolwich), and Mr. J. F. Hope (Sheffield, Brightside) ; Answers, Mr. Arnold-Forster 817

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RESPECTIVE COST OF GOLD COAST RAILWAY AND NATAL GOVERNMENT RAILWAY.—Question, Mr. Austin Taylor (Liverpool, East Toxteth); Answer, The Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. Lyttelton, Warwick and Leamington) 818

COST OF CONSTRUCTION OF GOLD COAST RAILWAY.—Question, Mr. Austin Taylor; Answer, Mr. Lyttelton 819

HUT TAX IN THE TRANSVAAL.—Question, Mr. John Ellis (Nottinghamshire, Rushcliffe); Answer, Mr. Lyttelton 819

NATIVE UNREST IN THE TRANSVAAL.—Question, The Master of Elibank (Edinburgh, Midlothian); Answer, Mr. Lyttelton 820

RESIGNATION OF SIR PERCY GIROUARD.—Question, Mr. Herbert Roberts (Denbighshire, W.); Answer, Mr. Lyttelton 820

CHINESE LABOUR IN THE TRANSVAAL.—Question, Major Seely (Isle of Wight); Answer, Mr. Lyttelton 820

WAGES OF CHINESE LABOURERS IN THE TRANSVAAL.—Questions, Dr. Macnamara (Camberwell, N.) Mr. Joseph Walton (Yorkshire, W.R., Barnsley), and Mr. Labouchere (Northampton); Answers, Mr. Lyttelton and the First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. A. J. Balfour, Manchester, E.) 825

CONFIRMATION OF MUNICIPAL BY-LAWS FOR EMPLOYMENT OF CHILDREN OUT OF SCHOOL HOURS.—Question, Dr. Macnamara; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Akers Douglas, Kent, St. Augustine's) .. 825

SUPPLY FOR NAVY AND ARMY SERVICES.—Questions, Mr. Edmund Robertson (Dundee) and Mr. Gibson Bowles; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Austen Chamberlain, Worcestershire, E.) 826

FRAUDULENT SPIRIT BLENDING.—Questions, Mr. MacVeagh (Down, S.); Answers, Mr. Austen Chamberlain 826

SUNDAY POSTAL SERVICE TO ESKER, COUNTY LONGFORD.—Question, Mr. J. P. Farrell (Longford, N.); Answer, The Postmaster-General (Lord Stanley, Lancashire, Westhoughton) 827

POSTAL DELIVERY IN KILLOE PARISH, COUNTY LONGFORD.—Question, Mr. J. P. Farrell; Answer, Lord Stanley 827

TELEPHONIC COMMUNICATION BETWEEN PADSTOW AND HAWKER'S COVE.—Sir Walter Greene (Bury St. Edmunds) and Mr. Cathcart Wason; Answer, Lord Stanley 828

CLONFIN ESTATE, COUNTY LONGFORD.—Questions, Mr. J. P. Farrell; Answers, The Attorney-General or Ireland (Mr. Atkinson, Londonderry, N.) .. 829

CUSACK ESTATE, COUNTY LONGFORD.—Question, Mr. J. P. Farrell; Answer, Mr. Atkinson 829

TURBARY RIGHTS ON THE GRANARD ESTATE.—Question, Mr. J. P. Farrell; Answer, Mr. Atkinson 830

DERNAGEAS FARM, COUNTY LONGFORD.—Question, Mr. J. P. Farrell; Answer, Mr. Atkinson 830

EVICTED TENANTS ON MR. COLTSMANN'S ESTATE, COUNTY KERRY.—Question, Mr. Murphy (Kerry, E.); Answer, Mr. Atkinson 831

EVICTED TENANTS IN COUNTY CORK—APPLICATIONS FOR REINSTATEMENT.—Question, Mr. Flynn (Cork, N.); Answer, Mr. Atkinson 831

GALWAY HARBOURS.—Question, Mr. Charles Devlin (Galway); Answer, The Financial Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Victor Cavendish, Derbyshire, W.) 831

IRISH AGRICULTURAL DEPARTMENT.—Question, Mr. Delany (Queen's County, Ossory); Answer, Mr. Atkinson 832

POLICE ARRANGEMENTS AT MILL STREET.—Question, Mr. Sheehan (Cork County, Mid.); Answer, Mr. Atkinson 832

FAILURE TO COLLECT AMOUNT OF COUNTY COURT DECREE—CASE OF MRS. BRIDGET HOVAN.—Question, Mr. Murphy; Answer, Mr. Atkinson .. 833

BELFAST ANGLERS' ASSOCIATION AND BALLYNAHINCH RIVER.—Question, Mr. Sloan (Belfast, S.); Answer, Mr. Atkinson 833

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.—Question, Mr. John Redmond (Waterford) Mr. Sydney Buxton (Tower Hamlets, Poplar) and Mr. MacVeagh; Answer, Mr. A. J. Balfour 834

THE RESIGNATION OF SIR CHARLES ELLIOT.—Question, Mr. Sydney Buxton; Answer, Mr. A. J. Balfour 835

THE OUTBREAK OF BERI-BERI AMONG CHINESE COOLIES.—Question, Dr. Hutchinson (Sussex, Rye) Mr. John Redmond, Mr. Lambert, Mr. Gibson Bowles and Mr. Winston Churchill; Answer, Mr. Lyttelton, Mr. Deputy-Speaker and Mr. A. J. Balfour 836

Finance Bill.

Considered in Committee

(In the Committee.)

[Mr. J. W. LOWTHER (Cumberland, Penrith) in the Chair.]

Clause 2 :—

Mr. Whitley (Halifax) 841

Amendment proposed—

> "In page 2, line 1, after the word "four," to insert the words "until the first day of May, 1905."—(*Mr. Whitley.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted.

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The Chancellor of the Exchequer (*Mr. Austen Chamberlain, Worcestershire, E.*) 841
Sir Edgar Vincent (*Exeter*) 843
Mr. Parker Smith (*Lanarkshire, Partick*) 844
Mr. George Whiteley (*Yorkshire, W.R., Pudsey*) 845
Mr. Gibson Bowles (*Lynn Regis*) 847
Mr. Sydney Buxton (*Tower Hamlets, Poplar*) 847
Mr. Austin Taylor (*Liverpool, East Toxteth*) 848

Question put.

The Committee divided :—Ayes, 164 ; Noes, 216. (Division List No. 168.)

Mr. Lough (*Islington, W.*) 853

Amendment proposed—

“ In page 2, line 2, to leave out all the words from the beginning to the word ‘ in. ’ ”—(*Mr. Lough.*)

uestion proposed, “ That the words, ‘ in the case of cigars by,’ stand part of the clause.”

Mr. Austen Chamberlain 856
Mr. Sydney Buxton 860
Mr. Kearley (*Devonport*) 862
Mr. Trevelyan (*Yorkshire, W.R., Elland*) 862
Mr. Barran (*Leeds, N.*) 864
Sir Robert Reid (*Dumfries Burghs*) 865

Question put.

The Committee divided :—Ayes, 242 Noes, 183. (Division List No. 169.)

Mr. Duncan (*Yorkshire, W.R., Otley*) 869

Amendment proposed—

“ In page 2, line 2, to leave out the words ‘ sixpence ’ and insert the words ‘ threepence.’ ”—(*Mr. Duncan.*)

Question, “ That the words ‘ sixpence ’ stand part of the clause.”

Mr. Austen Chamberlain 872

Question put.

The Committee divided :—Ayes, 239 ; Noes, 179. (Division List No. 170.)

Sir Walter Foster (*Derbyshire, Ilkeston*) 875

Amendment proposed—

“ In page 2, line 2, to leave out from the word ‘ pound ’ to the word ‘ and ’ in line 3.”—(*Sir Walter Foster.*)

Question proposed, “ That the words ‘ and in the case of cigarettes by ’ stand part of the clause.”

Page

Mr. Austen Chamberlain .. 881
Mr. Labouchere (Northampton) .. 885
Mr. Spear (Devonshire, Tavistock) .. 887
Mr. Buchanan .. 887
Mr. Lloyd-George (Carnarvon Boroughs) .. 889
Mr. Austen Chamberlain .. 890
Mr. Lough .. 891
Mr. J. A. Pease (Essex, Saffron Walden) .. 891
Mr. Gibson Bowles .. 892
Mr. Whitley .. 893
Mr. George Whiteley .. 894

And, it being half-past Seven of the Clock, the Chairman left the Ch to make his Report to the House.

Committee Report Progress, to sit again this evening.

EVENING SITTING.

Finance Bill.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[Mr. J. W. Lowther (Cumberland, Penrith) in the Chair.]

Clause 2 :—

Amendment again proposed—

> " In page 2, line 2, to leave out from the word ' pound,' to the word ' and,' in line 3."—(*Sir Walter Foster.*)

Question proposed, " That the words ' and in the case of the cigarettes by' stand part of the clause."

Mr. George Whiteley .. 895
Mr. Renwick (Newcastle-on-Tyne) .. 896
Mr. Bull (Hammersmith) .. 897
Mr. Harris (Tynemouth) .. 898
Sir Walter Foster (Derbyshire, Ilkeston) .. 899
Mr. Dalziel .. 900
Mr. Trevelyan .. 902
Sir Frederick Wills (Bristol, N.) .. 902

Question put.

The Committee divided :—Ayes, 167 ; Noes, 135. (Division List No. 171.)

Mr. McKenna (Monmouthshire, N.) .. 905

Amendment proposed—

> " In page 2, line 3, to leave out from the word ' pound,' to the end of the clause."—(*Mr. McKenna.*)

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Question proposed, "That the words 'and the duties payable under the same section or' stand part of the clause."

Mr. Austen Chamberlain 917
Mr. Winston Churchill (Oldham) 924
Sir Frederick Wills 928
Mr. Robson (South Shields) 929
Mr. Duke (Plymouth) 937
Mr. Charles McArthur 939
Mr. Austen Chamberlain 940

Motion made, and Question, "That the Chairman do report Progress; and ask leave to sit again"—(*Mr. Munro Ferguson*)—put, and agreed to.

Committee report Progress; to sit again upon Friday.

Adjourned at ten minutes after One o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS: THURSDAY, 23RD JUNE, 1904.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

The LORD CHANCELLOR acquainted the House, That the Clerk of the Parliaments had laid upon the Table the Certificate from the Examiners that the Standing Orders applicable to the following Bill have been complied with:—Local Government Provisional Order (No.4). The same was ordered to lie on the Table 941

Tynemouth Gas Bill [H.L.].—Commons Amendments considered, and agreed to 941

Birkdale Improvement Bill.—Reported, with Amendments 941

South Shields Gas Bill.—Reported with Amendments 941

Lord Tredegar's Supplemental Estate Bill [H.L.].—Reported, with Amendments. 941

Scarisbrick Estate (Amendment) Bill [H.L.].—Reported, with an Amendment 941

City of London (Central Criminal Court House) Bill.—Brought from the Commons; read 1^a; and referred to the Examiners 941

Lancashire Electric Power Bill [H.L.].—Returned from the Commons agreed to 941

Barnard Castle Gas Bill [H.L.]; St. Bartholomew's Hospital Bill [H.L.]; Preston, Chorley, and Horwich Tramways Bill [H.L.]; Returned from the Commons agreed to, with Amendments. The said Amendments considered, and agreed to 941

Midland Railway Bill.—Returned from the Commons with the Amendments agreed to 941

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Govan Corporation Order Confirmation Bill [H.L.] (No. 110).—A Bill to confirm a Provisional Order relating to the burgh of Govan 941

Caledonian Railway Order Confirmation Bill [H.L.]. (No. 111).—A Bill to confirm a Provisional Order relating to the Caledonian Railway ; And

Glasgow and South-Western Railway Order Confimation Bill [H.L.] (No. 112).—A Bill to confirm a Provisional Order relating to the Glasgow and South -Western Railway.—Were presented by the Lord Kintore (*E. Kintore*) (pursuant to the Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899, Sections 8 and 9) ; read 1^a ; and to be printed 941

Wishaw Corporation Order Confirmation Bill [H.L.] (No. 113).—A Bill to confirm a Provisional Order relating to Wishaw Corporation ; And .. 942

Airdria Corporation Gas Order Bill [H.L.] (No. 114).—A Bill to confirm a Provisional Order relating to Airdrie Corporation Gas.—Were presented by the Lord Kintore (*E. Kintore*) ; read 1^a ; to be printed ; and (pursuant to the Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899 (Section 7) deemed to have been read 2^a and reported from the Committee 942

Hamilton Gas Order Confirmation Bill [H.L.].—A Bill to confirm a Provisional Order by the Secretary for Scotland under the Burgh Police (Scotland) Act, 1892, relating to the Hamilton Gas, was presented by the Lord Kintore (*E. Kintore*) Then it was moved, that the Order of the 14th of March last, " That no Bill originating in this House confirming any Provisional Order or Provisional Certificate shall be read a first time after Tuesday the 3rd of May next," be dispensed with in respect of the said Bill, and that the Bill be now read 1^a ; agreed to ; Bill read 1^a ; accordingly ; to be printed ; and referred to the Examiners. (No. 115.) 942

Education Board Provisional Order (Swansea) Bill.—Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 5) Bill ; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 6) Bill ; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 7) Bill ; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 8) Bill ; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 12) Bill ; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 14) Bill ; Local Government Provisional Order (No. 15) Bill ; Local Government Provisional Orders (Gas) Bill ; Gas Orders Confirmation (No. 2) Bill [H.L.]. House in Committee (according to Order). Bills reported without Amendment. Standing Committee negatived ; and Bills to be read 3^a to-morrow 942

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 5) Bill [H.L.].—House in Committee (according to Order). Amendments made. Standing Committee negatived. The Report of Amendments to be received To-morrow .. 942

Gas Orders Confirmation (No. 3) Bill [H.L.].—Read 3^a (according to Order), and passed, and sent to the Commons 943

PETITIONS.

DECLARATION OF THE SOVEREIGN AGAINST TRANSUBSTANTIATION.—Petition against alteration of ; of Dunfermline Protestant Defence Association ; read, and ordered to lie on the Table 943

SUPPLY OF ELECTRICITY BILL [H.L.].—Petitions against ; of the South Metropolitan Gas Company ; The Gas Light and Coke Company ; The Commercial Gas Company. Read, and ordered to lie on the Table 943

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RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

TRADE REPORTS (ANNUAL SERIES).

No. 3188. Spain (Malaga).

No. 3189. Persia (Kermanshah).

No. 3190. China (Ningpo).

No. 3191. Brazil (Rio Grande do Sul).

No. 3192. Turkey (Beirut and the Coast of Syria).

No. 3193. Sweden (Stockholm and the Eastern Coast of Sweden). .. 943

COLONIES (ANNUAL).—No. 417. British Honduras (Report for 1903) 943

RATES OF DRAWBACK ON TOBACCO.—Reports, with minutes of evidence, of the Inter-Departmental Committee appointed by the Treasury to inquire into the rates of drawback on tobacco.

Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie on the Table 943

SUPERANNUATION.—Treasury minute, dated 20th June, 1904, declaring that William Donelly, leading hand, Royal Laboratory, War Office, was appointed without a Civil Service certificate through inadvertence on the part of the head of his Department 943

FINANCE ACCOUNTS.—Finance accounts of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, for the financial year 1903–1904, ended 31st March, 1904 .. 944

CIVIL LIST PENSIONS.—Return of all pensions granted during the year ended 31st March, 1904, and payable under the provisions of Section 9 (1) of the Civil List Act, 1901 .. ..

Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table 944

Light Railways Bill [H.L.]. [SECOND READING].—Order of the day for the Second Reading read.

Lord Wolverton 944

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª."—(*Lord Wolverton.*)

The Acting Chairman of Committees (*Lord Balfour of Burleigh*) 945

On Question, Bill read 2ª, and committed to a Committee of the Whole House on Tuesday next.

Merchant Shipping Bill [H.L.].

Moved, "That the House do go into Committee on the Bill."—(*Lord Wolverton.*)

The Earl of Wemyss 945

On Question, Motion agreed to

House in Committee (according to order).

Clause 1.

Lord Ellenborough 946

Amendment moved—

"In page 1, lines 5 and 6, to leave out the words 'nineteen hundred and seven,' and to insert the words 'nineteen hundred and six.'"—(*Lord Ellenborough.*)

Lord Wolverton 947
Lord Ellenborough 947

Amendment, by leave of the House, withdrawn.

The Earl of Wemyss 947

Amendment moved—

"In page 1, line 6, to leave out from the word 'seven,' to the end of the sub-section, and to insert the words 'the Board of Trade may, by regulations made under this Act, prescribe that a duly certificated cook shall be provided to such British foreign-going ships of 1,000 tons and upwards net registered tonnage, and upon such voyages from any place in the United Kingdom, as the Board of Trade may determine, and after 31st day of December, one thousand nine hundred and seven, a duly certificated cook shall be provided accordingly.'"—(*The Earl of Wemyss.*)

Lord Wolverton 948

Amendment, by leave of the House, withdrawn.

The Earl of Wemyss 948

Amendment moved—

"In page 1, line 17, to leave out the words 'shall be a seafaring man and.'"—(*The Earl of Wemyss.*)

Amendment, by leave of the House, withdrawn.

Amendment moved—

"In page 1, line 7, to leave out the word 'gross' and to insert the word 'net.'"—(*The Earl of Wemyss.*)

Lord Muskerry 949
Lord Avebury 949
Lord Heneage 950
The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (*The Marquess of Lansdowne*) 950

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

Amendment moved—

"In page 1, line 18, after the word 'cook,' to insert the words 'or cook and steward.'"—(*The Earl of Wemyss.*)

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On Question, Amendment agreed to.

Lord Muskerry 951

Amendment moved—

"In page 1, line 21, after '1894,' to insert as new sub-sections :—

'(4) Should a charge of negligence, misconduct, or incompetency against a ship's cook be made in writing by the master of the ship to a superintendent of a mercantile marine office, this charge shall forthwith be inquired into by the superintendent.

'(5) Should the superintendent, after referring to the official log of the ship and hearing the evidence of competent witnesses from amongst the ship's crew, consider the charge substantiated, he shall submit the matter to the Board of Trade, who are thereupon empowered to cancel or suspend the certificate of the said cook for so long a period as may be deemed requisite.' "—(*Lord Muskerry.*)

Lord Wolverton 951
Lord Muskerry 951
The Earl of Wemyss 952

Amendment moved—

'In page 1, line 28, after the word 'section,' to insert the words 'and there is no sufficient reason for the failure to comply with the requirements.' "—(*The Earl of Wemyss.*)

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

Clause 1, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 2.

The Earl of Wemyss 952

Amendment moved—

"In page 2, line 7, to leave out the word 'twenty-one,' and to insert the word 'thirty.' "—(*The Earl of Wemyss.*)

Lord Wolverton .. ..

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

Lord Ellenborough 953

Amendment moved—

"In page 2, line 8, to insert the following sub-sections :—

'(1.) After the 31st of December, 1906, the master of every ship that comes under the previous clauses of this Act, shall, during the voyage, including the time of detention at any place before the termination thereof, issue to each seaman an allowance of four quarts of pure water, and sweet and wholesome provisions of good quality in accordance with the dietary scale contained in the appendix to the Report of the Mercantile Marine Committee made on the 7th of May, 1903, which shall have effect as if they were contained in this section.

‘ (2.) The Board of Trade may, by notice published in *The London Gazette*, add to the dietary scale in the said appendix, any dietary scale which in their opinion contains in the whole the same amount of wholesome nutriment as the scale in that appendix, and any dietary scale so added, inclusive of any regulations relating thereto, shall have effect as if they were contained in the said appendix, as an alternative of the dietary scale therein contained.

‘ (3.) If any requirement of this section is not complied with in the case of any ship coming under the operation of this Act, the master or owner of the ship shall, for each offence, be liable to a fine not exceeeding £50.

‘ (4.) The Board of Trade, if satisfied that the food provided on board the ships belonging to certain companies or owners, or on board single ships, is superior to the food required by this part of this Act, may, at any time, exempt for twelve months, or for a less period, all ships belonging to such companies or owners, and single ships also, from any requirement of this part of this Act with respect to food in such manner and upon such conditions as the Board think fit.’ ”—(*Lord Ellenborough.*)

Lord Wolverton 955
Lord Ellenborough 956

Amendment, by leave of the House, withdrawn.

Clause 2, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 3.

Lord Ellenborough 956

“ In page 2, line 9, to leave out the words ‘ nineteen hundred and seven,’ and to insert the words ‘ nineteen hundred and five.’ ”—(*Lord Ellenborough.*)

Lord Wolverton 957
Lord Ellenborough 957
Lord Muskerry 957

Amendment, by leave of the House, withdrawn.

Clause 3 agreed to.

Clause 4.

The Earl of Wemyss 958

Amendment moved—

“ In page 2, line 19, after the word ‘ wilfully ’ to insert the words ‘ or through misconduct.’ ”—(*The Earl of Wemyss.*)

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

Clause 4, as amended, agreed to.

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Remaining clause agreed to, and Bill reported with Amendments to the House.

Bill re-committed to the Standing Committee, and to be printed, as amended. (No. 116.)

Reserve Forces Bill [H.L.].—House in Committee (according to order).

Clause 1 agreed to.

Clause 2.

Lord Monkswell 958

Amendment moved—

"In page 2, line 8, after the word 'repealed' to insert the words 'provided that no cavalry Reservist shall, without his consent, be appointed or transferred to any unmounted branch of the service except the Remount Department, and that no Reservist in any unmounted branch of the service shall, without his consent, be appointed or transferred to any mounted branch of the service.'"—(*Lord Monkswell.*)

The Under-Secretary of State for War (*The Earl of Donoughmore*) 960

Amendment, by leave of the House, withdrawn.

Lord Monkswell 962

Amendment moved—

"In page 2, line 9, to leave out the words 'without his consent.'"—(*Lord Monkswell.*)

The Earl of Donoughmore 962
Lord Heneage 962
The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (*The Marquess of Lansdowne*) 963
The Marquess of Ripon 964

Amendment, by leave of the House, withdrawn.

Amendment moved—

"In page 2, line 10, to leave out the words 'belonging to the Army Reserve' and to insert the word 'enlisted.'"—(*Lord Monkswell.*)

The Earl of Donoughmore 965
Lord Monkswell 965

Amendment, by leave of the House, withdrawn.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 2, to leave out Clause 2."—(*Lord Heneage.*)

The Earl of Donoughmore 965

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On Question, Amendment negatived.

Bill reported, without Amendment, and re-committed to the Standing Committee.

The Earl of Donoughmore 965

Re-Vaccination Bill [H.L.]—House in Committee (according to order).

Moved, " To leave out the Preamble."—(*The Duke of Northumberland.*)

On Question, Preamble omitted.

Bill re-committed to the Standing Committee; and to be printed as amended. (No. 117.)

The Marquess of Ripon 966
The Marquess of Lansdowne 966
The Duke of Northumberland 966

Married Women's Property Act (1882) Amendment Bill [H.L.]; Naval and Military Medals Bill [H.L.].—Read 3^a (according to order), and passed, and sent to the Commons 967

House adjourned at a quarter before Six o'clock, till To-morrow, half-past Ten o'clock

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HOUSE OF COMMONS: THURSDAY, 23RD JUNE, 1904.

The House met at Two of the Clock.

UNOPPOSED PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

PRIVATE BILLS [LORDS] (STANDING ORDERS NOT PREVIOUSLY INQUIRED INTO COMPLIED WITH).—Mr. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in the case of the following Bill, originating in the Lords, and referred on the First Reading thereof, the Standing Orders not previously inquired into, and which are applicable thereto, have been complied with, viz. :-

Liverpool and Wigan Churches Bill [Lords].

Ordered, That the Bill be read a second time 967

Preston, Chorley, and Horwich Tramways Bill [LORDS].—Read the third time, and passed, with Amendments 968

Leicestershire and Warwickshire Electric Power Bill [LORDS].—As amended, considered; to be read the third time 968

Leith Corporation Tramways Order Confirmation Bill.—Ordered, That the Select Committee on the Leith Corporation Tramways Order Confirmation Bill do consist of three Members, to be nominated by the Committee of Selection, to be joined with a Committee of the Lords. Ordered, That a Message be sent to the Lords to acquaint them therewith, and to request that they will be pleased to appoint an equal number of Lords to be joined with the Members of this House.—(*Mr. Caldwell.*) 968

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MESSAGE FROM THE LORDS.—That they have agreed to—South-Western and Isle of Wight Junction Railway (Extension of Time) Bill, with an Amendment; London, Tilbury, and Southend Railway Bill; Harrow Road and Paddington Tramways Bill; Bexhill Water and Gas Bill, with Amendments.

That they have agreed to—Amendments to Tynemouth Gas Bill [Lords]; Preston, Chorley, and Horwich Tramways Bill [Lords]; Barnard Castle Gas Bill [Lords]; St. Bartholomew's Hospital Bill [Lords]; without Amendment.

That they have passed a Bill, intituled, "An Act to confirm a Provisional Order made by the Board of Trade, under the Railway and Canal Traffic Act, 1888, containing the Schedule of Maximum Rates and Charges applicable to the Regent's Canal." [Canal Rates and Charges (Regents Canal) Order Confirmation Bill [Lords] 968

Canal Rates and Charges (Regents Canal) Order Confirmation Bill [LORDS].—Read the first time; referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, and to be printed. [Bill 238] 968

PETITIONS.

LICENSING BILL.—Petitions against; from Abbotts Bromley; Acrefair; Alpraham; Altarnun; Anwick; Ashopton; Ashton in Makerfield (four); Baptist Mills; Barnet; Bealbury; Beeford; Birds Royd; Billinghay; Birmingham (two); Blackburn; Blackpool (three); Blaydon on Tyne; Bolton (four); Brant Broughton; Brighouse; Bristol; Brynn (four); Builth Wells; Bunbury; Burraton; Burslem; Callington; Castle Hayes; Caterham on the Hill; Catford; Caythorpe; Cefn Mawr; Chasetown; Choppington; Coedpoeth (five); Crafthole; Cresswell; Cwm; Cwmayfiog; Devoran; Digby; Ditton; Dorrington; Driffield; Eaton; Earlestown; East Denbighshire; Ellaston; Erdington; Etruria; Exming; Falsgrave (two); Farnworth; Fyn nongwen; Fishponds; Fleetwood; Forest Gate; Fulbeck; Garton on the Wolds; Gillingham; Golberdon; Gronant; Gwaenysgor; Gwespyr; Hale Magna; Halifax (two); Heaton; Heckington; Hetton Downs; Holmbush; Horden; Hough Green; Hull (two); Hutton Cranswick; Ilford; Johnstown; Kelsall; Kentish Town; Kilhampton; Kirby Muxloe; Landrake; Landulph; Langwith; Leadenham; Leeds; Lewisham; Lincoln (two); Littleborough; Littleworth; Llanasa; Lockington; London; Long Eaton (two); Low Fell; Lund; Maidenhead; Malvern Link (two); Manor Park; Marchington Woodlands; Marshgate; Marton; Metherington; Mostyn; Mouldsworth; National British Women's Temperance Association; Newborough; Newbiggin by the Sea; New Brompton; North Dalton; North Frodingham; North Kyme; North Wales and Cheshire; Northwich; Osbournby; Pelton Fell; Pendleton; Penyffordd; Perranwell; Pitton; Plymouth; Polyphant; Port Clarence; Poulton le Fylde (two); Rafferton; Ranceby; Rhosllanerchgrugog; Rochester; Rushington; St. Dominic; St. Germans; St. Ive; St. Ives (Hunts.); Saltash; Sandiacre; Scarborough (two); Scopwick; Scredington; Seaton Sluice (two); Sheffield; Sleaford; Sledmere; South Gosforth; South Kyme; Springburn; Stapleford; Stockton-on-Tees; Stoke Climsland; Stoke Golding; Stone; Stromness; Sydenham; Tanvats; Tarvin; Thornaby on Tees; Tibthorpe; Tideswell; Timberland; Trebullett; Trematon; Trenavin; Upholland; Uttoxeter; Uxbridge (two); Walbottle; Walcot; Wallsend; Warmley; Wellbourn; Wellingore; Westborough; Wetwang; Whitwell; Widmore; Widnes; (two); Willington Quay; Windsor (two); and Woodlands; to lie upon the Table 969

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LICENSING BILL.—Petition from Darwen ; for alteration ; to lie upon the Table .. 970

VALUATION BILL.—Petitions for alteration ; from Cuckfield ; Darwen ; East Retford ; Foleshill ; and Salford ; to lie upon the Table 970

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

TOBACCO (RATES OF DRAWBACK).—Copy presented, of Reports, with Minutes of Evidence, of the Inter-Departmental Committee appointed by the Treasury, to inquire into the Rates of Drawback on Tobacco [by Command] ; to lie upon the Table 970

CIVIL LIST PENSIONS.—Copy presented, of list of all Pensions granted during the year ended 31st March, 1904, and payable under the provisions of Sections 9 (1) of the Civil List Act, 1901 [by Act] ; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 218.] 970

SUPERANNUATION ACT, 1884.—Copy presented, of Treasury Minute, dated 20th June, 1904, declaring that William Donnelly, Leading Hand, Royal Laboratory, War Office, was appointed without a Civil Service certificate through inadvertence on the part of the head of his Department [by Act] : to lie upon the Table 970

TRADE REPORTS (ANNUAL SERIES).—Copies presented, of Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Annual Series, Nos. 3192 and 3193 [by Command] ; to lie upon the Table 970

FINANCE ACCOUNTS.—Copy presented, of Finance Accounts of the United Kingdom for the year ended 31st March, 1904 [by Act] ; to lie upon the Table and to be printed. [No. 219] 970

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

DOCKING (NORFOLK) WORKHOUSE—BEER ALLOWANCE FOR SICK INMATES.—Question, Mr. Lough (Islington, W.) ; Answer, Mr. Walter Long 971

STATISTICS OF ANIMAL DISEASE.—Question, Mr. Lambert (Devonshire, South Molton) ; Answer, Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes 971

EXPENDITURE IN DEALING WITH ANIMAL DISEASE.—Question, Mr. Lambert ; Answer, Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes 973

MARGARINE SUPPLIED AS BUTTER TO MERCHANT SEAMEN.—Question, Mr. Gilhooly (Cork, County W.) ; Answer, Mr. Gerald Balfour 973

ALLEGED INACCURACIES IN PAROCHIAL MEDICAL OFFICERS' (SCOTLAND) RETURN.—Question, Mr. Weir (Ross and Cromarty) ; Answer, Mr. A. Graham Murray 974

CIVIL SERVICE WRITERS, PROMOTED TO SENIOR ASSISTANT CLERKSHIPS.—Question, Mr. Thornton (Clapham) ; Answer, Mr. Victor Cavendish 974

EXTENSION OF COUNTY COURT JURISDICTION—FORTHCOMING LEGISLATION.—Question, Dr. Shipman (Northampton) ; Answer, Sir Robert Finlay .. 975

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Naas Petty Sessions—Action of Colonel Wogan Browne, J.P.—Question, Mr. Leamy (Kildare, N.); Answer, Mr. Atkinson 975

Consular Vote—Payment for Commercial Intelligence.—Question, Mr. Moon (St. Pancras, N.); Answer, Earl Percy 976

Delimitation of Anglo-German Boundary in Central Africa—Amount of Estimate.—Question, Mr. Moon; Answer, Earl Percy 976

Post Office Officials—Date from which Seniority is reckoned.—Question, Mr. Broadhurst (Leicester); Answer, Lord Stanley 976

Hours of Duty in Belturbet Post Office.—Question, Mr. Sloan (Belfast, S.); Answer, Lord Stanley 977

Indebtedness of Borough Councils—Basis of Calculations.—Question, Sir John Rolleston (Leicester); Answer, Mr. Walter Long 977

By-laws under the Employment of Children Act, 1903.—Question, Mr. Tennant (Berwickshire); Answer, Mr. Akers Douglas 977

Liability of Colonial Firms with London Agencies for Income Tax.—Question, Sir George Bartley (Islington, N.); Answer, Mr. Austen Chamberlain 978

Seaborne Trade of India.—Question, Sir John Leng (Dundee); Answer, Mr. Brodrick 978

Police Force in India.—Question, Mr. Herbert Roberts (Denbighshire, W.); Answer, Mr. Brodrick 979

Maintenance of Magdalene Tower, Drogheda.—Question, Mr. Sloan; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 979

Religious Meetings at Belfast Custom House Steps.—Question, Mr. Joseph Devlin (Kilkenny, N.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 980

Ventilation of Pressing Rooms at Royal Army Clothing Factory.—Question, Sir Charles Dilke (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean); Answer, Mr. Bromley Davenport 981

Long Service Medal—Claim of Squadron Sergeant-Major Styles.—Question, Mr. Peel (Manchester, S.); Answer, Mr. Arnold-Forster 981

Reference Libraries for Military Station Messes.—Question, Colonel Wyndham Murray (Bath); Answer, Mr. Arnold-Forster 982

Officers Musketry Course—Payment of Travelling Expenses.—Question, Colonel Wyndham Murray; Answer, Mr. Arnold-Forster 982

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE.

Vacant Staff Appointments at the War Office.—Question, Captain Norton (Newington, W.); Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. Arnold Forster, Belfast, W.) 983

The Second Army Corps.—Question, Mr. Walter Palmer (Salisbury); Answer Mr. Arnold-Forster 983

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SOLDIERS AND THE HARVEST.—Question, Mr. H. D. Greene (Shrewsbury); Answer, Mr. Arnold-Forster 983

ADMIRALTY YACHT "ENCHANTRESS."—Questions, Mr. Gibson Bowles (Lynn Regis); Answers, The Secretary to the Admiralty (Mr. Pretyman, Suffolk, Woodbridge) 984

RESIGNATION OF SIR CHARLES ELIOT.—Questions, Mr Bayley (Derbyshire, Chesterfield) and Sir Charles Dilke (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean); Answers, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Earl Percy, Kensington, S.) 985

CHINESE LABOUR AND BERI-BERI.—Questions, Mr. Johnson (Gateshead) and Captain Norton; Answers, The Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. Lyttelton, Warwick and Leamington) 986

LICENSED BRITISH INDIAN TRADERS IN SOUTH AFRICA.—Question, Sir Manchergee Bhownaggree (Bethnal Green, N.E.) and Mr. Gibson Bowles; Answers, Mr. Lyttelton 987

CHINESE LABOUR FOR THE TRANSVAAL.—Questions, Mr. Sydney Buxton (Tower Hamlets, Poplar) and Mr. Bryn Roberts (Carnarvonshire, Eifion); Answers, Mr. Lyttelton 988

TRANSVAAL GOVERNMENT LOAN.—Questions, Mr. Buchanan (Perthshire, E.) and Mr. Whitley (Halifax); Answers, Mr. Lyttelton 988

THE GOLD MINE PROFIT TAX IN THE TRANSVAAL.—Questions, Mr. Whitley; Answers, Mr. Lyttelton 989

THE TRANSVAAL GUARANTEED LOAN.—Questions, Mr. Whitley; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Austen Chamberlain, Worcestershire, E.) 990

"THE TIMES" IN GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS.—Questions, Mr. Markham (Nottinghamshire, Mansfield) and Mr. MacVeagh (Down, S.); Answers, The Financial Secretary of the Treasury (Mr. Victor Cavendish, Derbyshire, W.) 990

BURGLARY AT GOLDEN SUB-POST-OFFICE, COUNTY TIPPERARY.—Questions, Mr. Cullinan (Tipperary, S.); Answers, The Postmaster-General (Lord Stanley, Lancashire, Westhoughton) and the Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. Wyndham, Dover) 991

PORTERAGE ON TELEGRAMS TO IRISHTOWN, COUNTY MAYO.—Question, Mr. John O'Donnell (Mayo, S.); Answer, Lord Stanley 992

COMMERCIAL MISSIONS TO GERMANY AND THE UNITED STATES.—Question, Mr. Guest (Plymouth); Answer, The President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Gerald Balfour (Leeds, Central) 992

PROTECTION OF LIVE RAILS ON ELECTRIC RAILWAYS.—Question, Mr. Renwick (Newcastle-on-Tyne); Answer, Mr. Gerald Balfour 992

STEAMBOATS RACING ON THE RIVER.—Question, Sir Harry Samuel (Tower Hamlets, Limehouse); Answer, Mr. Gerald Balfour 993

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The Publication of Convictions.—Question, Mr. Markham; Answer, Mr. Gerald Balfour 993

Turbine Engines on Cunard Steamships built with Government Money.—Question, Mr. Markham; Answer, Mr. Gerald Balfour 994

South-Eastern and Chatham Railway Company.—Question, Mr. Markham; Answer, Mr. Gerald Balfour 994

English Proof Marks on Foreign made Barrels and Firearms.—Questions, Mr. Jesse Collings (Birmingham, Bordesley), and Mr. Gibson Bowles; Answers, Mr. Gerald Balfour 995

Small-pox in North Staffordshire.—Question, Mr. Coghill (Stoke-upon-Trent); Answer, The President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Walter Long, Bristol, S.) 996

Municipal Trading Accounts.—Question, Sir Gilbert Parker (Gravesend); Answer, Mr. Walter Long 997

Applications for Land Sales in County Longford.—Question, Mr. J. P. Farrell (Longford, N.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 997

Colonel White's Estate, County Clare.—Question, Mr. Sheehy (Meath, S.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 998

Lord Oranmore's Estate, County Mayo.—Question, Mr. John O'Donnell; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 998

Major Hely's Estate.—Question, Mr. Joseph Devlin; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 999

Future Tenants in Ireland.—Question, Mr. John O'Donnell; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 999

Sale of Land in Ballenrole Union, County Mayo.—Question, Mr. John O'Donnell; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 1000

Colonel Browne's Estate, County Dublin.—Question, Mr. John O'Donnell; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 1000

Natural History Museum, Dublin.—Increase of Staff.—Question, Mr. Boland (Kerry, S.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 1001

The Case of Constable Anderson.—Question, Mr. Sloan; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 1001

Police Visits in County Cork.—Questions, Mr. Flynn (Cork County, N.); Answers, Mr. Wyndham 1001

Atnell Estate, County Tyrone.—Question, Mr. T. W. Russell (Tyrone, S.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 1002

National School at Rathview, Dundalk.—Question, Mr. Thomas O'Donnell (Kerry, W.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 1003

Ringrove National School.—Question, Mr. Thomas O'Donnell; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 1003

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IRISH FAIR RENT APPEALS IN KILLARNEY.—Question, Mr. Thomas O'Donnell; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 1003

ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY.—Question, Mr. Cullinan; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 1004

TOWN TENANTS IN IRELAND.—Question, Mr. Sheehan (Cork County, Mid.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 1004

POLICE ARRANGEMENTS AT BALLINGEARY, COUNTY CORK.—Question, Mr. Sheehan; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 1004

RE-INSTATEMENT OF EVICTED TENANTS ON THE WARDEN ESTATE, COUNTY KERRY.—Questions, Mr. Boland; Answers, Mr. Wyndham 1005

TRINITY COLLEGE LANDS COMMISSION.—Questions, Mr. Murphy (Kerry, E.); Answers, Mr. Wyndham 1006

PIERS IN THE DINGLE UNION.—Questions, Mr. Thomas O'Donnell; Answers, Mr. Wyndham 1006

CONSTRUCTION OF PIER AT MINARD.—Question, Mr. Thomas O'Donnell; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 1007

BOYS' NATIONAL SCHOOL, COALISLAND.—Question, Mr. Doogan (Tyrone, E.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 1007

LORD SHAFTESBURY'S VISIT TO COUNTY KERRY.—Question, Mr. Murphy; wer, Mr. Wyndham 1008

TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN.—Question, Captain Donelan (Cork County, E.); Answer, The Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. A. J. Balfour, Manchester, E.) 1008

REDISTRIBUTION OF SEATS.—Question, Mr. Coghill; Answer, Mr. A. J. Balfour 1010

EFFECTIVE WARLIKE PREPARATIONS.—Question, Mr. J. F. Hope (Sheffield, Brightside); Answer, Mr. A. J. Balfour 1010

SOUTHWARK AND BIRMINGHAM BISHOPRICS BILL.—Question, Mr. Thornton; Answer, Mr. A. J. Balfour 1011

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.—Questions, Mr. John Redmond (Waterford), Mr. Bryce (Aberdeen, S.), and Mr. Winston Churchill (Oldham); Answers, Mr. A. J. Balfour 1011

QUESTIONS TO MEMBERS.—Questions, Mr. Winston Churchill; Answers, Mr. Speaker 1013

NEW MEMBER SWORN.—John Williams Benn, esquire, for the Borough of Devonport. 1014

Electric Lighting (London) Bill.—Reported, from the Select Committee, with Minutes of Evidence.

Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 22.]

Bill, as amended, re-committed to a Committee of the Whole House for Monday next, and to be printed. [Bill 237.] 1014

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NEW BILL.

Crown Lands Bill.—"To amend the Crown Lands Acts, 1829 to 1894," presented by Mr. Victor Cavendish; supported by Sir A. Acland-Hood; to be read a second time upon Tuesday next, and to be printed. [Bill 239] .. 1015

THE CHAIRMAN OF WAYS AND MEANS.—The Clerk at the Table informed the House of the unavoidable absence of the Chairman of Ways and Means .. 1015

SUPPLY [14TH ALLOTTED DAY].

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[Mr. JEFFREYS (Hampshire, N.) in the Chair.]

CIVIL SERVICES AND REVENUE DEPARTMENTS ESTIMATES, 1904–5. CLASS II.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £110,406, be granted to His Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1905, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Department of Agriculture and other Industries and Technical Instruction for Ireland, and of the services administered by that Department, including sundry Grants in Aid."

Mr. J. P. Farrell (*Longford, N.*) 1015

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum not exceeding £110,306, be granted for the said Service."—(*Mr. Farrell.*)

Mr. Coghill (*Stoke-upon-Trent*) 1022
Mr. Flynn (*Cork County, N.*) 1022
Mr. Elliot (*Durham*) 1026
Colonel Nolan (*Galway, N.*) 1030
Sir James Haslett (*Belfast, N.*) 1032
Mr. Mooney (*Dublin Co., N.*) 1037
Colonel Saunderson (*Armagh, N.*) 1038
Mr. Cullinan (*Tipperary, S.*) 1043
Mr. Bryce (*Aberdeen, S.*) 1046
Mr. Charles Craig (*Antrim, S.*) 1048
Mr Haviland Burke (*Kings Co., Tullamore*) 1050
Mr. T. W. Russell (*Tyrone, S.*) 1052
Mr. Jordan (*Fermanagh, S.*) 1055
Mr. Parker Smith (*Lanarkshire, Partick*) 1056
Mr. Ffrench (*Wexford, S.*) 1057
Mr. Murphy (*Kerry, E.*) 1059

And it being half-past Seven of the clock, the Chairman left the Chair to make his Report to the House.

Committee report Progress; to sit again this evening.

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EVENING SITTING.

Maidenhead Bridge Bill [Lords] (By Order).

Dr. Shipman (Northampton) 1060
Mr. Theodore Taylor (Lancashire, Radcliffe) 1062

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That it be an Instruction to the Committee on the Bill to insert a clause directing the Corporation of Maidenhead to pay as costs, under Section 28, the balance of the actual out-of-pocket expenses incurred by Joseph Taylor, of Eton, Buckinghamshire, incidental to and arising from the inquiry held by the Charity Commissioners on the 18th November, 1902, after deducting therefrom £35 19s. received by him from public subscriptions, and in case of difference the amount of those expenses to be taxed in the manner provided by the said section."—(*Dr. Shipman*).

Mr. Gardner (Berkshire, Wokingham) 1062
Mr. Cripps (Lancashire, Stretford) 1064
Mr. Toulmin (Bury, Lancashire) 1064
Sir Frederick Banbury (Camberwell, Peckham) 1064

Question put.

The House divided :—Ayes, 85 ; Noes 69. (Division List No. 172).

Supply [14th Allotted Day].

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee).

[Mr. Jeffreys (Hampshire, N.) in the Chair].

Civil Services and Revenue Departments Estimates, 1904–5.—Class II.

Motion made and Question proposed, "That a sum not exceeding £110,406 be granted to His Majesty to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1905, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Department of Agriculture and other Industries and Technical Instruction for Ireland, and of the services administered by that Department, including sundry Grants-in-Aid."

Mr. Murphy 1067

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £110,306, be granted for the said Service."—(*Mr. Murphy*).

The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. Wyndham, Dover) 1069
Mr. Joseph Devlin 1078
Mr. Delany (Queen's County, Ossory) 1081
Mr. Field (Dublin, St. Patrick) 1083

Question put.

The Committee divided :—Ayes. 76 ; Noes 146. (Division List No. 173.)

Original Question put, and agreed to.

Resolution to be reported upon Monday next ; Committee to sit again upon Monday next.

PRIVILEGES.

Ordered, That the Committee of Privileges do consist of Seven Members.

The Committee was accordingly nominated of—Mr. Attorney-General, Mr. Balfour, Mr. Blake, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, Sir William Hart Dyke, Mr. John Edward Ellis. and Mr. Halsey.

Ordered, That the Committee have power to send for persons, papers, and records.

Ordered, That Five be the quorum.—(*Sir A. Acland-Hood.*) 1087

Adjourned at twelve minutes after Twelve o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS : FRIDAY, 24TH JUNE, 1904.

COMMISSION.—The following Bills received the Royal Assent :—

1. Metropolitan Common Scheme (Hillingdon East) Provisional Order.
2. Metropolitan Common Scheme (Farnborough) Provisional Order.
3. Metropolitan Police Provisional Order.
4. Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 1).
5. Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 2).
6. Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 3).
7. Local Government Provisional Order (Poor Law).
8. Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 1).
9. New Zealand Loan and Mercantile Agency Company.
10. Great Northern and City Railway (Extension of time).
11. Corbridge Gas.
12. Norwich Water.
13. Weston-super-Mare Grand Pier.
14. Barry Railway (Extension of Time), etc.
15. Victoria University of Manchester.
16. Sutton Gas.
17. Bishop's Stortford and District Gas.
18. Hampton-in-Arden Gas.
19. Ipswich Dock Commission.
20. Great Eastern Railway (Steamboats).
21. Huddersfield Corporation Act, 1902 (Amendment).
22. Metropolitan Railway.

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23. West Metropolitan Railway (Abandonment).
24. Wellington (Somerset) Gas.
25. Kettering Improvement.
26. Gosport Water.
27. Amersham, Beaconsfield, and District Water.
28. Cambrian Railways.
29. Nuneaton and Chilvers Coton Urban District Council.
30. Ryde Gas.
31. Blyth and Cowpen Gas.
32. Whitby Gas.
33. Harlow and Sawbridgeworth Gas.
34. Sheppy Gas.
35. Govan Burgh (Electricity).
36. Liverpool and London and Globe Insurance Company.
37. University of Leeds.
38. York Town and Blackwater Gas.
39. Chesterfield Corporation (Tramways and Improvements).
40. Croydon Gas.
41. Chippenham Gas.
42. Elysée Palace Hotel Company, Limited.
43. St. Marylebone Electric Lighting.
44. Colney Hatch Gas.
45. Gomersal Gas.
46. North Staffordshire Railway.
47. Chesterfield Gas and Water Board.
48. Marylebone Chapels (St. James, Westmoreland Street).
49. South Staffordshire Mines Drainage.
50. New River Company.
51. Kirby-in-Ashfield Urban District Gas.
52. Brixham Gas.
53. Littlestone-on-Sea and District Water.
54. Acton Improvement.
55. Midland Railway.
56. Lancashire Electric Power.
57. Tynemouth Gas.
58. Preston, Chorley, and Horwich Tramways.
59. Barnard Castle Gas.
60. St. Bartholomew's Hospital. 1089

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

The Lord Chancellor acquainted the House, That the Clerk of the Parliaments had laid upon the Table the Certificates from the Examiners that the

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further Standing Orders applicable to the following Bills have been complied with :—Leyton Urban District Council ; Swindon Corporation ; Clyde Navigation (Works).

The same were ordered to lie on the Table 1090

Edwardes Square Protection Bill [H.L.].—The Bill not having been read a second time within the lime limited by Standing Order No. 91. Ordered, That the Bill be not further proceeded with 1090

Donegal Railway Bill; Mullingar, Kells, and Drogheda Railway Bill.—Read 3ª, and passed 1090

Barry Railway (Steam Vessels) Bill [H.L.]—Read 3ª, and passed, and sent to the Commons 1091

Great Northern Railway Bill.—Read 3ª, with the Amendments, and passed, and returned to the Commons 1091

Tramways Orders Confirmation (No. 2) Bill [H.L.].—Reported from the Select Committee, with Amendments, and committed to a Committee of the Whole House on Monday next 1091

Ilford Urban District Council Bill [H.L.]; Great Central Railway Bill.—The King's consent signified ; and Bills reported from the Select Committee with Amendments 1091

Manchester Corporation (General Powers) Bill [H.L.].—Reported from the Select Committee, with Amendments 1091

Bristol Tramways (Extensions) Bill [H.L.].—Reported, with Amendments 1091

Leith Corporation Tramways Order Confirmation Bill.—Message from the Commons, That they have appointed a Committee to consist of three members to join with a Committee of this House to consider the Leith Corporation Tramways Order Confirmation Bill, and to request this House to appoint an equal number of Lords to be joined with the Members of their House. The said message to be considered on Monday next 1091

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 5) Bill [H.L.].—Amendments reported (according to order), and Bill to be read 3ª on Monday next .. 1091

Education Board Provisional Order (Swansea) Bill; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 5) Bill ; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 6) Bill ; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 7) Bill ; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 8) Bill ; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 12) Bill ; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 14) Bill ; Local Government Provisional Order (No. 15) Bill ; Local Government Provisional Orders (Gas) Bill.—Read 3ª (according to order), and passed .. 1091

Gas Orders Confirmation (No. 2) Bill [H.L.].—Read 3ª (according to order), and passed, and sent to the Commons 1092

PETITIONS.

SUPPLY OF ELECTRICITY BILL [H.L.].—Petition against ; of Sunderland Corporation. Read, and ordered to lie on the Table 1092

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

DOGS REGULATION (IRELAND) ACT, 1865.—Accounts of receipts and expenditure under the Act, for the year 1903. 1092

FINES, ETC. (IRELAND).—Abstract of accounts and fines accounted for by the Registrar of Petty Sessions Clerks, for the year 1902.

Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table 1092

Irish Land Bill [H.L.].—[SECOND READING.]—Order of the day for the Second Reading read.

Lord Muskerry 1092

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2^{a}."—(*Lord Muskerry.*)

The Earl of Crewe 1099
The Lord Chancellor (The Earl of Halsbury) 1099
The Duke of Abercorn 1100
The Earl of Denbigh 1101
Lord Clonbrook 1102
Lord Muskerry 1102

On Question, Motion negatived.

IRISH LOANS—

Lord Oranmore and Browne 1104
The Lord Privy Seal (The Marquess of Salisbury) 1106

THE CHINESE COOLIES AND BERI-BERI—

The Marquess of Ripon 1107
The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (The Marquess of Lansdowne) 1110
Lord Tweedmouth 1111
Lord Stanley of Alderley 1111
Earl Cadogan 1112

House adjourned at five minutes before Six o'clock to Monday next, a quarter before Eleven o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS: FRIDAY, 24TH JUNE, 1904.

The House met at Twelve of the Clock.

ROYAL COMMISSION.

Message to attend the Lords Commissioners.

The House went; and, being returned,

MR. SPEAKER reported the Royal Assent to a number of Bills (see pages 1089 and 1090) 1113

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UNOPPOSED PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

PRIVATE BILLS [LORDS] (STANDING ORDERS NOT PREVIOUSLY INQUIRED INTO COMPLIED WITH).—Mr. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in the case of the following Bill, originating in the Lords, and referred on the First Reading thereof, the Standing Orders not previously inquired into, and which are applicable thereto, have been complied with, viz. :—Stretford Urban District Council Bill [Lords]

Ordered, That the Bill be read a second time 1113

Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire Electric Powers Bill [LORDS]; Preston Corporation Water Bill [Lords]; Shipley Urban District Council Bill [Lords]; Ticehurst and District Water and Gas Bill [Lords]; As amended, considered; to be read the third time 1113

Educational Board Provisional Order (Cardiff) Bill.—Reported, with Amendments (Title amended) [Provisional Order relating to Newport not proceeded with; remaining Order confirmed]; Report to lie upon the Table.

Bill, as amended, to be considered upon Monday next 1113

Education Board Provisional Order Confirmation (London) Bill [LORDS]. —Reported, with Amendments [Provisional Order confirmed]; Report to lie upon the Table.

Bill, as amended, to be considered upon Monday next 1113

Drainage and Improvement of Lands (Ireland) Provisional Order Bill. —Reported, without Amendment [Provisional Order confirmed]; Report to lie upon the Table.

Bill to be read the third time upon Monday next 1114

Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 1) Bill.—Reported with Amendments [Provisional Orders confirmed]; Report to lie upon the Table.

Bill, as amended, to be considered upon Monday next 1114

Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 2) Bill.—Reported, with Amendments [Provisional Orders confirmed]; Report to lie upon the Table.

Bill, as amended to be considered upon Monday next 1114

Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 3) Bill.—Reported with Amendments [Provisional Orders confirmed]; Report to lie upon the Table.

Bill, as amended, to be considered upon Monday next 1114

Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 4) Bill.—Reported without Amendment [Provisional Orders confirmed]; Report to lie upon the Table.

Bill to be read the third time upon Monday next 1114

Saddleworth and Springhead Tramways (Abandonment) Bill; Maidenhead Bridge Bill [Lords]; Minehead Urban District Council Water Bill [Lords]; Southport and Lytham Tramroad (Extension of Time) Bill [Lords]; Clyde Valley Electrical Power Bill [Lords]. Reported, with Amendments; Reports to lie upon the Table, and to be printed 1114

Manchester Ship Canal (Finance) Bill [LORDS]. Reported, without Amendment; Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed.

Bill to be read the third time 1114

PETITIONS.

LICENSING BILL.—Bill against; from Acklam; Allerthorpe; Allerton Bywater; Anston; Asfordley; Avonmouth; Barmby Moor; Bielby; Binstead; Bishop Wilton; Bolton; Bonby; Bothwell; Brentry; Brighton; Bristol (two); Broadway Hill; Brunswick; Bugthorpe; Calgaith; Carlisle; Cleaton Moor; Clifton; Clockface; Crowkerne; Dent; Dinnington; Dumfries; East Halton; Elvington; Essex; Fall Birch; Fangfoss; Filey; Fryup; Full Sutton; Glasgow (three); Glassonby; Goxhill; Great Broughton; Habrough; Hansonby; Hayton; Heaningley cum Burley; Hemswell; Hertford; High Catton; Hinton St. George; Hopton; Horkston; Horwich; Huggate; Hull; Ilminster; Ilton; Ingleton; Islington; Killingholme; Kingsbury Episcopi; Kirmington; Lanehead; Langwathby; Langworth; Larkhall; Ledbergh; Littlewick; Llanidloes; Lochans; Low Bentham; Low Gill; Market Harborough; Martock; Maryport (two); Melbourne; Melton Mowbray; Merriott; Misterton; Nettlecomb; New Barnet (three); Newton; Newtown; Norden; Normanton (two); Northampton; Norton Sub Hawdon; Nunburnholme; Parkgate; Pocklington; Ramsbottom; Redland; Robin Hood; Rotherham; Rothesay; Rothwell; Sandal; Saundersfoot; Scothern; Shirehampton; Sidbergh; Skipton (two); South Ferriby; South Petherton; Stockton-on-Tees; Stoke under Ham; Stourton; Stow; Sutton upon Derwent; Sykehouse; Thixendale; Thornton; Ulceby; Uncleby; Upper Haugh; Warter; West Chinnock; Winteringham; Witney; Woodsells; Worcester; and Yapham; to lie upon the Table 1115

LICENSING BILL.—Petitions for alteration; from Bideford; and Tiverton; to lie upon the Table 1115

TRADE MARKS BILL.—Petition from Birmingham, in favour; to lie upon the Table 1115

VALUATION BILL.—Petitions for alteration; from Boston; and Todmorden; to lie upon the Table 1115

RETURNS. REPORTS, ETC.

SMALL DWELLINGS ACQUISITION ACT, 1899 (IRELAND).—Return presented, relative ordered thereto [ordered 25th February; *Mr. O'Shaughnessy*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 221] 1116

DOGS REGULATION (IRELAND) ACT, 1865.—Account presented, of the Receipts and Expenditure under the Act for the year 1903 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 222] 1116

FINES, ETC. (IRELAND).—Copy presented, of Abstract of Accounts of Fines accounted for by the Registrar of Petty Sessions Clerks for 1902 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 223] 1116

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QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

BELFAST TRAMWAYS BILL.—Question, Mr. Joseph Devlin (Kilkenny, N.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 1117

POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT—SUGGESTED DISSOLUTION.—Question, Sir John Leng (Dundee); Answer, Mr. A. J. Balfour 1117

MACEDONIAN GENDARMERIE—PAYMENT TO COLONEL FAIRHOLME.—Question, Mr. Moon (St. Pancras, N.); Answer, Earl Percy 1117

EXPENDITURE OF MONEY VOTED FOR UNFORESEEN SERVICES.—Question, Mr. Moon; Answer, Earl Percy 1117

FLOGGING IN THE NAVY.—Question, Mr. Swift MacNeill (Donegal, S.); Answer, Mr. Pretyman 1118

TELEPHONIC COMMUNICATION TO NENAGH.—Question, Mr. P. J. O'Brien (Tipperary, N.); Answer, Lord Stanley 1118

EXPANDING BULLETS.—Questions, Mr. Swift MacNeill; Answers, Mr. Brodrick 1119

TRANSIT OF GRAIN IN INDIA.—Question, Sir Mancherjee Bhownaggree (Bethnal Green, N.E.); Answer, Mr. Brodrick 1119

EXPANDING BULLETS.—Question, Mr. Swift MacNeill; Answer, Mr. Arnold-Forster 1119

Labourers (Ireland) Bill.—[SECOND READING].—Order for the Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."

Mr. Murphy (*Kerry, E.*) 1120
Mr. William Moore (*Antrim, N.*) 1124
Mr. Sheehan (*Cork Co., Mid.*) 1133
Mr. Lonsdale (*Armagh, Mid.*) 1140
Mr. Clancy (*Dublin Co., N.*) 1144
Mr. Seymour Ormsby-Gore (*Lincolnshire, Gainsborough*) 1147
Mr. Vincent Kennedy (*Cavan, W.*) 1148
Colonel Saunderson (*Armagh, N.*) 1149
The Chief Secretary for Ireland (*Mr. Wyndham, Dover*) 1151
Mr. John Redmond (*Waterford*) 1157
Mr. Gordon (*Londonderry, S.*) 1159
Mr. Hemphill (*Tyrone, N.*) 1161
Mr. T. W. Russell (*Tyrone, S.*) 1162
Mr. O'Shee (*Waterford, W.*) 1165
Mr. Charles Craig (*Antrim, S.*) 1167

Mr. WYNDHAM rose in his place, and claimed to move, "That the Question be now put."

Question put, "That the Question be now put."

The House divided:—Ayes, 316; Noes, 27. (Division List No. 174.)

Question put accordingly, and agreed to.

Bill read a second time, and committed for Monday next.

REGISTRATION OF NURSES.—Ordered, That a Select Committee be appointed to consider the expediency of providing for the Registration of Nurses.

The Committee was accordingly nominated of: Dr. Robert Ambrose, Major Bagot, Sir Michael Foster, Mr. Arthur Henderson, Mr. Lyell, Mr. Malcolm, Viscount Morpeth, Mr. Pierpoint, Sir John Stirling-Maxwell, Mr. Tennant and Sir John Tuke.

Ordered, That the Committee have power to send for persons, papers and records.

Ordered, That Five be the quorum.—(*Sir A. Acland Hood.*) 1171

SELECTION (STANDING COMMITTEES).—Mr. HALSEY reported from the Committee of Selection; That they had discharged the following Members from the Standing Committee on Law, and Courts of Justice, and Legal Procedure:—Mr. Dillon, and Mr. Swift MacNeill; and had appointed in substitution:—Mr. Joyce and Mr. Law. 1172

Report to lie upon the Table.

Adjourned at eleven minutes before Six o'clock till Monday next.

HOUSE OF LORDS: MONDAY, 27TH JUNE, 1904.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR acquainted the House, That the Clerk of the Parliaments had laid upon the Table the Certificate from the Examiners that the further Standing Orders applicable to the following Bill have been complied with:—

City of London (Central Criminal Court House).

The same was ordered to lie on the Table 1173

Plymouth Corporation Bill.—Reported, with Amendments 1173

Bridlington Corporation Bill [H.L.].—The King's consent signified; and Bill reported, with Amendments 1173

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 4) Bill [H.L.] (Kingswood Order opposed); Tramways Orders Confirmation (No. 1) Bill [H.L.]; Water Orders Confirmation Bill [H.L.]; Gas and Water Orders Confirmation Bill [H.L.]; Thames River Steamboat Service Bill; London United Tramways Bill; Strabane, Raphoe, and Convoy Railway Bill. Report from the Committee of Selection, That the Lord Willoughby de Broke be proposed to the House as a member of the Select Committee on the said Bills in the place of the Lord Clements (*E. Leitrim*); read and agreed to 1173

Oakengates and Dawley Joint Water Board Bill [H.L.]; Manchester Corporation Tramways Bill [H.L.].—Read 3^a, and passed, and sent to the Commons 1173

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Humber Commercial Railway and Dock Bill.—Read 3ª, with the Amendments; further Amendments made; Bill passed, and returned to the Commons 1173

London and North-Western Railway Bill.—Read 3ª, with the Amendments, and passed, and returned to the Commons 1173

Scotch Education Department Provisional Order Confirmation (Edinburgh) Bill [H.L.].—Committed to a Committee of the Whole House To-morrow 1173

Commons Regulation (Merrow) Provisional Order Bill.—Commons Regulation (Oxshott) Provisional Order Bill; Land Drainage Provisional Order Bill. House in Committee (according to order). Bills reported without Amendment; Standing Committee negatived; and Bills to be read 3ª To-morrow 1174

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 5) Bill [H.L.].—Read 3ª (according to order), and passed, and sent to the Commons 1174

Tramways Orders Confirmation (No. 2) Bill [H.L.].—House in Committee (according to order). The Amendments proposed by the Select Committee made. Standing Committee negatived. The Report of Amendments to be received To-morrow 1174

Leith Corporation Tramways Order Confirmation Bill.—Commons Message of Friday last considered (according to Order). Then it was moved that a Committee of three Lords be appointed to join with a Committee of the House of Commons to consider the said Bill as mentioned in the said Message; and that the said Committee be named by the Committee of Selection (*The Lord Balfour*); agreed to. Ordered, That such Committee have power to agree with the Committee of the House of Commons in the appointment of a Chairman. Then a Message was ordered to be sent to the House of Commons to inform them of the appointment of the said Committee by this House 1174

Drainage and Improvement of Lands (Ireland) Provisional Order Bill (No. 119); Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 1) Bill (No. 120); Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 2) Bill (No 121); Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 3) Bill (No. 122); Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 4) Bill (No. 123). Brought from the Commons; read 1ª; to be printed; and referred to the Examiners 1174

Leith Corporation Tramways Order Confirmation Bill.—Report from the Committee of Selection, That the following Lords be proposed to the House to form the Select Committee to join with the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the said Bill; (viz.):—

E. Craven.

E. Camperdown.

L. Strathspey (*E. Seafield*).

The said Report considered, and agreed to. 1174

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PETITIONS.

Supply of Electricity Bill [H.L.].—Petition to be heard by Counsel against; of Metropolitan Borough of Bermondsey; read, and ordered to lie on the Table 1175

RETURNS, REPORTS ETC.

Trade Reports (Annual Series).

No. 3194. Russia (Moscow).
No. 3195. Spain (Cadiz).
No. 3196. Germany (Grand Duchy of Baden).
No. 3197. China (Ichang).

Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie on the Table 1175

Factory and Workshop (Special Exception: Meal Hours, Iron and Steel Foundries).—Order, dated 23rd June, 1904, made by the Secretary of State for the Home Department, in pursuance of Section 40 (4) of the Factory and Workshop Act, 1901, extending the special exceptions as to meal hours to male, young persons employed in iron and steel foundries, and repealing the Order of the 14th July, 1903 1175

Public Records (War Department).—Sixth Schedule containing a list and particulars of classes of documents pertaining to the Department of His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for War, and deposited in the Public Record Office, but which are not considered of sufficient public value to justify their preservation therein 1175

Electric Lighting Acts, 1882 to 1902 (Proceedings).—Report by the Board of Trade respecting the applications to and Proceedings of the Board of Trade, under the Electric Lighting Acts, 1882 to 1902, during the past year.

Laid before the House (pursuant to Act) and ordered to lie on the Table .. 1175

Universities (Scotland) Act, 1889.—University Court Ordinance, No. 10 (Aberdeen, No. 2); regulations for the degree of Doctor of Science in Agriculture, D.Sc. (Agr.) Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and to be printed. (No. 118) 1176

The Royal Commission on the Militia and Volunteers.

Lord Newton 1176
Lord Raglan 1186
Earl Bathurst 1193
The Under-Secretary of State for War (The Earl of Donoughmore) .. 1196
The Earl of Crewe 1205
The Duke of Norfolk 1208
The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (The Marquess of Lansdowne) 1210
The Marquess of Ripon 1213

House adjourned at ten minutes before Seven o'clock, till To-morrow, half past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS: MONDAY, 27TH JUNE, 1904.

The House met at Two of the Clock.

UNOPPOSED PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

South Western and Isle of Wight Junction Railway (Extension of Time) Bill.—Lords Amendment considered, and agreed to 1215

Bexhill Water and Gas Bill; Harrow Road and Paddington Tramways Bill, London, Tilbury, and Southend Railway Bill.—Lords Amendments considered, and agreed to 1215

Leicestershire and Warwickshire Electric Power Bill [LORDS].—Read the third time, and passed, with Amendments 1215

London County Council (General Powers) Bill.—As amended, to be considered To-morrow 1215

Matlock and District Gas Bill [LORDS].—As amended, considered; to be read the third time 1215

King's College Hospital Bill [LORDS]; Manchester Ship Canal Bill [Lords]; Trafford Park Bill [Lords].—Read a second time, and committed 1216

Drainage and Improvement of Lands (Ireland) Provisional Order Bill; Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No 4) Bill.—Read the third time, and passed 1216

Education Board Provisional Order (Cardiff) Bill; Education Board Provisional Order Confirmation (London) Bill [Lords].—As amended, considered to be read the third time To-morrow 1216

Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 1) Bill; Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 2) Bill; Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 3) Bill.—As amended, considered; read third time, and passed 1216

GLASGOW CORPORATION (POLICE) ORDER CONFIRMATION.—Bill to confirm a Provisional Order, under The Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899, relating to the Glasgow Corporation (Police); ordered to be brought in by The Lord Advocate and Mr. A. Graham Murray.

Glasgow Corporation (Police) Order Confirmation Bill.—"To confirm a Provisional Order under The Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899, relating to the Glasgow Corporation (Police)"; presented accordingly, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Tuesday, 5th July, and to be printed. [Bill 240] 1216

Milwr and District Mines Drainage Bill [LORDS].—Reported, with Amendments; Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed 1216

County of Suffolk Bill.—Ordered, That the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills do examine the County of Suffolk Bill with respect to compliance with the Standing Orders relative to Private Bills.—(*Sir Cuthbert Quilter*) .. 1216

MESSAGE FROM THE LORDS.—That they have agreed to—Education Board Provisional Order (Swansea) Bill; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 5) Bill; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 6) Bill; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 7) Bill; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 8) Bill; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 12) Bill; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 14) Bill, Local Government Provisional Order (No. 15) Bill; Local Government Provisional Orders (Gas) Bill; Donegal Railway Bill; Mullingar, Kells, and Drogheda Railway Bill, without Amendment.

Great Northern Railway Bill, with Amendments.

That they have passed a Bill, intituled, "An Act to amend The Married Women's Property Act, 1882." [Married Women's Property Act (1882) Amendment Bill [Lords.]

Also, a Bill, intituled, "An Act to regulate and restrict the wearing of Naval and Military Medals and Decorations." [Naval and Military Medals Bill [Lords].

Also, a Bill, intituled, "An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Gas and Water Works Facilities Act, 1870, relating to Grays Gas, Hedon Gas, Northampton Gas, Rochford Gas, and Romford Gas." [Gas Orders Confirmation (No. 2) Bill [Lords.]

Also, a Bill, intituled, "An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Gas and Water Works Facilities Act, 1870, relating to St. Margaret's Gas, Stirling Gas, Waltham Abbey and Cheshunt Gas, Worsbroughdale and Worsbrough Gas, and Worthing Gas." [Gas Orders Confirmation (No. 3) Bill [Lords.]

Also, a Bill, intituled, "An Act to authorise the Barry Railway Company to provide and work Steam Vessels and to subscribe to the funds of any Steamship Company; to raise additional capital; and for other purposes." [Barry Railway (Steam Vessels) Bill [Lords.]

Also, a Bill, intituled, "An Act to constitute and incorporate a joint water board consisting of representatives of the Oakengates and Dawley Urban District Councils in the county of Salop; and for other purposes." [Oakengates and Dawley Joint Water Board Bill [Lords.]

And, also, a Bill, intituled, "An Act to authorise the Corporation of Manchester to construct tramways and street widenings within and beyond the city; to confer further powers upon the Corporation and neighbouring authorities with respect to the exercise of powers relating to tramways works and electricity within and beyond the city; and for other purposes." [Manchester Corporation Tramways Bill [Lords.]

Leith Corporation Tramways Order Confirmation Bill—That they have appointed a Committee consisting of Three Members to join with a Committee of the Commons to consider the Leith Corporation Tramways Order Confirmation Bill, pursuant to Message of this House 1217

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Barry Railway (Steam Vessels) Bill [Lords]; Oakengates and Dawley Joint Water Board Bill [Lords]; Manchester Corporation Tramways Bill [Lords]. Read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills 1218

Gas Orders Confirmation (No. 2) Bill [Lords].—Read the first time; referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, and to be printed. [Bill 241.] 1218

Gas Orders Confirmation (No. 3) Bill [Lords].—Read the first time; referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, and to be printed. [Bill 242.] 1218

PETITIONS.

Borough Council Elections (Hours of Polling).—Petition from Battersea, for legislation; to lie upon the Table 1218

Licensing Bill.—Petitions against; from Abberfraw; Ainstable; Anglesey; Battersea; Bedminster; Billesden; Birmingham; Bishop's Froome; Bishopthorpe; Bolenowe; Bollington; Bolton (two); Braithwaite; Brampton (two); Bridgend; Bridlington; Broad Chalk; Brough; Bury St. Edmunds; Camborne; Clapham Common; Chorley; Clayton West; Cockermouth; Croglin; Danby; Darcy Lever; Downham Market; Dowlais; Earlsfield; Feltwell; Glasgow; Gorton; Greenock; Guisborough; Hessle; High Barnet; Hornsey; Hull; Hyde Park (sixteen); Illogan; Illogan Downs; Kehelland; Kingsland; Kilwinning; Kirkoswald; Lancaster; Llandensant; Llanelly; Llanfachreth; Low Row; Luston; Merthyr Tydvil; Merton; Monkseaton; Morecambe; Mountain Ash; Newcastle-on-Tyne; Newcastle Town Moor; Nine Elms; Northwold; Openshaw; Pengegon; Penponds; Penzance; Peterborough; Perranarworthal; Plymouth; Pontypool; Pool; Poppleton; Rathmell; Renwick; Rhondda Fawr (two); Risbury; Rochdale (two); Runcorn; Sancred; Scaling; Shobdon; Skerton; Southampton (eleven); South Molton; South Wales Temperance Union; South-West London; Springville; Sutton Bonnington; Swansea; Tuckingmill; Troon; Walkden (two; Whittlebrook; Winchester; Winkleigh; Wix; Woodford Green (two); Wrington; and Yarpole; to lie upon the Table 1218

Licensing Bill.—Petitions for alteration; from London (two); Rochester; Shrewsbury; and Wells; to lie upon the Table 1219

Local Authorities (Taxation and Purchase of Land) Bill.—Petition from Battersea, in favour; to lie upon the Table 1219

Re-Vaccination Bill.—Petition from Cardigan, against; to lie upon the Table 1219

Valuation Bill.—Petitions against; from Rochdale; and Thirsk; to lie upon the Table 1219

Valuation Bill.—Petition from North Wales, for alteration; to lie upon the Table 1219

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

TRUSTEE SAVINGS BANKS.—Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 21st June; *Mr. Mount*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 224] 1219

REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE (ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, AND IRELAND) —Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 12th April; *Mr. Lough*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 225.] 1220

FACTORY AND WORKSHOP ACTS (SPECIAL EXCEPTIONS—MEAL HOURS IN IRON AND STEEL FOUNDRIES).—Copy presented, of Order, dated 23rd June, 1904, made by the Secretary of State for the Home Department in pursuance of Section 40 (4) of the Factory and Workshop Act, 1901, extending the Special Exceptions as to Meal Hours to male young persons employed in Iron and Steel Foundries, and repealing the Order of the 14th July, 1903 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 1220

UNIVERSITIES (SCOTLAND) ACT, 1889 (ORDINANCE).—Copy presented, of University Court Ordinance No. X. (Aberdeen No. 2) (Regulations for the Degree of Doctor of Science in Agriculture, D. Sc. (Agr.) [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [N. 226] 1220

ELECTRIC LIGHTING ACTS, 1882 TO 1902 (PROCEEDINGS).—Copy presented, of Report by the Board of Trade respecting the Applications to and Proceedings of the Board of Trade under the Electric Lighting Acts, 1882 to 1902, during the past year [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 227.] 1220

TRADE REPORTS (ANNUAL SERIES).—Copies presented, of Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Annual Series, Nos. 3194 to 3197 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 1220

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1. Inquiry into Charities (County of Lancaster). Further Return relative thereto [ordered 3rd August, 1898; *Mr. Grant Lawson*]; to be printed. [No. 228.]

2. Public Records (War Office). Copy of Sixth Schedule containing a List and Particulars of Classes of Documents pertaining to the office of His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the War Department, and deposited in the Public Record Office, but which are not considered of sufficient public value to justify their preservation therein [by Act] 1220

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POST OFFICE SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS.—Question, Mr. Gibson Bowles (Lynn Regis); Answer, Lord Stanley 1227

MAIL TRAINS CALLING AT GREYSTONES STATION.—Question, Mr. Cogan (Wicklow, E.); Answer, Lord Stanley 1227

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GOVERNMENT CONCESSIONS OF LAND OR RIGHTS TO EXPLORE FOR GOLD.—Question, Mr. Labouchere (Northampton); Answer, Earl Percy 1234

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SCHOOL ACCOMMODATION AT BARTON-ON-HUMBER.—Question, Mr. Harold Reckitt (Lincolnshire, Brigg); Answer, Sir William Anson 1249

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LABOURERS' COTTAGES IN THE CLOGHER UNION.—Question, Mr. Patrick O'Brien (Kilkenny); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 1251

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LABOURERS' ALLOTMENTS IN WATERFORD AND MUNSTER.—Question, Mr. O'Shee (Waterford, W.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 1257

CONGESTED DISTRICT BOARD'S EXPENDITURE IN SLIGO.—Question, Mr. O'Dowd (Sligo, S.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 1257

OWENMORE RIVER DRAINAGE.—Question, Mr. O'Dowd; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 1258

KING HARMAN ESTATE, BALLYMOTE, SLIGO.—Question, Mr. O'Dowd; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 1258

IRISH SOCIETY'S BALANCE SHEETS.—Question, Mr. O'Doherty (Donegal, N.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 1258

CLOGHER SCHOOL DISPUTE.—Question, Mr. Joseph Devlin; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 1259

VACANCIES ON BOARD OF NATIONAL EDUCATION IN IRELAND.—Question, Mr. Lonsdale (Armagh, Mid); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 1260

NECESSITY FOR FINDLATERS ACT AT EDGEWORTHSTOWN.—Question, Mr. J. P. Farrell (Longford, N.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 1260

EDGEWORTHSTOWN LOAN FUND SOCIETY.—Question, Mr. J. P. Farrell; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 1260

KING HARMAN ESTATE, COUNTY LONGFORD.—Question, Mr. J. P. Farrell; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 1261

THE POST OFFICE AND IRISH DUAL WORKERS' ASSOCIATION.—Question, Mr. Nannetti; Answer, Lord Stanley 1261

RAILWAY DEVELOPMENT IN WATERFORD.—Questions, Mr. O'Shee and Mr. John Redmond (Waterford); Answers, Mr. Victor Cavendish 1262

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UNDERSIZED FISH BILL.—Question, Mr. Gibson Bowles; Answer, The Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. A. J. Balfour, Manchester, E.) 1263

FOREIGN COMPETITION—SUGGESTED COMMERCIAL DEFENCE COMMITTEE.—Question, Mr. Evelyn Cecil (Aston Manor); Answer, Mr. A. J. Balfour .. 1263

THE MEDICAL PROFESSION AND THE LICENSING BILL.—Question, Sir John Leng (Dundee); Answer, Mr. A. J. Balfour 1264

ARMY RE-ORGANISATION SCHEME.—Questions, Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman (Stirling Burghs), and Mr. Edmund Robertson (Dundee); Answers, Mr. A. J. Balfour 1264

THE ORDER OF QUESTIONS.—Questions, Dr. Macnamara, Sir Henry Fowler (Wolverhampton, E.), and Mr. Blake (Longford, S.); Answers, Mr. Speaker and Mr. A. J. Balfour 1265

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—THE COLONIAL VOTE.—Questions, Dr. Macnamara, Mr. Dalziel (Kirkcaldy Burghs), and Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman; Answers, Mr. A. J. Balfour 1267

Navy and Military Medals Bill [LORDS].—Read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, and to be printed. [Bill 243.]

Licensing Bill.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[Mr. J. W. LOWTHER (Cumberland, Penrith) in the Chair].

Mr. Lloyd George (*Carnarvon Boroughs*) 1268

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress; and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. Lloyd-George*).

The Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury (*Mr. A. J. Balfour, Manchester, E.*) 1270

Question put.

The Committee divided:—Ayes, 164; Noes, 202. (Division List No. 175).

Clause 1.

Amendment again proposed—

"In page 1, line 5, to leave out the words 'an on,' and insert the word 'a.'"—(*Mr. Griffith Boscawen.*)

Question proposed, "That the words 'an on' stand part of the clause.

Mr. Whittaker (*Yorkshire, W.R., Spen Valley*) 1275
Mr. Cathcart Wason (*Orkney and Shetland*) 1278
Mr. Ritchie (*Croydon*) 1279
Sir Robert Reid (*Dumfries Burghs*) 1280

The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Akers-Douglas, Kent, St. Augustine's) .. 1281
Mr. Asquith (Fifeshire, E.) .. 1282
Mr. T. W. Russell (Tyrone, S.) .. 1283
Mr. Lloyd-George .. 1284
Mr. Griffith Boscawen (Kent, Tunbridge) .. 1284
Mr. McKenna (Monmouthshire, N.) .. 1283
Mr. Whitley (Halifax) .. 1286
The Solicitor-General (Sir Edward Carson, Dublin University) .. 1286
Mr. Asquith (Fifeshire, E.) .. 1288

Question put, and agreed to.

Mr. Whitley .. 1289

Amendment proposed—

> "In page 1, line 5, after the word 'licence,' to insert the words 'which is held by a person whose tenancy of the licensed premises is not subject to conditions requiring him to purchase only from a particular firm or particular firms.'"—(*Mr. Whitley.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Mr. Yoxall (Nottingham, W.) .. 1291
Mr. Cripps (Lancashire, Stretford) .. 1295
Mr. Guest (Plymouth) .. 1296
Mr. Theodore Taylor (Lancashire, Radcliffe) .. 1298
Sir Robert Reid (Dumfries Burghs) .. 1300
Mr. Akers Douglas .. 1303
Mr. Asquith .. 1306
Mr. Rea (Gloucester) .. 1308
Mr. Winston Churchill (Oldham) .. 1310
Sir Edward Carson .. 1313
Sir Henry Fowler (Wolverhampton, E.) .. 1317
Mr. Groves (Salford, S.) .. 1319
Mr. Lawson Walton (Leeds, S.) .. 1320

Mr. SECRETARY AKERS-DOUGLAS rose in his place, and claimed to move, "That the Question be now put."

Question put, "That the Question be now put."

The Committee divided :—Ayes, 265 ; Noes, 184. (Division List No. 176).

Question put accordingly, "That those words be there inserted."

The Committee divided :—Ayes, 172 ; Noes, 271. (Division List No. 177.)

And, it being after half-past Seven of the clock, the Chairman left the Chair to make his Report to the House.

Committee report Progress ; to sit again this evening.

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EVENING SITTING.

Licensing Bill,

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[Mr. J. W. Lowther (Cumberland, Penrith) in the Chair.]

Clause 1—

Mr. J. H. Lewis (Flint Boroughs) 1331

Amendment proposed—

"In page 1, line 5, after the word 'licence,' to insert the words 'which was in force on the twenty-fifth day of June nineteen hundred and four, or any licence granted by way of renewal thereof from time to time.' "—(*Mr. J. H. Lewis.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Mr. Duke (Plymouth) 1333
Col. Pilkington (Lancashire, Newton) 1335
Sir Edgar Vincent (Exeter) 1335
Sir Edward Carson 1336
Sir Robert Reid 1337
Mr. Martin (Worcestershire, Droitwich) 1339
Mr. A. J. Balfour 1340
Sir Edward Carson 1341
Mr. Lawson Walton 1342

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 1, line 5, after the word 'licence' to insert the words 'existing at the date of the passing of this Act.' "—(*Mr. J. H. Lewis.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Mr. Herbert Roberts (Denbighshire, W.] 1343

Amendment proposed—

"In page 1, line 5, after the words 'last inserted,' to insert the words 'which has been granted by way of renewal for more than ten years prior to the passing of this Act.' "—(*Mr. Herbert Roberts.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Sir Edward Carson 1345
Mr. Lloyd-George 1345

Question put.

The Committee divided:—Ayes, 143; Noes, 245. (Division List No. 178.)

Mr. Moss (Denbighshire, E.) 1349

Amendment proposed—

"In page 1, line 5, after the words last inserted, to insert the words 'the holder of which is also the owner of the licensed premises or is the *bona fide* tenant thereof.'"—(*Mr. Moss.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Sir Edward Carson 1351
Sir Robert Reid 1352
Mr. Corbett (Glasgow, Tradeston) 1352
Mr. McKenna 1353
Mr. Lloyd-George 1354

Amendment proposed to the proposed Amendment—

"To leave out the words '*bona fide* tenant thereof,' and to insert the words 'tenant of the licensed premises as tenant from year to year determinable only in the usual way on half a year's notice, or as lessee for a fixed term of not less than two years and not determinable on breach of any covenant or agreement other than a covenant or agreement or pay the rent or to insure the premises or to keep or yield up the same in proper repair.'"—(*Mr. Lloyd-George.*)

Question proposed, That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the proposed Amendment."

Mr. Haldane (Haddingtonshire) 1354
Mr. Bryn Roberts (Carnarvonshire, Eifion) 1354
Mr. Whitley 1356
Mr. Whittaker 1356
Sir Edward Carson 1357
Mr. Ellis Griffith (Anglesey) 1357
Mr. Crooks (Woolwich) 1357
Mr. Atherley-Jones (Durham, N.W.) 1359

Question, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the proposed Amendment," put, and negatived.

Words inserted.

Question put, "That the words, as amended, be there inserted."

The Committee divided :—Ayes, 153 ; Noes, 262. (Division List No. 179.)

And, it being after Midnight, the Chairman left the Chair to make his Report to the House.

Committee report Progress ; to sit again To-morrow.

AGRICULTURAL AND TECHNICAL INSTRUCTION SCHEMES (IRELAND).—Return ordered, "showing separately, in respect of each class of scheme adopted by local authorities and approved by the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction (1) the Rate struck ; (2) the amount levied off the Rates in each county or urban district ; (3) the amount of unexpended balance of previous Rate ; (4) the expenditure out of local Rates on each

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Scheme; (5) the amount allocated to each Scheme from the funds of the Department; (6) amount actually paid over by Department; (7) statement of reasons for non-payment of Department's contribution where such has not been fully paid; and (8) particulars of grants by the Department to Agricultural Societies during the year ended the 31st day of March, 1903."—(*Mr. Sullivan*) 1363

SANDGATE HOMES (PAUPER INMATES CHARGEABLE TO METROPOLITAN UNIONS).—Return ordered, "showing (1) the number of Paupers chargeable to each Metropolitan Union who are inmates of Convalescent or similar Homes at Sandgate; (2) the Complaints on account of which such paupers were sent to the Homes, and the number suffering from each Complaint; (3) the weekly or other amount paid by the Guardians per head for such Paupers; and (4) the periods during which such Paupers have been inmates of the Homes."—(*Sir Edward Sassoon*) 1363

Tuberculosis (Animals) Compensation Bill.—Orderd, That Mr. Barran be discharged from the Select Committee on Tuberculosis (Animals) Compensation Bill; and that Captain Ellice be added to the Committee.—(*Mr. Herbert Gladstone*) 1363

Bishoprics of Southwark and Birmingham Bill.—Not amended (by the Standing Committee) to be considered 1364

Bill deferred till To-morrow.

Adjourned at ten minutes after Twelve o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS: TUESDAY, 28TH JUNE, 1904.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR acquainted the House, That the Clerk of the Parliaments had laid upon the Table the Certificate from the Examiners that the Standing Orders applicable to the following Bill have been complied with:—Hamilton Gas Order Comfirmation [H.L.].

The same was order to lie on the Table 1365

De Trafford Estate Bill [H.L.]; London County Council (Money) Bill.—Reported, with Amendments 1365

Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway (Various Powers) Bill.—The King's consent signified; and Bill reported, with Amendments 1365

Thurles Urban District Council Water Bill.—Committee to meet on Tuesday next 1365

Swindon Corporation Bill; Clyde Navigation (Works) Bill.—Moved, That the order made on the 14th day of March last, "That no Private Bill brought from the House of Commons shall be read a second time after the 16th day of June next," be dispensed with, and that the Bills be now read 2^{a}; agreed to. Bills read 2^{a} accordingly and committed. The Committees to be proposed by the Committee of Selection 1365

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Lord Tredegar's Supplemental Estate Bill [H.L.]; Scarisbrick Estate Amendment Bill [H.L.]; Bristol Tramways (Extensions) Bill [H.L.].—Read 3ª, and passed, and sent to the Commons 1365

Southend-on-Sea Gas Bill; Brymbo Water Bill; Great Central and Midland Joint Railways Bill; Baker Street and Waterloo Railway Bill.—Read 3ª, with the Amendments, and passed, and returned to the Commons 1365

Birkdale Improvement Bill.—Read 3ª, with the Amendments; a further Amendment made; Bill passed, and returned to the Commons 1365

Leicestershire and Warwickshire Electric Power Bill [H.L.].—Returned from the Commons agreed to, with Amendments 1366

South-Western and Isle of Wight Junction Railway (Extension of Time Bill.—Returned from the Commons with the Amendment agreed to 1366

Bexhill Water and Gas Bill; Harrow Road and Paddington Tramways Bill; London, Tilbury, and Southend Railway Bill.—Returned from the Commons with the Amendments agreed to 1366

Glasgow Corporation (Tramways, etc.) Order Confirmation Bill [H.L.] (No. 124).—A Bill to confirm a Provisional Order relating to Glasgow Corporation (Tramways, etc.). And 1366

Greenock Corporation Order Confirmation Bill [H.L.] (No. 125).—A Bill to confirm a Provisional Order relating to Greenock Corporation. Was presented by the Lord Kintore (*E. Kintore*) (pursuant to the Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899, Sections 8 and 9); read 1ª; and to be printed 1366

Scotch Education Department Provisional Order Confirmation (Edinburgh) Bill [H.L.].—House in Committee (according to order); Bill reported without Amendment. Standing Committee negatived; and Bill to be read 3ª on Thursday next 1366

Commons Regulation (Merrow) Provisional Order Bill; Commons Regulation (Oxshott) Provisional Order Bill; Land Drainage Provisional Order Bill.—Read 3ª (according to order), and passed 1366

Tramways Orders Confirmation (No. 2) Bill [H.L.]. Amendments reported (according to order), and Bill to be read 3ª on Thursday next 1366

PETITION.

LOCAL AUTHORITIES (QUALIFICATION OF WOMEN) BILL [H.L.]. Petition in favour of; of persons signing; read, and ordered to lie on the Table 1366

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

COLONIES (ANNUAL).—No. 418. Bermuda (Report for 1903) 1367

TRADE REPORTS: 1. ANNUAL SERIES.—No. 3198. Germany (Prussian Estimates) 1367

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II. MISCELLANEOUS SERIES.—No. 614. Live stock in Mexico.

Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie on the Table 1367

INDIA (LOANS RAISED IN INDIA).—Return of all loans raised in India chargeable on the revenues of India outstanding at the commencement of the half-year ended the 31st March, 1904, with the rates of interest and total amount payable thereon, etc. Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table 1367

OPEN SPACES BILL [H.L.].—Reported from the Standing Committee without further Amendment. The Report of the Amendments made in Committee of the Whole House to be received on Thursday next 1367

MERCHANT SHIPPING BILL [H.L.].—Reported from the Standing Committee with a further Amendment. The Report of the Amendment made in Committee of the Whole House, and by the Standing Committee, to be received on Thursday next, and Bill to be printed as amended. (No. 126) 1367

RESERVE FORCES BILL [H.L.].—Reported from the Standing Committee with Amendments. Report of Amendments to be received on Thursday next, and Bill to be printed as amended. (No. 127) 1367

Local Authorities (Qualification of Women) Bill [H.L.] [SECOND READING]. Order of the day for the Second Reading, read.

Earl Beauchamp 1367

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª."—(*Earl Beauchamp.*)

The Lord Chancellor (*The Earl of Halsbury*) 1371
Lord Tweedmouth 1372
The Duke of Rutland 1373
Lord James of Hereford 1374
The Lord President of the Council and President of the Board of Education (*The Marquess of Londonderry*) 1377
The Lord Bishop of Rochester 1378
The Earl of Portsmouth 1380
The Earl of Aberdeen 1381
Lord Belper 1382

On Question, their Lordships divided :—Contents, 38 ; Not-contents, 57.

CHINESE LABOUR.

Lord Coleridge 1385
The Under Secretary of State for the Colonies (*The Duke of Marlborough*) 1386
Earl Carrington 1387
The Earl of Portsmouth 1389
The Lord Bishop of Hereford 1391
The Duke of Marlborough 1392
The Lord Archbishop of Canterbury 1393
The Lord Chancellor 1394

LIGHT RAILWAYS BILL.—House in Committee (according to Order) ; Bill reported without Amendment. Standing Committee negatived ; and Bill to be read 3ª on Monday next 1394

House adjourned at ten minutes past Six o'clock, to Thursday next half-past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS: TUESDAY, 28TH JUNE, 1904.

The House met at Two of the Clock.

UNOPPOSED PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire Electric Power Bill [LORDS]; Preston Corporation Water Bill [Lords]. Read the third time, and passed, with Amendments 1395

Liverpool and Wigan Churches Bill [LORDS]. Read a second time, and committed 1395

London County Council (General Powers) Bill (by Order).—Consideration as amended, deferred till To-morrow (Evening Sitting) 1395

Selby Urban District Council Bill (by Order).—Consideration as amended, deferred till Thursday 1395

Education Board Provisional Order (Cardiff) Bill.—Read the third time, and passed 1395

Education Board Provisional Order Confirmation (London) Bill. [LORDS]. Read the third time, and passed, with Amendments 1395

ARBROATH CORPORATION WATER ORDER CONFIRMATION.—Bill to confirm a Provisional Order, under the Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899, relating to Arbroath Corporation Water, ordered to be brought in by The Lord Advocate and Mr. A. Graham Murray.

Arbroath Corporation Water Order Confirmation Bill.—"To confirm a Provisional Order, under The Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899, relating to Arbroath Corporation Water," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 6th July, and to be printed. [Bill 244] 1395

DUNFERMLINE DISTRICT WATER ORDER CONFIRMATION.—Bill to confirm a Provisional Order, under The Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899 relating to Dunfermline District Water, ordered to be brought in by The Lord Advocate and Mr. A. Graham Murray.

Dunfermline District Water Order Confirmation Bill.—"To confirm a Provisional Order, under The Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899, relating to Dunfermline District Water," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 6th July, and to be printed. [Bill 245] 1395

MELROSE DISTRICT WATER ORDER CONFIRMATION.—Bill to confirm a Provisional Order, under the Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899, relating to Melrose District Water, ordered to be brought in by The Lord Advocate and Mr. A. Graham Murray.

Melrose District Water Order Confirmation Bill.—"To confirm a Provisional Order, under The Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899. relating to Melrose District Water," presented; and ordered to be considered upon Friday 1396

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PRIVATE BILLS (GROUP K)—Captain JESSEL reported from the Committee on Group K of Private Bills; That, for the convenience of parties, the Committee had adjourned until Tuesday next, at half-past Eleven of the clock.

Report to lie upon the Table 1396

STANDING ORDERS.—Resolution reported from the Select Committee, "That, in the case of the Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 13) Bill [County Borough of Tynemouth Order], Petition of Charles Davison Forster for dispensing with Standing Order 128 in the case of the Petition of the 'Northumberland County Council,' against the Bill, the said Standing Order ought not to be dispensed with."

Report to lie upon the Table 1396

Mersey Docks and Harbour Board Bill [LORDS]. Reported, with Amendments. Report to lie upon the Table 1396

Leave given to the Committee on Group I. of Private Bills to make a Special Report.

Special Report brought up and read.

Special Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed 1396

Rotherham Corporation Bill.—Reported, with Amendments, from the Police and Sanitary Committee [Section A]; Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed 1397

MESSAGE FROM THE LORDS.—

That they have agreed to—Humber Commercial Railway and Dock Bill; London and North Western Railway Bill, with Amendments.

That they have passed a Bill, intituled, "An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Electric Lighting Acts, 1882 and 1888, The Electric Lighting (Scotland) Act, 1890, The Electric Lighting (Scotland) Act, 1902, relating to Musselburgh, and Portpatrick, and Wishaw." Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 5) Bill [Lords].

Also, a Bill, intituled, "An Act for confirming an agreement between the right hon. Godfrey Charles Lord Tredegar and the trustees of his settled estates and the Alexandra (Newport and South Wales) Docks and Railway Company for the conveyance to the Company of lands forming part of the settled estates and an agreement between the Company and Lord Tredegar for the issue to Lord Tredegar of a sum of £150,000 preferred ordinary stock of the Company, for authorising the trustees of the settled estates to purchase from Lord Tredegar a sum of £50,000, part of such last-mentioned preferred ordinary stock; for confirming the purchase by the trustees of the settled estates of a sum of £50,000 preferred ordinary stock of the Company created and issued under The Alexandra (Newport and South Wales) Docks and Railway Act, 1897; and for other purposes." [Lord Tredegar's Supplemental Estate Bill [Lords].

Also, a Bill, intituled, "An Act to amend The Scarisbrick Estate Act, 1877." [Scarisbrick Estate (Amendment) Bill [Lords].

And, also, a Bill, intituled, "An Act for conferring further powers on the Bristol Tramways and Carriage Company, Limited; for constructing tramways and widening and altering roads and acquiring lands in and near Bristol; and for other purposes." [Bristol Tramways (Extensions) Bill [Lords] 1397

Lord Tredegar's Supplemental Estates Bill [LORDS]; Scarisbrick Estate (Amendment) Bill [Lords]; Bristol Tramways (Extensions) Bill [Lords]. Read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills 1398

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 5) Bill [LORDS]. Read the first time; referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, and to be printed. [Bill 246] 1398

PETITIONS.

LICENSING BILL.—Petitions against; from Aberystwyth; Ashford, Kent; Ashford, Middlesex (two); Ashton in Makerfield; Attercliffe (two); Babbin's Wood; Bankhill; Bath; Berwick on Tweed; Bilsborrow; Bilsdale East; Borrowash; Boston; Boughton; Bourn; Bradninch; Bradford (three); Braithwaite; Braithwell; Bridge of Allan; Brighton; Bromley Cross; Broughton; Bushy Heath; Burton Joyce; Cambridge (two); Carbrook; Carlton in Cleveland; Carmarthen; Castle Donington; Chapeltown; Charlton; Chelsea (two); Cheltenham; Cheriton; Mendy; Chester (two); Chiswick; Cleethorpes; Clifton; Cockermouth; Countesthorpe; Craignant; Crymmch; Derby (five); Dewsbury (two); Diss; Ealing; Ecclesfield; Evesham; Finsbury Park; Forest Hill; Foxton; Gamblesby; Gig Mill; Gildersome; Glanvilles Wootton; Gobowen; Golcar; Grantham; Gravesend; Great Bridge; Great Broughton; Great Coates; Grimsby (three); Hartland; Hartlepool; Hazel Grove; Helmshore; Hereford; Hexthorpe; High Green; High Wycombe; Hornsea; Houghton Conquest; Humberstone; Hyde; Hyde Park; (two) Ipswich; Kirkcowan; Kirkwall; Larkhall; Leigh; Llansantffraid; London; Luton; Manchester; Market Rasen; Medomsley; Meldreth; Middlemarch; Morley (four); Newbiggin; Norton Canes; Orwell; Osgathorpe; Oswestry; Parkwood; Reeth; Richmond Hill, Bournemouth; Ringwood; Rochdale; Rockingham; Romiley; Rothley; Royston; Saffron Walden; St. John's Square; Salford; Salkeld Dykes; Scorton; Selathyn; Sheffield (four); Shefford; South Moor; Southwark Park; Stourbridge; Stretford (two); Trevellas Downs; Upton Park; Ushaw Moor; Wadsworth; Walham Green; Wallsend-on-Tyne; Waltham; Watford; West Melton; West Norwood; Weston Rhyn; Whittonstall; Willesden; Willington Quay; Winchcombe; Winkfield; and York; to lie upon the Table 1398

LICENSING BILL.—Petitions for alteration; from Derby and Derbyshire; Pye Bank; and South West Bethnal Green; to lie upon the Table 1399

PORT OF LONDON BILL.—Petition from Westminster, for alteration; to lie upon the Table 1399

VALUATION BILL.—Petition from Blean, for alteration; to lie upon the Table .. 1399

VENKATRAN, BYNDOOR.—Petition of Byndoor Venkatran, for inquiry into his case; to lie upon the Table 1399

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RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

Colonial Reports (Annual).—Copy presented, of Colonial Report, No. 418 (Bermuda, Annual Report for 1903) [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 1399

East India (Loans Raised in India).—Copy presented, of Return of all Loans raised in India, chargeable on the Revenues of India, outstanding at the commencement of the half-year ending on the 31st March, 1904, etc. [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 229.] 1399

Intoxicating Liquors (Licences Refused).—Return presented, relative thereto [Address 28th April; *Mr. Cochrane*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 230.] 1399

Trade Reports (Miscellaneous Series).—Copy presented, of Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Miscellaneous Series, No. 614 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 1399

Trade Reports (Annual Series).—Copy presented, of Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Annual Series, No. 3198 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 1400

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

National School at Rathview, Dundalk.—Question, Mr. Thomas O'Donnell (Kerry); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 1400

Uganda Railway.—Question, Major Evans Gordon (Tower Hamlets, Stepney); Answer, Mr. Lyttelton 1401

Maltese Government Balance Sheet.—Question, Mr. Boland (Kerry, S.); Answer, Mr. Lyttelton 1401

Suggested Motor Car Service between Ullapool and Garve.—Question, Mr. Weir (Ross and Cromarty); Answer, Mr. A. Graham Murray 1402

Estate of the late Thomas Flynn.—Question, Mr. O'Dowd (Sligo, S.); Answer, Earl Percy 1403

Pay of Post Office Night Messengers in Scotland.—Question, Mr. Nolan (Louth, S.); Answer, Lord Stanley 1403

Scotch Post Office Night Messengers—Attendance to receive Pay.——Question, Mr. Nolan; Answer, Lord Stanley 1403

Return of Overtime of Railway Servants.—Question, Mr. Channing (Northamptonshire, E.); Answer, Mr. Gerald Balfour 1404

Publication of Annual Report of Chief Inspector of Factories.—Question, Sir Charles Dilke (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean); Answer, Mr. Cochrane 1404

Cyclists in Hyde Park—Watering of Roads.—Question, Mr. Reginald Lucas (Portsmouth); Answer, Lord Balcarres 1405

School Inspector and Provision for Religious Instruction out of School Buildings.—Question, Mr. H. C. Richards (Finsbury, E.); Answer, Sir William Anson 1406

RETENTION OF STAFF OF A DIVISION AT SALISBURY.—Question, Sir Walter Palmer (Salisbury); Answer, Mr. Arnold-Forster 1406

GOLD OUTPUT OF THE TRANSVAAL—WHITE AND NATIVE LABOUR.—Question, Mr. Herbert Samuel (Yorkshire, Cleveland); Answer, Mr. Lyttelton 1406

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE.

ARTILLERY GUNS.—Question, Captain Norton (Newington, W.); Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. Arnold-Forster, Belfast, W.) 1407

CHINESE COOLIES AT JOHANNESBURG—BERI-BERI —Questions, Sir Walter Foster (Derbyshire, Ilkeston), Dr. Hutchinson (Sussex, Rye), Mr. John Redmond (Waterford), Mr. Blake (Longford, S.), Mr. Lough (Islington, W.), Mr. Whitley (Halifax), and Mr. Lloyd-George (Carnarvon Boroughs); Answers, The Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. Lyttelton, Warwick and Leamington) 1407

MALTESE GOVERNMENT BALANCE SHEET.—Question, Mr. Boland (Kerry, S.); Answer, Mr. Lyttelton 1409

EAST AFRICA —SIR DONALD STEWART'S APPOINTMENT AS ADMINISTRATOR.—Question, Mr. Cathcart Wason (Orkney and Shetland); Answer, The Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Earl Percy, Kensington, S.) 1410

INSANITARY CONDITION OF SANDY (BEDFORDSHIRE).—Question, Mr. Schwann (Manchester, N.); Answer, The Secretary to the Local Government Board (Mr. Grant Lawson, Yorkshire, N.R., Thirsk) 1410

EJECTMENT PROCESSES IN COUNTY CORK.—Questions, Captain Donelan (Cork County, E.); Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. Wyndham, Dover) 1411

HEAD CONSTABLE MOORE, ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY.—Questions, Mr. Cullinan (Tipperary, S.); Answers, Mr. Wyndham 1412

IRISH POLICE ADMINISTRATION.—Question, Mr. MacVeagh (Down, S.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 1412

MELVILLE ESTATE, KENMARE.—Question, Mr. Boland; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 1412

IRISH NATIONAL SCHOOL TEACHERS.—Question, Mr. MacVeagh; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 1413

PROPOSED PIER AT PORT-NA-LING.—Question, Mr. O'Doherty (Donegal, N.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 1414

TEACHING OF THE IRISH LANGUAGE IN IRISH SCHOOLS.—Questions, Mr. Boland, Mr. Thomas O'Donnell (Kerry, W.); Answers, Mr. Wyndham 1414

NATIONAL SCHOOL AT RATHVIEW, DUNDALK.—Question, Mr. Thomas O'Donnell; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 1415

TECHNICAL SCHOOLS IN IRELAND.—Question, Mr. Field (Dublin, St. Patrick); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 1416

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DOPPING—HEPENSTAL ESTATE, NORTH LONGFORD.—Question, Mr. J. P. Farrell (Longford, N.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 1416

LARKFIELD BOG.—Question, Mr. J. P. Farrell; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 1417

FUTURE TENANTS IN COUNTY KERRY.—Questions, Mr. Thomas O'Donnell and Mr. Flavin (Kerry, N.); Answers, Mr. Wyndham 1417

SPORT AT DERRYGOOLAN.—Question Mr. Roche (Galway, E.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 1418

GREAT SOUTHERN AND WESTERN RAILWAY COMPANY OF IRELAND—SICK BENEFIT.—Question, Mr. Field; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Akers Douglas, Kent, St. Augustine's) 1418

ALLEGED PERJURY BY FRANCIS COOKE.—Question, Mr. J. P. Farrell; Answer, The Attorney-General for Ireland (Mr. Atkinson, Londonderry, N.) .. 1419

ROYAL COMMISSION ON FOOD SUPPLY—GAMBLING IN GRAIN.—Question, Mr. Field; Answer, The Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. A. J. Balfour, Manchester, E.) 1420

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.—Questions, Mr. Lambert (Devonshire, South Molton), Mr. Gibson Bowles (Lynn Regis), and Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman (Stirling Burghs); Answers, Mr. A. J. Balfour 1420

ADJOURNMENT.—Mr. BECKETT (Yorkshire, N.R., Whitby) rose in his place, and asked leave to move the Adjournment of the House for the purpose of discussing a definite matter of urgent public importance, viz., the alarming deficiency in the drafts required for India and South Africa, and the confusion and uncertainty now prevailing in the War Office and the Army owing to the prolonged delay in the announcement of a definite scheme of Army re-organisation"; but the pleasure of the House not having been signified, Mr. Speaker called on those Members who supported the Motion to ries in their places, and not less than forty Members having accordingly risen:—

The Motion stood over, under Standing Order No. 10, till this Evening's Sitting 1421

Licensing Bill—

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[Mr. J. W. LOWTHER (Cumberland, Penrith) in the Chair.]

Clause 1.

Mr. Whittaker (*Yorkshire, W.R., Spen Valley*) 1422

Amendment proposed—

"In page 1, line 5, after the word 'licence,' to insert the words 'to which Section 19 of the Wine and Beerhouse Act, 1869, extends.'"—(*Mr. Whittaker.*)

Page

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Akers Douglas, Kent, St. Augustine's) .. 1427
Sir Robert Reid (Dumfries Burghs) .. 1428
Mr. Groves (Salford, N.) .. 1429
Mr. J. H. Lewis (Flint Boroughs) .. 1430
Mr. Talbot (Oxford University) .. 1431
Mr. Lloyd-George (Carnarvon Boroughs) .. 1433
Colonel Pilkington (Lancashire, Newton) .. 1434
Mr. Edmund Robertson (Dundee) .. 1435
Mr. Corbett (Glasgow, Tradeston) .. 1436
Mr. Samuel Evans (Glamorganshire, Mid.) .. 1437
The Solicitor-General (Sir Edward Carson, Dublin University) .. 1438
Sir Edward Grey (Northumberland, Berwick) .. 1440
Mr. Cawley (Lancashire, Prestwich) .. 1442

Question put.

The Committee divided —Ayes, 165 ; Noes, 288. (Division List, No. 180.)

Mr. Courtenay Warner (Staffordshire. Lichfield) .. 1449

Amendment proposed—

"In page 1, line 6, to leave out from the word 'than' to the word 'shall' in line 9, and insert the words 'that the house or shop in respect of which a licence is held, or any adjacent house or shop owned or occupied by the person holding the licence is of a disorderly character, or frequented by thieves, prostitutes, or persons of bad character, or that the holder of the licence has failed to comply with an order for structural alterations under Section 11, Sub-section 4, of the Licensing Act of 1902.' "—(*Mr. Courtenay Warner.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the clause."

Mr. Moss (Denbighshire, E.) .. 1449
Mr. Lloyd-George .. 1449

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Drafting Amendment agreed to.

Mr. Herbert Roberts (Denbighshire, W.) .. 1449

Amendment proposed—

"In page 1, line 7, after the words 'ill-conducted' to insert the words 'or for not having provided reasonable refreshment.' "—(*Mr Herbert Roberts.*)

Question proposed : That "those words be there inserted."

Mr. Mansfield (Lincolnshire, Spalding) .. 1450
Mr. Cathcart Wason (Orkney and Shetland) .. 1451
The Under Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Cochrane, Ayrshire, N.) .. 1452
Mr. Edmund Robertson .. 1452
Mr. Lloyd-George .. 1453
Mr. Asquith (Fifeshire, E.) .. 1455
Sir Edward Carson .. 1457
Sir Henry Fowler (Wolverhampton, E.) .. 1458

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Mr. Stuart Wortley (Sheffield, Hallam) 1459
Mr. Broadhurst (Leicester) 1459
Mr. Middlemore (Birmingham, N.) 1460
Mr. Bryce (Aberdeen, S.) 1461
Mr. Akers Douglas 1461
Mr. Trevelyan (Yorkshire, W.R., Elland) 1462
Mr. Austin Taylor (Liverpool, East Toxteth) 1463
Sir Robert Reid 1464
Mr. Cripps (Lancashire, Stretford) 1465
Sir Edward Carson 1466
Mr. Lawson Walton (Leeds, S.) 1467
Mr. J. Chamberlain (Birmingham, W) 1468
Mr. Asquith 1469
Mr. Samuel Evans 1469
Colonel Pilkington 1471
Mr. Edwards (Radnor) 1472
Mr. Seely (Lincoln) 1472
Mr. Lloyd-George 1473
Mr. McKenna (Monmouthshire, N.) 1475
Mr. Asquith 1475
Mr. Akers Douglas 1476
Mr. Asquith 1476

Motion made, and Question, "That the Chairman do report Progress; and ask leave to sit again,"—(*Mr. Asquith*)—put, and agreed to.

Committee report Progress; to sit again this evening.

EVENING SITTING.

ADJOURNMENT (UNDER STANDING ORDER NO. 10) (ARMY REORGANISATION).

Mr. Beckett (Yorkshire, N.R., Whitby) 1477
Sir J. Dickson-Poynder (Wiltshire, Chippenham) 1487

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House do now adjourn." —(*Mr. Beckett.*)

The Secretary of State for War (Mr. Arnold-Forster, Belfast, W.) .. 1489
Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman (Stirling Burghs) 1499
The Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. A. J. Balfour, Manchester, E.) 1505
Sir Charles Dilke (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean) 1511
Sir Carne Rasche (Essex, Chelmsford) 1514
Mr. Winston Churchill (Oldham) 1516
The Secretary of State for India (Mr. Brodrick, Surrey, Guildford) .. 1520

And, it being Midnight, the Motion for the Adjournment of the House lapsed without Question put.

Adjourned at three minutes after Twelve o'clock.

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THE

PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

(*AUTHORISED EDITION*)

IN THE

FIFTH SESSION OF THE *TWENTY-SEVENTH PARLIAMENT* OF THE
UNITED KINGDOM OF *GREAT BRITAIN* AND *IRELAND*, IN THE
FOURTH YEAR OF THE REIGN OF

HIS MAJESTY KING EDWARD VII.

An Asterisk (*) at the commencement of a Speech indicates revision by the Member.

EIGHTH VOLUME OF SESSION.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Tuesday, 14th June, 1904.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

The **LORD CHANCELLOR** acquainted the House, That the Clerk of the Parliaments had laid upon the Table the Certificate from the Examiners that the further Standing Orders applicable to the following Bill have been complied with:—North-Western Electricity and Power Gas.

Also the Certificate that no Standing Orders are applicable to the following Bill:—Land Drainage Provisional Order.

The same were ordered to lie on the Table.

Harrow Road and Paddington Tramways Bill. Reported, with Amendments.

South-Western and Isle of Wight Junction Railway (Extension of Time) Bill. Reported, with an Amendment.

Brymbo Water Bill. Read 2^{a}, and committed.

London and India Docks Company Bill. Read 2^{a}, and committed. The Committee to be proposed by the Committee of Selection.

Manchester Ship Canal Bill [H.L.]; King's College Hospital Bill [H.L.]. Read 3^{a}, and passed, and sent to the Commons.

Education Board Provisional Order (Swansea) Bill; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 14) Bill; Local Government Provisional Order (No. 15) Bill. Brought from the Commons.

Chesterfield Gas and Water Board Bill [H.L.]. Returned from the Commons agreed to, with Amendments.

Colney Hatch Gas Bill; Gomersal Gas Bill; North Staffordshire Railway Bill. Returned from the Commons with the Amendments agreed to.

Water Orders Confirmation Bill [H.L.]; Gas and Water Orders Confirmation Bill [H.L.]. Committed. The Committees to be proposed by the Committee of Selection.

Gas Orders Confirmation (No. 3) Bill [H.L.]. Committed to a Committee of the Whole House.

Scotch Education Department Provisional Order Confirmation (Edinburgh)

Bill [H.L.]. A Bill to confirm a Provisional Order made by the Scotch Education Department under the Education (Scotland) Act, 1878, to enable the School Board of the Burgh of Edinburgh to put in force the Lands Clauses Acts—Was presented by the Earl Waldegrave (for the Lord Kintore (*E. Kintore*)). Then it was moved, that the Order of the 14th of March last, "That no Bill originating in this House confirming any Provisional Order or Provisional Certificate shall be read a first time after Tuesday the 3rd day of May next," be dispensed with in respect of the said Bill, and that the Bill be now read 1ª; agreed to; Bill read 1ª accordingly; to be printed; and referred to the Examiners. (No. 98.)

Education Board Provisional Order (Swansea) Bill (No. 99). Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 14) Bill (No. 100). Local Government Provisional Order (No. 15) Bill (No. 101). Read 1ª; to be printed; and referred to the Examiners.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

MISCELLANEOUS (No. 1), 1904.

Papers respecting the local taxation of personal property in certain Foreign Countries and British Possessions. Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie on the Table.

POST OFFICE SAVINGS BANKS.

Accounts of all deposits received and paid during the year ended 31st December, 1903; and of the sums received and paid by the National Debt Commissioners on account of the fund for the Post Office Savings Banks in the same year. Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table.

ARUNDEL PORT.

Account and Report for 1902–1903. Delivered (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table.

Seamen's and Soldiers' False Characters Bill [H.L.]. Reported from the Standing Committee without Amendment, and to be read 3 on Thursday next.

NAVAL AND MILITARY MEDALS BILL [H.L.]

[SECOND READING.]

Order of the day for the Second Reading read.

THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (The Earl of DONOUGHMORE): My Lords, this is a short Bill, of which only one clause is operative. Your Lordships will remember that under the Uniforms Act of 1894 a penalty is imposed upon persons who without authority wear His Majesty's uniform for any purpose, or any colourable imitation of it. The object of this Bill is to apply the same provisions to those who without authority wear medals or other colourable imitations of such decorations. It is obvious that medals awarded for good service to the country should not be improperly worn. I beg to move the Second Reading.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª."—(*The Earl of Donoughmore.*)

On Question, Bill read 2ª, and committed to a Committee of the Whole House on Thursday next.

RESERVE FORCES BILL [H.L.]

[SECOND READING.]

Order of the day for the Second Reading read.

THE EARL OF DONOUGHMORE: My Lords, the first object of this Bill is to facilitate the residence of Reservists in India and the Colonies. Some 3,000 Reservists are now living in India and the Colonies, but at present we have absolutely no hold on them whatever. We have no power of compelling them to return to the colours in the case of mobilisation. This Bill gives legal sanction to their living in the Colonies, and also provides the necessary machinery for enforcing liability for service while they are residing abroad. It also authorises direct enlistment into the Reserve in India and the Colonies. Your Lordships are aware that we now enlist certain classes of men into the Reserve direct, such as employees in the Post Office, employees under railway companies, and other people possessing technical knowledge; the Government of India are anxious to have facilities given to them to enlist into the Reserve direct in India, and the Colonial Office are anxious that they should have the same power in the Crown Colonies.

The object of Clause 2 is to amend Section 14 of the Reserve Forces Act of 1882. This section prohibits the appointment or transference of a Reservist to a corps which is not in the arm or branch in which he previously served, and Clause 2 provides that these words shall be repealed. The provision, as it exists, is not of any great service to the man in helping him to get back to the unit in which he served whilst he was in the Army, but at the same time it considerably hampers the authorities on mobilisation. Take, for instance, the Remount Department. This department, which is a very small one in time of peace, is necessarily a large department in the time of war, and, properly, it should be filled up in war by Reservists from the Army Service Corps. But practically the whole of the Reservists of the Army Service Corps will be required in the time of war as drivers. Consequently we have no nucleus left from which to fill the Remount Department in time of war. We are practically certain to have a very large number of Cavalry Reservists who would be available in time of war, and it would be no hardship whatever to ask them to serve in the Remount Department if for the moment we did not want them in the Cavalry. We shall, of course, make sure that no man will suffer pecuniary loss by such transfer. That is practically the whole of the Bill, and I ask your Lordships to read it a second time.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª."—(*The Earl of Donoughmore.*)

LORD MONKSWELL: My Lords, from the explanation of the noble Earl the Under-Secretary, I take it that Clause 1 does not expressly allow any self-governing colony direct enlistment into the Reserve, and has nothing to do with transfer from the Army to the Reserve.

THE EARL OF DONOUGHMORE: That is so.

LORD MONKSWELL: Under this Bill a man may have liberty to reside in Canada, and I suppose in that case it would not be necessary for him to come over to England to be transferred to the Reserve. He may be transferred in Canada. I confess that Clause 2 of this Bill raises points of very considerable difficulty. The noble Earl said that the object of this clause was to do away with the necessity for a man's consent before he can be transferred to a corps which is not in the arm or branch in which he previously served. The object was, he explained, to enable cavalrymen to be compulsorily put into the Remount Department. I do not know that cavalrymen would have any objection to that; but the clause goes a great deal further. A cavalryman might be put in the Infantry, or the Artillery, or any other branch of the service. If the object stated by the noble Earl is the only object, it should be so set out, and the Bill should be so limited. The Army is not very popular now. There is difficulty in securing enlistment, and I do not think it will conduce to the increased popularity of the Army if a man on joining knows that when he goes into the Reserve, and is called out on active service, he may be compelled to go into some branch of the Army in which he did not wish to serve. I think this clause in one direction goes too far, and in another does not go far enough. It says that this repeal of the power of a man to choose whether he will go into a corps which is not in the arm or branch in which he previously served shall not, without his consent, affect any man belonging to the Army Reserve at the date of the passing of this Act. I think your Lordships should go a good deal further than that if you do not want to get into difficulties with men already in the Army. Take the case of a man who has enlisted under the impression that when he got into the Army Reserve he would be able to remain in the same branch of the service in which he had enlisted, if he chose to do so. Now you take away that choice, and he may say he has been enlisted under false pretences. If Clause 2 is to pass at all, it should only be made to affect persons who enlist after the passing of the Act. The clause itself seems to me to be injudicious, except in so far as it may be absolutely necessary, because it will tend, I am afraid, to make the Army unpopular. I hope that when the Bill gets into Committee, the noble Earl in charge of it will consider my objections to Clause 2.

The Earl of DONOUGHMORE: I am glad my noble friend recognises that the points he has raised are obviously Committee points. I certainly shall be very glad to discuss them in Committee with him. The main point that has compelled us to bring forward the Bill is that the present system is too inelastic, and we want to remedy that.

On Question, Bill read 2ª, and committed to a Committee of the Whole House on Thursday next.

MARRIED WOMEN'S PROPERTY ACT (1882) AMENDMENT BILL [H. L.].

[Second Reading].

Order of the day for the Second Reading read.

The LORD CHANCELLOR (The Earl of Halsbury): My Lords, the object of this Bill is to meet a defect in the main Act which has been discovered by some ingenious person. The question has been raised whether a married woman, when not acting as a married woman, but simply as a trustee, is free from the control of her husband. This Bill makes it perfectly clear that a married woman's position under the main Act is not altered when she acts as a trustee.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª."—(*The Lord Chancellor.*)

On Question, Bill read 2ª, and committed to a Committee of the Whole House on Thursday next.

House adjourned at a quarter before Five o'clock, to Thursday next, half-past Ten o'clock.

Lord Monkswell.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Tuesday, 14th June, 1904.

The House met at Two of the Clock.

MESSAGE FROM THE KING.

MILITARY MANŒUVRES ACT, 1897.

The Comptroller of the Household reported His Majesty's Answer to the Address, as followeth:—

"I have received your Address praying that I will make the Order in Council under The Military Manœuvres Act, 1897, a Draft of which was presented to your House on the 9th March last.

"I will comply with your advice."

UNOPPOSED PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

Marylebone Chapels (St. James, Westmoreland Street) Bill [Lords]; South Staffordshire Mines Drainage Bill [Lords]. Read the third time, and passed, without Amendment.

Alexandra (Newport and South Wales) Docks and Railway Bill [Lords] (by Order). Read a second time, and committed.

Local Government Provisional Order (No. 4) Bill. As amended, considered; to be read the third time To-morrow.

STANDING ORDERS.

Resolutions reported from the Select Committee—

1. "That, in the case of the Saddleworth and Springhead Tramways (Abandonment) Bill, Petition for additional Provision, the Standing Orders ought to be dispensed with. That the parties be permitted to introduce their additional Provision if the Committee on the Bill think fit."

2. "That, in the case of the Trafford Park Dock and Railway Bill [Lords], the Standing Orders ought to be dispensed with. That the parties be permitted to proceed with their Bill."

3. "That, in the case of the Lancashire Electric Power Bill [Lords], Petition for dispensing with Standing Order 128 in the case of the Petition of the 'South Lancashire Tramways Company,' against the Bill, the said Standing Order ought not to be dispensed with."

4. "That, in the case of the Metropolitan District Railway Bill [Lords], Petition for dispensing with Standing Order 128 in the case of the Petition of the 'Urban District Council of Chiswick,' against the Bill, the said Standing Order ought not to be dispensed with."

First Two Resolutions agreed to.

Report to lie upon the Table.

MESSAGE FROM THE LORDS.

That they have agreed to—Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 1) Bill, with an Amendment.

Amendments to—Elysée Palace Hotel Company, Limited, Bill [Lords], without Amendment.

That they have passed a Bill, intituled, "An Act to authorise the sale and disposal of the site of King's College Hospital, London; and the acquisition of lands for and erection of a new hospital; and for other purposes." [King's College Hospital Bill [Lords.]

Also, a Bill, intituled, "An Act for transferring the powers of the West Manchester Light Railways Company, and for providing for the regulation of certain roads in Trafford Park; and for other purposes." [Trafford Park Bill [Lords.]

And, also, a Bill, intituled, "An Act to authorise the Manchester Ship Canal Company to vary the levels of and depth of water in their canal and to construct new works; and to alter certain provisions of The Manchester Ship Canal Act, 1885, and The Manchester Ship Canal Act, 1896; and for other purposes." [Manchester Ship Canal Bill [Lords.]

King's College Hospital Bill [Lords]; Trafford Park Bill [Lords]; Manchester Ship Canal Bill [Lords]. Read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

Preston and Blackburn Tramways Bill [Lords]. Reported [Preamble not proved]; Report to lie upon the Table.

PETITIONS.

PORT OF LONDON BILL.

Petition of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the City of London, in Common Council assembled, presented by the Sheriffs of the City of London at the Bar, against the Bill and for re-committal (praying to be heard by Counsel); to lie upon the Table.

LICENSING BILL.

Petitions against; from Leeds (forty-one); Atherstone; Dipton; Austwick; Dudlestone; Aylesford; Derwent Cottages; Annfield Plain; Dyffryn Bargoed; Bourton; Ellesmere; Bideford; Braintree; Easby; Bradwell; Bromley; Eye; Broughton Gifford; Edale; Birchfield; Gunnislake; Birkenhead; Glasgow; Baddesley Ensor; Gorran; Halstead; Blackfriars; Ely; Erith; Blackhall Mill; Esh Winning; Bethnal Green; Forest Gate; Burley; Blackhill; Birtley; Fearn; Fife; Casterton Magna; Chilvers Coton; Farnley; Castleton; Cullompton; Chopwell; Hunslet (two); Kennington Park (three); Hartshill; Kestle Mill; Halifax; Holbeck (two); Hamsteels; Langley Heath; Litton; Hellifield; High Shields; Haswell; Hollingbourne; Hucklow; Leadgate; Ipswich; Harry; Islington; Mosely Common; Melksham; Old Shildon; Oldham; Leytonstone; Nuneaton (two); Partick; Peak Forest; Newcastle on Tyne (two); New Brancepeth; Portsmouth (four); Nidd Valley; Platt Bridge; Penzance; Padstow; Par; Rishton; Roundhay; Rowlands Gill; Redditch (two); Ryhall; Southville; Tyne Dock; Southsea; Tyne Wearside; Stoke Climsland; Tantobie; Whitswick; Whittleford; Tanfield Lea; Stanley; Trowbridge; Tipton; Willingham; Wigglesworth; Wingate; Stratford; Seend; Thornhill; Treoone; St. Columb Minor; St. Hilary (two); South Shields (four); West Hartlepool (four); Whitley; South Lambeth; St. Luke's; Wookey Hole; Withering; Studley; Warrington; Southmoor; St. Mewan; Woodstock; Sevenoaks (two); Sparrowpit; Shotley Bridge;

Settle; Sutton at Hone; Dundee; Griffydam; Great Totham; Haddlesey; West Haddlesey; Carlton; Fleur de lis; New castle on Tyne; Greenock; Stalybridge; Bittadon; Rufford; Hove; Knowle; Rishton; Cobbaton; Barnstaple (two); Fremington; Loxhore; Millom; Lambeth; Coggeshall; Kirkby in Furness; Braunton; Broughton in Furness; Cullompton; Grenoside; Disgwylfa; Mawdsley; Halifax (two); Nottingham; Broughton; Birmingham (two); New Tredegar (two); Ebbw Vale; Tredegar; Blaina (three); Blackwood; Rhydlwyd; Burnley; Blaenpennal; Eccleston; Hurst Green; Wadhurst; Ticehurst; Lamberhurst; Stalybridge; Belper; Elland; Leslie; Coniston; Hathersage; Holmes; and Portessie (two); to lie upon the Table.

LICENSING BILL.

Petition from Newbury, for alteration; to lie upon the Table.

VALUATION BILL.

Petitions for alteration; from Alcester; Newcastle upon Tyne; and Easington; to lie upon the Table.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

POST OFFICE SAVINGS BANKS.

Accounts presented, of all Deposits received and paid during the year ended 31st December, 1903, and of the Sums received and paid by the National Debt Commissioners on account of the Fund for the Post Office Savings Banks in the same year [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 211.]

ERSONAL PROPERTY (LOCAL TAXATION) (MISCELLANEOUS, No. 1, 1904).

Copy presented, of Papers respecting the Local Taxation of Personal Property in certain Foreign Countries and British Possessions [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

PAPER LAID UPON THE TABLE BY THE CLERK OF THE HOUSE.

Arundel Port. Copy of Annual Report and General Account of the Commissioners of Arundel Port for period from 25th March, 1903, to 25th March, 1904 [by Act].

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

Cost of Protection of Canadian Fisheries by British Navy.

MR. RUNCIMAN (Dewsbury): To ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether any portion of His Majesty's Navy is employed either on the Atlantic or on the Pacific coasts in protecting Canadian fisheries; and, if so, whether the Admiralty can form any estimate of the cost of such services to the Crown after making allowance for the time during which such ships are employed, the cost of maintaining the ships and their crews, and for depreciation and interest on capital; and whether the Canadian Government refunds to the Crown a sum sufficient to cover the whole or part of this cost.

(*Answered by Mr. Pretyman.*) In the last three years only one of His Majesty's ships (in each year) has been employed in the sea fishery patrol on the Pacific and none on the Atlantic seaboard of Canada. In 1903 H.M.S. "Shearwater" was employed on seal fishery patrol in the Pacific from 20th July to 21st September, and her cost of maintenance for that period was approximately £2,650; but this patrol involved no additional cost to naval funds as the vessel employed would, in any case, be required as part of the normal squadron on the Pacific station. No portion of this expense has been refunded by the Canadian Government.

Pensions of Widows and Allowances for Orphans of Men lost in Disaster to Submarine A1.

MR. REGINALD LUCAS (Portsmouth): To ask the Secretary to the Admiralty if he will state what is the full amount of pension given to the widows of men who lost their lives in the A1 Submarine disaster, and what is the amount taken from the funds of Greenwich Hospital to provide this sum; what allowance is made for the support of orphans in this connection, and whence does the money come; what is the amount of compensation given to parents of those who were unmarried, and whence does this money come; and whether the Royal Patriotic

Fund Commissioners will be invited to contribute towards the funds required.

(*Answered by Mr. Pretyman.*) The full amount of pension to widows is £122, of which the funds of Greenwich Hospital provide about £71. The allowances for the support of children amount to £51, provided entirely by Greenwich Hospital funds. Of the relatives of men who were unmarried, one (a mother) has been awarded a gratuity, equal to a year's wages, from the funds of Greenwich Hospital. The Royal Patriotic Fund Corporation will not be invited to contribute towards the funds required for these grants.

Infant Mortality and Outdoor Medical Relief.

SIR WALTER FOSTER (Derbyshire, Ilkeston): To ask the President of the Local Government Board whether his attention has been called to the high infant mortality in the large towns of the kingdom; whether, with a view to lessening this mortality, he will inquire whether the facilities for granting outdoor medical relief are sufficient in the great provincial towns and in districts like St. George's in the East, Whitechapel, Limehouse, and Stepney; and, if not, whether he will take steps to improve the methods of granting medical outrelief.

(*Answered by Mr. Walter Long.*) I am aware of the figures referred to as to infant mortality. Except that in some places additional relieving officers might be appointed, I have not at present seen any reason to suppose that the existing facilities for granting outdoor medical relief are insufficient; but, so far as the Metropolis is concerned, a special investigation is at this moment being made by one of the assistant inspectors of the Department as to the arrangements for outdoor medical relief.

Outdoor Medical Relief.

SIR WALTER FOSTER: To ask the President of the Local Government Board whether he is aware that some boards of guardians have largely reduced the number of appplications for medical outrelief by means of giving all medical outrelief on loan in the first instance (subject to subsequent cancelling of the loan if the guardians think fit), or by compelling parents to appear before the board or a committee; and, if so, whether he proposes to take any action in the matter.

(*Answered by Mr. Walter Long.*) My attention has been called to one instance in London where a system of the kind above mentioned has been introduced, and where it is said that the result has been to reduce the applications for outdoor medical relief. But, as I have stated to-day in reply to another Question by the hon. Member, a special investigation is being made by one of the assistant inspectors of the Department as to the arrangements for outdoor medical relief in the Metropolis.

Duty on British Woollen Goods and Cordage entering Belgium, Holland and Canada.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE (Carnarvon Boroughs): To ask the President of the Board of Trade what are the duties levied by Belgium and Holland respectively on British woollen goods and on British cordage as compared with the duties which will be levied on the same goods by Canada under the newly revised tariff.

(*Answered by Mr. Gerald Balfour.*) The existing duty on woollen goods in Holland is 5 per cent. *ad valorem.* In Belgium the duties vary from 10 per cent. to 15 per cent. *ad valorem.* The new preferential rate of duty in Canada on woollen manufactures is stated to be 30 per cent. *ad valorem.* Cordage is free of duty in both Holland and Belgium. The new preferential rate in Canada is stated to be 20 per cent. *ad valorem.*

Manufacture of British Cigars.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON (Tower Hamlets, Poplar): To ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether he can give any estimate of the cigars, in pounds, manufactured in this country in 1902–3.

(*Answered by Mr. Austen Chamberlain.*) It would not be possible to give any such estimate.

Delay in Erection of Labourers' Cottages at Strabane.

MR. HEMPHILL (Tyrone, N.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he can state the cause of the delay in carrying out the scheme for building labourers' cottages in the Ballymagorry division of Strabane, such delay being productive of inconvenience to the labourers of that district.

(*Answered by Mr. Wyndham.*) A scheme was recently made by the district council for the erection of nine cottages in this division, but a petition for confirmation has not yet been received by the Local Government Board.

Distribution of Meteorological Grants—Publication of Report of Committee.

SIR JOHN TUKE (Edinburgh and St. Andrew's Universities): To ask the First Lord of the Treasury when the Report of the Departmental Committee on the Distribution of the Meteorological Grant will be issued to Members.

(*Answered by Mr. A. J. Balfour.*) I understand that the copies of the Report referred to will be delivered at the House of Commons on the evening of Thursday next, the 16th instant.

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE.

Volunteer Army Service Corps.

*MR. McCRAE (Edinburgh, E.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether he now proposes to proceed with the establishment of a Volunteer Army Service Corps, as recommended in the War Office Committee's Report of 31st January, 1903, and by the Royal Commission on the Militia and Volunteers.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Mr. ARNOLD-FORSTER, Belfast, W.): The detailed recommendations of the Militia and Volunteer Commission are now receiving careful consideration. I am not, therefore, prepared at the present moment to give a reply to this Question.

Chinese for the Transvaal—Police Arrangements.

MR. HERBERT SAMUEL (Yorkshire, Cleveland): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether the provision of Article 4 of the Anglo-Chinese Convention, which declares that coolies under contract for the Transvaal shall not be permitted to leave the depots provided for their accommodation by the British Consuls from the time they have signed their contract until their embarkation, without a pass signed by the Chinese and English authorities or cancellation of their agreement, will be enforced by the Consular guards, or whether a special police will be enlisted for this purpose.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Mr. LYTTELTON, Warwick and Leamington): I have not before me the precise methods which will be taken to carry out that portion of Article 4 of the Convention to which the hon. Member refers, but I anticipate no difficulty in the carrying out of the necessary steps by the British and Chinese authorities.

MR. NORMAN (Wolverhampton, S.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies if he can state by what force, civil or military, the compounds of Chinese indentured labourers in the Transvaal will be policed and neighbouring life and property secured in the event of rioting among the Chinese in the larger compounds.

MR. LYTTELTON: I am making inquiry as to the arrangements to be made for the policing of the emigration depots.

His Majesty's Minister at Pekin and the Coolie Contracts.

MR. HERBERT SAMUEL: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether His Majesty's Minister at Pekin has refused to sanction the form of contract proposed to be signed by coolies recruited in Northern China for the Transvaal mines; if so, on what grounds this action has been taken; and whether any alterations in the form of contract have been made in consequence.

MR. LYTTELTON: There can be no question of His Majesty's Minister at Pekin refusing to sanction the contract which has been settled by the Transvaal Government subject to the instructions and approval of His Majesty's Government, and the information on which the hon. Member's Question is based appears to be founded upon misapprehension.

Labour in Indian Mines and Plantations.

SIR MANCHERJEE BHOWNAGGREE (Bethnal Green, N.E.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India if he will give the Return asked for in the Order Paper this day relating to labourers employed in mines and plantations in India and the provision of medical aid and education for their families and children.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Mr. BRODRICK, Surrey, Guildford): I am afraid that materials do not exist for the preparation of the Return. The statutory returns furnished by mines in British India and tea estates in Assam do not contain the information asked for, and such returns would cause a considerable demand on the owners. Indigo estates are not required to submit returns, as they are not under a special labour law. Mines and plantations in Native States are under no obligation to supply figures to the Indian Government. It may be said generally that mines in British India are required to make medical and hospital provision for the treatment of accidents, and that tea and coffee gardens to which the Madras or Assam Labour Law applies are required to maintain hospitals. There is no special requirement imposed on mines or plantations as regards schools, but ordinary schools exist in the districts, and can be attended by the children of miners and estate hands.

The Return referred to is as follows—British India and Native States (Coal Mines)—Address for Return, according to the following table, in connection with Coal and other Mines, and tea, indigo, and other plantations, each employing fifty labourers or more, in British India and Native States:—

Number and description of mines.	Number and description of plantations.	Number of labourers employed.	Number of persons in labourers' families, denoting women and children.	Arrangements for hospitals or dispensaries.	Arrangements for education of children.	Where situate.

Aden Hinterland Operations.

MR. NORMAN: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India if he will state what has been the nature of the military operations conducted for some time past in the *Hinterland* of Aden; what force has been engaged; what is the total number of casualties; what civilian officers have been employed, and if there have been any casualties among them; whether these operations are regarded as being of peace or of war; and what is the difference of the pension or allowance made to the relatives of the killed under the two conditions.

MR. BRODRICK: The Joint Anglo-Turkish Commission, which has been engaged since March, 1902, in demarcating the frontier of the Aden *Hinterland*, has now practically completed its work in the field, the surveys having been carried to the sea. There have been no military operations, but the necessary escort has been provided. The force employed is about 2,000 men. It is now being withdrawn. The casualties hitherto reported to me show four British and twelve native soldiers killed, nineteen British and fifteen native soldiers died of disease, and about forty men wounded. Two civilian officers have been employed without casualty. No deaths having occurred among the officers employed, with the exception of a military officer who was murdered by a police sowar in our employ, the question of pension does not arise.

Korea.

MR. NORMAN: I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs if he will state whether Korea is now recognised as an independent State; and, if not, will he state what is the international *status* of that country.

THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Earl PERCY, Kensington, S.): The answer to the Question is in the affirmative.

Wei-hai-wei.

MR. NORMAN: I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether the British lease of Wei-hai-wei would determine immediately upon the occupation of Port Arthur by any other Power than Russia.

EARL PERCY: By the Convention of 1st July, 1898, China agreed to lease to Great Britain Wei-hai-wei and its adjacent waters "for so long a period as Port Arthur shall remain in the occupation of Russia."

Cost of Accommodation in China for Labourers Recruited for the Transvaal.

MR. HERBERT SAMUEL: I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether the funds needed to enable British Consuls in China to erect the buildings for the accommodation of labourers recruited for the Transvaal mines, as provided by Article 3 of the recent Anglo-Chinese Convention, will be furnished in the first instance by Vote of this House; and, if not, from what source.

EARL PERCY: The reply to the first part of the Question is in the negative. The reply to the second part is that any money required will be provided from the colony.

Railway Transit of Cattle.

MR. FIELD (Dublin, St. Patrick): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether he is aware that the railway companies of Great Britain have combined in refusing to allow a patented humane car to run on their lines; whether he is aware that this car obtained a certificate from the Board of Trade and the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, that it was granted a gold medal by the French Board of Agriculture, and that many leading railway officials signed an approval of the car when exhibited at the Royal Show, Birmingham; and, if so, whether he will make inquiry into this refusal of improved transit by the railway companies of Great Britain.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE (Mr. GERALD BALFOUR, Leeds, Central): Communications in this matter were addressed to the Board of Trade in 1899 and 1900 by the company interested in the car referred to. Beyond this I have no information on the subject other than that with which the hon. Member has himself supplied me, and I do not know to what "Certificate from the Board of Trade" he refers. I may remind the hon. Member that a similar Question was put by him and answered on behalf of my noble friend the President of the Board of Agriculture on the 8th of July last.† I am unable to add to the answer then given except to call the hon. Member's attention to Section 117 of the Railways Clauses Act of 1845.

MR. FIELD: If I give the right hon. Gentleman further information will he make inquiries as to the accuracy of the statements in the Question?

MR. GERALD BALFOUR: I will consider any information placed before me, but I can give no pledge beyond that.

Housing Loans—Housing of the Working Classes Act, 1903.

DR. MACNAMARA (Camberwell, N.): I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board how many applications have been made by local authorities for housing loans to be repaid over a period extending beyond sixty years in accordance with Section 1 of The Housing of the Working Classes Act, 1903; and in how many such cases have loans been granted to be repaid beyond the limit of sixty years and at the maximum of eighty years respectively.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. WALTER LONG, Bristol, S.): I have received applications, for the purpose mentioned in the Question, from twenty-two local authorities. An extension of eighty years has been granted to eleven of these authorities so far as the loans related to the purchase of land, and in the case of one of the eleven the period for a loan for land and buildings together has been extended beyond sixty years, but not for the maximum of eighty years. As regards the remaining authorities, in five cases there were circumstances connected with the original borrowing which rendered an extension to eighty years of the period of repayment impracticable; in one case the application related to a loan for buildings only, in another the application was not proceeded with, and in three cases a decision has not at present been given.

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† See (4) *Debates*, cxxv., 25.

Small Dwellings Acquisition Act, 1899.

DR. MACNAMARA: I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board how many applications have been made to local authorities for loans for the purpose of acquiring the ownership of small houses under the Small Dwellings Acquisition Act of 1899; how many such loans have been made; and what is the total amount so advanced.

MR. WALTER LONG: My information is limited to cases of applications for sanction to loans for the purposes of the Act in England and Wales. The Local Government Board have received seventy-nine such applications and have sanctioned the borrowing of £63,514 in respect of seventy-five of these applications. As regards London, the sanction of the London County Council is required to any such loans. I am informed that they have received ten applications and have sanctioned five, amounting in the total to £960, and that they have one application still under consideration.

Tramway Traffic in Westminster Bridge Road.

DR. MACNAMARA: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether, in view of the clause introduced at the instance of his Department into the London County Council (Tramways and Improvements) Bill, empowering the stopping of trams in the Westminster Bridge Road at York Road instead of at the Westminster Bridge terminus, he will consider the desirableness of requiring the halfpenny buses which run across the Westminster Bridge to start from York Road instead of as at present from the Westminster Bridge terminus.

*THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. AKERS-DOUGLAS, Kent, St. Augustine's): I am not in a position at the present time to make any statement on the subject, but I may assure the hon. Member that when the arrangements under the new clause are being settled, care will be taken to consult the public safety and convenience as fully as possible.

Post Office Administration—Dual System.

*MR. DOBBIE: (Ayr Burghs) I beg to ask the Postmaster-General whether, in view of the fact that the amalgamation of the postal and telegraph staffs, known as the dual system, has been abandoned in the large telegraph offices of the country, he will state the reasons for the retention of that system in the Glasgow office, and take steps to place this office on a similar footing to offices in the same class.

THE POSTMASTER-GENERAL (LORD STANLEY, Lancashire, Westhoughton): The hon. Member is under a misapprehension in thinking that the amalgamation of the postal and telegraph staffs has been abandoned at the large offices in the country.

Ayr Sheriff Court House.

MR. DOBBIE: I beg to ask the Secretary for Scotland whether, in view of the fact that plans and specifications were lodged by the County Council of Ayrshire with the Secretary for Scotland, in 1902, for the purpose of providing improved Sheriff Court House accommodation, in terms of the Ayr County Buildings Order of 1901, and that the existing Court House accommodation has since been condemned by the sanitary authorities and by His Majesty's Board of Works, he will state what steps he proposes to take with the view of compelling the county council to provide adequate Sheriff Court House accommodation in the county buildings at Ayr.

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. SCOTT DICKSON, Glasgow, Bridgton): The rectification of defective sanitary arrangements is already proceeding. As regards general improvement of the Sheriff Court House accommodation the statutory representation in terms of Section 3 of the Sheriff Court House (Scotland) Act, 1860, without which no action could be taken, was lodged in my office on the 11th instant. I shall do everything in my power to hasten subsequent procedure.

Moyode Castle, Athenry.

MR. REDDY (King's County, Birr): On behalf of the hon. Member for South Galway, I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether, in view of the fact that recently an inspector from the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction, Dublin, visited Moyode Castle, near Athenry, to inquire into its suitability for an agricultural college for the county Galway, and that in April, 1903, the chairman of the county Galway committee of agricultural instruction and the chairman of the county Galway committee of technical instruction strongly advocated the establishment of such a college in the county Galway, the Department in Dublin will see their way to purchase Moyode Castle, in view of its suitability for the purpose, and its proximity to the town of Athenry and railway accommodation.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. WYNDHAM, Dover): The results of inquiries and inspection have satisfied the Department that this property would not be suitable for the purposes of an agricultural station or a college, and the Department does not propose, therefore, to acquire it.

Outdoor Relief in Ireland.

MR. JOHN CAMPBELL (Armagh, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that at present a board of guardians in Ireland is precluded from granting outdoor relief to any person in occupation of more than one quarter acre of land, no matter how that person may be afflicted, and even if certified unfit for removal to the workhouse hospital; and whether, considering the hardship worked by this limitation, he will consider the advisability either of abolishing it altogether or of greatly enlarging it.

MR. WYNDHAM: The facts are not as stated in the Question. The hon. Member does not appear to have seen my reply to the similar Question, on Thursday last, by the hon. Member for South Down.†

Iveagh-Pirrie Motor Scheme.

MR. JOYCE (Limerick): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he has any information as to the Iveagh-Pirrie motor scheme being started in any part of Ireland; if so, will he say where; also, can he say if any routes will be chosen in the near future; and, if so, where.

MR. WYNDHAM: Yes, Sir. But it is information which cannot well be compressed into a reply to a Question. A not unnatural reluctance on the part of county councils, and more especially of district councils, to strike rates commensurate with the cost of repairing roads to carry the greater loads indicated in the announcement I made on the 23rd February last will, I believe, give place to some practical compromise, and the more surely if the suggestion which has reached me from Galway County Council is adopted by this House. If that be so, I have little reason to fear that the routes indicated in that announcement will not be proceeded with without much further delay.

MR. CULLINAN (Tipperary, S.): Is it not the fact that several county and district councils have volunteered to put their roads in suitable repair for a motor service, but no notice has been taken of their offer.

MR. WYNDHAM: Certain districts were suggested as suitable for the experiment, and with respect to some of them there has been a certain amount of demur on the part of the council, but I believe there are prospects of a reasonable arrangement being come to.

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† See (4) *Debates*, cxxxv., 1228.

Captain Caldbeck's Estate, Queen's County.

MR. DELANY (Queen's County, Ossory): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that negotiations for the sale of the estate of Captain Caldbeck, Ballacolla, Queen's county, are in progress, and that an attempt is being made to create tenancies in favour of large farmers and shopkeepers in the untenanted land; and in view of the fact that there are a number of small holdings upon the property requiring enlargement, and some landless houses in the occupation of labourers, he can state whether the Commissioners are prepared under the circumstances to sanction the sale.

MR. WYNDHAM: The Estates Commissioners have not received any application for the purchase of this property. Before sanctioning advances in respect of tenancies created since the 1st January, 1901, the Commissioners cause special inquiries to be made as to the circumstances of other persons in the neighbourhood.

Administration of Arms Act at Maryborough.

MR. DELANY: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that a gun, the property of Mr. Peter Dowling, Straboe, has found its way into the possession of the police at Maryborough, having been taken by a local gamekeeper from a servant of Mr. Dowling's, who was carrying the gun without his employer's knowledge; and whether, in view of the fact that Mr. Dowling holds a licence from the resident magistrate and also an Excise 10s. licence, he will state upon what grounds the police refuse to restore the gun to the owner.

MR. WYNDHAM: I am still in communication with the police in reference to this gun, and will ask the hon. Member to postpone the Question until Thursday next.

White Estate, Clare.

MR. SHEEHY (Meath, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the Estates Commissioners have sanctioned the sale in the Land Judge's Court of the White Estate, in Clare, although the farm held by Michael Moloney, an evicted tenant, has not been sold to him; and whether, seeing that Moloney has been excluded from buying by the Receiver demanding two and a half years arrears of rent and costs, in addition to the price which was placed on the farm, the Commissioners have power to withhold their sanction of the sale, or can they in any way assist Moloney to purchase his farm on terms similar to those agreed to between the occupying tenants and the Receiver.

MR. WYNDHAM: This estate has not come defore the Estates Commissioners to be dealt with. The Land Judge's Court is in communication with the Receiver on the subject, and I regret to have to ask the hon. Member again to postpone the Question till Thursday next.

Police at Irish Evictions.

MR. GILHOOLY (Cork County, W.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that a body of police, under the command of County Inspector Hamilton, acted as bailiffs at the recent evictions on the Clinton Estate at Rossmaconen, and that, though no serious assault was committed on the sheriff or his assistants, the county inspector ordered men who were in one of the houses to be arrested and handcuffed; and, if so, will he state whether the police in future are to act as bailiffs for the landlords.

MR. WYNDHAM: There is no foundation for the statement that the police acted as bailiffs on the occasion referred to. The police who were present had been requisitioned by the sheriff for the protection of himself and his bailiffs in the execution of ejectment decrees. Considerable opposition and resistance were offered to the sheriff and his assistants, all of whom were struck several times by missiles thrown by the inmates of one of the houses. At this stage the County Inspector of Police ordered the male inmates (eight men) to be arrested and handcuffed. The handcuffs were very shortly removed, when the police were satisfied as to their identity. It is the bounden duty of the police to afford protection to the sheriff and his officers in the execution of legal decrees.

Mr. GILHOOLY: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that the police entered the house, and not the bailiffs?

Mr. WYNDHAM: They only took the necessary measures for the protection of the bailiffs.

Mr. GILHOOLY: But is it the duty of the police to enter houses, and act as bailiffs?

Mr. WYNDHAM: My statement is that the police did not act as bailiffs.

Mr. GILHOOLY: Perhaps the right hon. Gentleman will allow me to say I was present, and saw them acting as bailiffs.

Mr. WYNDHAM: Seeing that the house was being used as a fort for the purpose of preventing the bailiffs doing their duty, the police had to act as they did in order to protect them.

Captain DONELAN (Cork County E.): Are the police placed at the disposal of shop-keepers in the same way when they try to enforce their claims?

Re-Election of Ministers.

Mr. LODER (Brighton): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury when he proposes to introduce the Bill, promised in the King's Speech, for removing the necessity for re-election in the case of acceptance of office by Members of the House of Commons.

The PRIME MINISTER and FIRST LORD of the TREASURY (Mr. A. J. Balfour, Manchester, E.): The Bill to which my hon. friend refers is ready, and, of course, will be introduced either under the so-called Ten Minutes Rule, or without any introductory speech at all. Though I think it is a very desirable and, in some cases, an important change, it undoubtedly has a constitutional aspect, and, therefore, should be prefaced by some statement of the reasons which make it desirable, in the opinion of the Government, to depart from this ancient practice. In these circumstances, I should certainly not feel justified in introducing the Bill without a statement. Whether that statement can be compressed within ten minutes I really cannot say; but it is perfectly clear that the Bill cannot pass, except by consent, and I do not know whether there is any chance of that consent being obtained. The Bill has been carefully framed so as to avoid giving any advantage to the present holders of office, and it is introduced as a general and much-needed constitutional reform; but whether there will be time to carry it out in the present session, I have some doubt.

Proposed Minister of Commerce.

Mr. D. A. THOMAS (Merthyr Tydvil): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury what steps the Government propose to take in order to give effect to the recommendations contained in the Report of the Committee appointed to consider the position and duties of the Board of Trade and of the Local Government Board and particularly the recommendation in favour of substituting a Minister of Commerce and Industries for the present Board of Trade.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: I believe the Report of the Committee will not be in the hands of hon. Members until this afternoon or to-morrow. The matter is under consideration by the Government, and I can give no pledge as to the course we shall pursue in reference to the recommendations of the Committee.

The Finance Bill.

Sir H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN (Stirling Burghs): Has the right hon. Gentleman any information to give to the House as to next week's business?

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: I find that it would be inconvenient to the commercial interests of the country to defer any longer the consideration of the Budget Bill in Committee, and therefore I shall have to ask the House to take the Committee stage on Monday next.

The Cunard Agreement.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES (Lynn Regis:) Has any arrangement been made for the Committee stage of the Cunard agreement?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: No, Sir, I have not yet made any arrangements as to that.

SELECTION (STANDING COMMITTEES).

Mr. WODEHOUSE reported from the Committee of Selection; That they had added to the Standing Committee on Trade (including Agriculture and Fishing), Shipping, and Manufactures, the following Member in respect of the Shop Hours Bill:—The Lord Advocate.

Report to lie upon the Table.

SELECTION (STANDING COMMITTEES).

Mr. WODEHOUSE reported from the Committee of Selection; That they had discharged the following Members from the Standing Committee on Trade (including Agriculture and Fishing), Shipping, and Manufactures:—Sir John Barrington Simeon, Mr. Baird, Mr. Hare, Mr. Garfit, and Sir Charles Renshaw; and had appointed in substitution: Mr. O'Neill, Mr. John Gordon, Mr. Goulding, Captain Balfour, and Mr. George Montagu.

Report to lie upon the Table.

SELECTION (STANDING COMMITTEES).

Mr. WODEHOUSE reported from the Committee of Selection; That they had discharged the following Members from the Standing Committee on Law, and Courts of Justice, and Legal Procedure:—Mr. Solicitor-General and Mr. Lloyd Morgan; and had appointed in substitution: Mr. Attorney-General and Major Seely.

Report to lie upon the Table.

SELECTION (STANDING COMMITTEES).

Mr. WODEHOUSE reported from the Committee of Selection; That they had added to the Standing Committee on Law and Courts of Justice, and Legal Procedure, the following fifteen Members in respect of the Aliens Bill:—Mr. Trevelyan, Mr. Hayes Fisher, Mr. Stuart Samuel, Mr. Forde Ridley, Sir Henry Seton-Karr, Mr. David MacIver, Mr. Renwick, Mr. Runciman, Mr. John Johnson, Mr. Norman, Mr. Herbert Robertson, Mr. Winston Churchill, Mr. Guest, Major Evans-Gordon, and Mr. Shackleton.

Report to lie upon the Table.

EDUCATION (SCOTLAND) BILL.

(Considered in Committee.)

(In the Committee.)

[Mr. J. W. LOWTHER (Cumberland, Penrith) in the Chair.]

Clause 3.

Question proposed, "That Clause 3, as amended, stand part of the Bill."

MR. McCRAE (Edinburgh, E.) said he thought they were entitled on this clause to get some more definite statement from the Government as to their reasons for adopting the *ad hoc* policy in regard to Scotland. Personally, he was not in favour of *ad hoc* administration, and he expected that the Government would apply to Scotland the principle which they professed to apply, but, by introducing clerical control, did not, in the case of England, viz., that town and county councils should be the education authority. He thought they were entitled to some explanation on that point when they considered that the Prime Minister himself, on the 28th April, 1903, said—

> "I am clearly of opinion that it is a most retrograde policy to go in for the principle of *ad hoc* election to deal with particular subjects authoritatively and with power to draw on the rates."

Then they had the President of the Local Government Board on the following day announcing that, whether for good or for evil, the Government had decided that it could no longer support the *ad hoc* principle. Again, the late Vice-President of the Board of Education, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Cambridge University, said that they could no longer support an *ad hoc* authority in this or any other country and, of course, he presumed that that included Scotland. He thought they were entitled to demand from the Government a specific explanation why they had departed from the principle of the town and county councils being the education authority, and why they had reverted to what they themselves called a retrograde principle. Those who had any experience of municipal administration must be impressed with the fact that an *ad hoc* authority was not conducive either to economy or efficiency. They had a much clearer field for applying the principle in Scotland than in England. They were hampered in England by the religious difficulty; in Scotland there was no such difficulty, and, therefore, they had a clear field for applying the principle of creating one authority for all local purposes. He himself had never looked upon the *ad hoc* authority as a fetish. He thought *ad hoc* bodies were an antiquated system of administration. They were merely a phase in the evolution of local government, and the very fact of the small interest that had been taken all over the country in the elections to those *ad hoc* bodies showed that there was no real feeling in their favour on the part of the great body of the people.

Twelve years ago he had the honour, when a member of the Corporation of Edinburgh, to propose a scheme for that city whereby there was to be an enlarged municipal authority to deal with all purposes, municipal, school board, etc. He maintained that the larger the powers of self-government they could give, and the more important they made the local body, the better the men they would attract to take part in the administration. School boards and parish councils had been looked upon very much as mere training grounds for municipal work. In regard to Edinburgh he thought the Secretary of State would bear him out in saying that the principle would have simplified educational administration very much. On the one hand, they had the school board, which had now got large power in regard to secondary education, and on the other hand, they had very many efficient secondary schools as the result of private endowments and voluntary effort. In regard to some of these schools they had at present on the boards of management a large representation of town councillors, and it certainly would have tended to simplify and co-ordinate educational administration if the town councils had been made the local educational authority. There was a danger of friction between the school boards and these other secondary education bodies, and there was also the danger of overlapping and of wasteful expenditure of money. He could not understand why the Government, having such an opportunity, had not attempted to carry out this principle of co-ordination in educational matters. It appeared to him that they had tried to evade the responsibility. They had given evidence of that shifty and shiftless policy which had obtained in other parts of their administration. That might be paradoxical, but, after all, the present Government was altogether a paradox. If those who agreed with him accepted this Bill, they would merely do so as a stepping stone to a complete scheme of uniformity of local administration. He really thought that the levity which the Secretary for Scotland displayed on the previous night in replying to the hon. Member for Camberwell was not justified. A serious proposition was put to the right hon. Gentleman by that Member, and either he or the Prime Minister ought to have replied to it. He would now make an appeal to the Secretary for Scotland to explain this sudden change on the part of the Government in regard to the *ad hoc* principle, and he hoped that such an explanation would be forthcoming before they went to a division on the clause.

*THE SECRETARY FOR SCOTLAND (MR. A. GRAHAM MURRAY, Buteshire) said he would like the Committee in no spirit of levity to seriously consider what was the use of the speech they had just listened to. He believed they were all at one in the House in wishing that this Bill should pass. A great deal of very necessary and very useful discussion had taken place, no doubt, but still they had had a speech from the hon. Member which, so far as he could see, would serve no useful purpose whatsoever. As to the suggestion that he had answered the hon. Member for Camberwell in a spirit of levity, he would say at once that the hon. Member was perfectly justified in his intervention in view of the part he had taken in the passing of the English Act through Parliament. Remembering what were his views on the question of an *ad hoc* authority, it would have been less than natural had the hon. Member missed the opportunity of pointing out that this Bill differed in one very essential particular from the English Bill—in the respect that it created an *ad hoc* authority, which the English Bill did not. But what was the use of an hon. Member getting up, as the hon. Member for East Edinburgh had done, to speak of the *ad hoc* authority as a retrograde principle.

*MR. McCRAE: I did not call it that; it was the Prime Minister who said that it was a retrograde principle.

*MR. A. GRAHAM MURRAY said the hon. Member no doubt attributed the phrase to the Prime Minister, but he also added that he agreed with the right hon. Gentleman.

*MR. McCRAE: Well, I was only supporting the Prime Minister.

*MR. A. GRAHAM MURRAY: At any rate, the hon. Member was running in very curious double harness with the hon. Member for Camberwell.

DR. MACNAMARA (Camberwell, N.): Really I must object.

*MR. A. GRAHAM MURRAY, continuing, asked why had not the hon. Member for East Edinburgh had the courage of his convictions, why had he not put down Amendments to give practical effect to his convictions. He had never put down a single Amendment. Had he done so, he would soon have found out how much support he would have obtained on the Benches around him. Yet that was the course he should have taken had he been speaking from conviction and not in a spirit of levity. The hon. Member urged the House to municipalise their educational institutions, but what title had he to say, as he did, that those of his friends who accepted the Bill only accepted it as an instalment of a complete scheme for the entire municipalisation of the system of administration. Before he was entitled to say that surely he must get rid of the hon. Member for Camberwell. He did not know which hon. Member would live the longer; the hon. Member for East Edinburgh or the hon Member for Camberwell. He was not quite sure, but he would not put his—— Well, he did not bet and did not go to race meetings, like some right hon. Gentlemen opposite. [Sir H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN here shook his head.] He noticed that the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition dissented, but then the right hon. Gentleman only came into the House on the preceding night after the hour at which the last race was run.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN (Stirling Burghs): I did not go to the races. I was here all the time that the House was sitting, although not perhaps in the Chamber itself.

*MR. A. GRAHAM MURRAY intimated that he would not pursue the subject further. He could only say that, joking apart, he did not believe that the hon. Member for East Edinburgh would really have the power to carry out the boast which he had made of treating this Bill as only a step towards entire municipalisation. He would not detain the House at any further length on that point. It was quite well known that, acting to the best of his judgment, he had chosen to adopt the *ad hoc* principle for Scotland. [Several HON. MEMBERS: Why?] There were many reasons why he had done so. It was necessary, for one reason, because the Scotch burgh system had no analogy in the English system. In Scotland they had an intricate network of police and Royal burghs which were exceedingly jealous of their responsibilities and their powers, and which would never have consented to have been represented in educational matters by county councils. Reference had been made to the views of certain Ministers and of the late Vice-President of the Committee of Council on Education. He had sins enough of his own to be responsible for, without being called on to defend the general expressions used by other Ministers in debate on previous Bills, or the perhaps too general expressions of the former Vice-President of the Council, who was well able to defend himself and to repudiate any unwarranted interpretation which might be put upon his words. No doubt the right hon. Gentleman would repudiate the general meaning which had been placed upon his words—words quoted, as they had been, without reference to the context. He hoped that the Committee would be allowed to get on with the real work of the sitting with as little delay as possible.

SIR JOHN GORST (Cambridge University) said that after the very pointed reference which had been made to him by the right hon. Gentleman he was bound to explain in one or two words his position. The phrases which had been quoted by the hon. Member for East Edinburgh were not his words, they were the words of the Prime Minister and of the President of the Local Government Board, and they were words uttered in the debate on the English Education Bill in general condemnation of the *ad hoc* principle. On that occasion he, too, no doubt, did express a desire to see the municipalisation of education. Possibly his opinion was not now so important as it was when he uttered the words which had been attributed to him, but he would like to point out that he had most consistently in the long course of his Parliamentary life advocated the municipalisation of every kind of administration wherever it was possible, and he would give his reason for that in a very few words. He looked upon the municipalisation of a great deal of our administrative work as the only way out of the extraordinary *impasse* in which Parliament now found itself. Parliament was now quite incapable of pressing on with that social legislation which was so much demanded by the people, and the only way out of the difficulty was to give greater powers to municipal and local bodies and to trust them to perform a great deal of the work which was now vainly attempted to be performed in Parliament. They could not have a great number of different local bodies, they wanted to have one strong self-contained body which would have charge of the finances of a district and be able to weigh one necessity against another and see where the product of the district rates could be most wisely spent. It should also at the same time be responsible to the ratepayers for the finances of the district and for the proper application of the methods of local self-government.

MR. BRYCE (Aberdeen, S.) said he did not desire to detain the Committee, but he was bound to express his opinion that this discussion had served a very useful purpose. It would help them to learn how to measure the sincerity and consistency of the Government. Possibly his hon. friends the Members for Camberwell and East Edinburgh were just a little hard upon the Secretary for Scotland. It was not he who made those broad sweeping declarations about the *ad hoc* principle. It was the Prime Minister who did that, and he strongly suspected that the Secretary for Scotland himself, with his long experience in politics and his acutely critical mind, was not so very much imposed upon by those declarations of the Prime Minister and the President of the Local Government Board as were his ingenious and simple-minded friends the Members for Camberwell and East Edinburgh. The House knew pretty well what was the reason why school boards were destroyed under the English Act. They were destroyed because the clergy did not like them, and because it was desirable to curry favour with the clergy. An excuse was wanted for throwing the charge of the maintenance of voluntary schools on the rates, that was the reason for the destruction of the school boards in England. But in Scotland no such necessity existed, and as the system there obtaining was working well it had been allowed to continue, whereas in England, although there it also had worked well, it had been ruthlessly destroyed. That was a very simple explanation of the whole matter. He was bound to say that no Prime Minister within their recollection had displayed such a capacity for suddenly invoking great principles for the nonce as had the present Prime Minister, and then throwing them away when they had served his purpose. The example given them in the different policies pursued in regard to the English and Scotch Education Bills would be of some value to the House when it came in the future to consider the weight which should be attached to the declarations of the Government on other subjects. He thought that they would do well to remember that when they came to discuss a matter which could not be much longer delayed—the necessity of amending the English Act.

*THE CHAIRMAN: Order, order! We are not now discussing the English Education Act, and I must invite hon. Members to resume debate on the Scotch Bill.

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON (Dundee) asked permission to give a few words of explanation as to his failure to move, on the previous night, the Amendment which stood in his name upon the Paper in regard to the educational district for Dundee. He had found that the Secretary for Scotland in the clause as amended would have power to make the alteration which he had desired to secure by legislation, and that being so, with the consent of those at whose request he had put the Amendment on the Paper, he had decided not to move it.

*MR. HUNTER CRAIG (Lanarkshire, Govan) said he was bound to express his regret that the Government had refused the appeal made on behalf of Govan parish that it should be constituted a separate educational district. It had a most excellent record in regard to educational matters, and its school board, as well as the leading representatives of opinion in the parish, including the Burgh Councils of Govan, Partick, and Kinning Park, were unanimously in favour of the Amendment which had been proposed. But the Amendment having been rejected, he supposed it was a foregone conclusion that their object would not be attained and he, therefore, proposed to enter his protest against the decision of the Government by voting against that clause.

MR. GEORGE BROWN (Edinburgh, Central) made an appeal to the Secretary for Scotland as to whether the proposals he had brought forward for the inclusion of certain suburban districts of Mid-Lothian in the area of the Edinburgh School Board could be dealt with as an administrative matter under the clause as it had been amended. If he could get an assurance that that was so, it would not be necessary for him to further trouble the Committee.

MR. BARRAN (Leeds, N.) said he desired to draw attention to the fact that the Government had taken entirely different areas in the Scotch as compared with the English Bill. When this matter was being discussed on the English Bill——

THE CHAIRMAN: Order, order! The hon. Member is not entitled to go back to the discussion which took place on the English Bill.

MR. BARRAN said he was only using the English Bill as a means of comparison. This was the first opportunity they had had of ascertaining the real mind of the Government with regard to large county areas for educational purposes. They seemed now to have decided that the county areas should be split up, where it was desired that smaller areas should be constituted. Were they to take it that the Government agreed that smaller areas were desirable for educational purposes? Did they admit that education would be better served in Scotland by having smaller areas than it was in England, where they had such large areas as in the West Riding of Yorkshire? Did they now say that large areas were unworkable and undesirable? Surely they ought to have a direct declaration to that effect from the Government, so that they might know on what lines educational legislation would proceed in the future. The Secretary for Scotland had commented on the fact that in his country they had Royal burghs to deal with, but was that any reason why Scotland should be treated differently from England? In the latter country they had larger cities and towns. If these areas were to be broken up in Scotland then there was a claim for similar treatment to be extended to England. What was the reason for denying to England that which was granted to Scotland? They were entitled to some explanation from the Government on that point.

SIR JOHN LENG (Dundee) said he desired to support the statement of his hon. colleague as to the desirability of extending the Dundee education area to the suburban districts. He regretted that the Dundee people did not move earlier in the matter, so that the point might have been more deliberately submitted to the Secretary for Scotland, and he hoped they would receive an assurance that it would be possible under the clause, as amended, to deal with these cases administratively. He certainly held that in cities like Dundee, Aberdeen, and Edinburgh there should be power to extend the radius, so as to embrace suburban districts.

*Mr. A. GRAHAM MURRAY promised to consider the matter before the Report stage.

Mr. BLACK (Banffshire) rose to suggest a further Amendment, which would, he thought, effect a decided improvement in regard to representations upon which the districts named in the Bill might be altered. A school board was not likely to vote itself out of existence after the Act came into operation. He would therefore suggest the desirability of making it competent for a parish council, or for a body of thirty or fifty ratepayers, to come forward and make representations as to the enlargement or splitting up of areas. That, he thought, would facilitate the working of the Bill.

Mr. AINSWORTH (Argyllshire) pointed out that the words "School Board" in this clause conveyed a different meaning to the words as used in the last Act. There it represented a combination of parishes; now it only represented a single parish. The Secretary for Scotland was now to have power to divide a district, if required, into parishes, or combinations of parishes, for educational purposes. But he would like to point out the difficulties which existed in some large parishes of inter-communication for local government purposes. There was the proposed district including the Islands of Mull, Tiree, and Islay, and it was almost as difficult for these Islands to communicate with each other as with the mainland. The same applied to Colonsay and Jura, and he mentioned these matters in order that the right hon. Gentleman, when the clause came up on Report, might be prepared to deal with such cases as these.

Question put, and agreed to.

Clause 4.

Sir John Leng.

Sir CHARLES RENSHAW (Renfrewshire, W.) formally moved.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 2, line 22, to leave out the word 'department,' and insert the words 'Secretary for Scotland.'"—(*Sir Charles Renshaw.*)

Mr. A. GRAHAM MURRAY: The Government accept the Amendment.

Amendment agreed to.

The next Amendment on the Paper was as follows—

"In page 2, line 22, to leave out from the word 'by' to the word 'the,' in line 24, and insert the words 'means of a schedule attached hereto indicate.'"—(*Mr. Weir.*)

*The CHAIRMAN: This Amendment is out of order. There is no power to add a schedule to an Act after the Act has been passed.

Mr. DALZIEL (Kirkcaldy Burghs) asked if it would not be in order to move the Amendment on the understanding that, if adopted, a schedule would be brought up before the Bill became law.

*The CHAIRMAN said it was open to the hon. Member to bring up a schedule himself when the schedules were reached.

Mr. MAXWELL (Dumfries-shire) next moved an Amendment providing that the Orders with regard to the number and apportionment of members of school boards should be duly advertised in the *Edinburgh Gazette*. He thought it would be the most effective means of calling the attention of local authorities to the matter.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 2, line 23, after the first word 'be,' to insert the words 'published in the *Edinburgh Gazette* within one month of the passing of this Act.'"—(*Mr. Maxwell.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

*Mr. A. GRAHAM MURRAY hoped that the Amendment would not be pressed. He held that there was not the slightest necessity for that. He had never been in the habit of making Orders without giving those interested an opportunity of being heard upon them, and the adoption of this Amendment would involve both delay and unnecessary expense, and would as well unduly hamper the Department in completing the arrangements for the first election.

MR. MAXWELL asked leave to withdraw the Amendment.

MR. DALZIEL thought the Amendment was of more importance than the author of it realised. This Bill gave very extensive powers to the Secretary for Scotland and his Department. It practically placed in their hands the whole management of education under the Bill. It was, therefore, important that the public of Scotland should know what was intended to be done, and in his opinion it was not sufficient that the Order should be merely laid on the Table of the House. What objection could there be to the simple publication of the Order in the *Gazette* for the information of the people in the different localities? It would not be treating the local people with proper respect to refuse this, and he, therefore, hoped that the Amendment would be pressed to a division.

*MR. A. GRAHAM MURRAY said the hon. Member was always anxious to prolong discussion. Had he taken the trouble to read the Amendment he would have seen that the proposal was practically impossible. How could he decide on the number of members for school boards until he had had representations from the county councils and other bodies?

MR. THOMAS SHAW (Hawick Burghs) pointed out that there was an Amendment on the Paper later on providing for consultation with local bodies, and in view of that he did not see what advantage there could be in advertising the Orders in the *Edinburgh Gazette*, the circulation of which was very limited.

MR. DALZIEL said the Secretary for Scotland commenced every speech on Amendments by telling the mover he had not read it, and he would respectfully suggest that the progress of the Bill was not likely to be assisted by such a line of policy. As to the *Gazette*, he admitted that the circulation was limited and he would have been prepared to substitute the words "daily papers." Surely a natural anxiety for publicity did not necessarily prove a desire to retard the progress of the Bill.

MR. CALDWELL (Lanarkshire, Mid.) pointed out that under the Local Government Act of 1894 this procedure of advertising Orders in the *Edinburgh Gazette* had been adopted.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 2, line 26, after the word 'government,' to insert the words 'or other.'"—(*Mr. A. Graham Murray.*)

Amendment agreed to.

MR. PARKER SMITH (Lanarkshire, Partick) next moved an Amendment, the object of which was, he said, to ensure that police burghs should be on the same footing as Royal and Parliamentary burghs. They were, he averred, of equal importance.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 2, line 27, to leave out the words 'Royal and Parliamentary.'"—(*Mr. Parker Smith.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

*MR. A. GRAHAM MURRAY said there must be some misapprehension on this point. Police burghs were included in the electoral divisions, and it was, therefore, unnecessary to provide in the Bill that the police burghs should have a proper proportion of members. A provision of that kind was necessary in the case of Royal burghs, because they were not included in the electoral divisions.

MR. CHARLES DOUGLAS (Lanarkshire, N.W.): How about Coatbridge?

*MR. A. GRAHAM MURRAY: That has given us more trouble that any other burgh in the matter of drafting. But in the Act of last session a clause was inserted placing Coatbridge on the same footing as other burghs.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

The next Amendment on the Paper was as follows—

"In page 2, line 32, after the word 'circumstances,' to insert the words 'and on the application of a county or burgh council he may cause a local inquiry to be made, and for the purposes of such inquiry the provisions of Section 93 of The Local Government (Scotland) Act, 1889, shall be deemed to be part of this Act.'"—(*Sir Charles Renshaw.*)

SIR CHARLES RENSHAW said he did not propose to move this Amendment. All he asked for was an assurance that there would be full opportunities of consultation with the local authorities and that they would have a chance of being heard if they so desired.

*MR. A. GRAHAM MURRAY said he certainly intended to gather the opinions of the local authorities.

MR. THOMAS SHAW said the right hon. Gentleman would satisfy a very prevalent feeling if he would insert words later on dealing with the case of the police burghs.

*MR. A. GRAHAM MURRAY regretted that he had not made it clear that police burghs were part and parcel of the electoral divisions, and must necessarily have a proper proportion of the members. Royal burghs were on a different footing.

MR. WEIR (Ross and Cromarty) said he wished to move in Clause 4, page 2, line 32, to leave out from "circumstances" to the end of line 38. He understood the Secretary for Scotland was prepared to accept the Amendment.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 2, line 32, to leave out from the word 'circumstances' to end of line 38."—(*Mr. Weir.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the clause."

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON said that as the hon. Member had not explained the Amendment, perhaps the Secretary for Scotland would oblige.

*MR. A. GRAHAM MURRAY said that as the Bill was originally drafted the district was the unit; and there was no power to either combine or sub-divide. Therefore, it was provided that at least one member should be assigned to each electoral division. The Committee had pressed upon him, and he had accepted, the power of combining and sub-dividing. That being so, he did not want the cast-iron rule about there being at least one member for each particular district to remain; and he had to alter the provision because of the altered circumstances created by these combinations and subdivisions. If there were a cast-iron rule, it would operate against the combinations he desired to make. That was why he did not object to the Amendment.

MR. BUCHANAN (Perthshire, E.) said that if the right hon. Gentleman accepted the Amendment he would be acting contrary to what he had just said. The words safeguarded the case of police burghs to secure separate representation. If the words were omitted that security would be removed.

*MR. A. GRAHAM MURRAY said that the security to which the hon. Gentleman referred would be taken away in any case. The first question was to ascertain what the unit was to be. Then they had to decide the number of members of the school board; and, after that, how many of the members were to be given to districts other than Royal burghs. All those questions would have to be decided on the basis of size, population, and valuation. No one district would have greater security than another.

MR. THOMAS SHAW said that, so far as the Bill stood at present, he agreed with the Secretary for Scotland. They had introduced by Clause 3 a certain amount of elasticity; and it would be inconsistent with that to so operate on the language of this clause as to adhere to what was not an elastic principle. At the same time, he thought that a proviso should be introduced to give the Secretary for Scotland, as it were, a statutory guide with regard to the appointments for each cut-up or unified division. The public had to be considered; and there should be no possibility that any officer of the Crown should be in a position to elect all the members. A statutory guide would be to the advantage of all parties, and would at all events be a guarantee that each portion of a locality would have one or more representatives.

*MR. A. GRAHAM MURRAY said he would try and amend the section, in order that each electoral division should have at least one member. If, however, there was a large combination, such as, for instance, the entire county of Lanarkshire, and if they had a cast-iron rule, the school board might consist of 100 or 110 members.

*MR. McCRAE said he wished to move an Amendment to the Amendment, namely, to leave out all the words from "circumstances" to the word "and" in line 35. His object was to provide that every ward in a burgh should have at least one representative.

*THE CHAIRMAN: There is no means of moving an Amendment to this Amendment. The proper course would be to negative the Amendment of the hon. Member for Ross; and then it would be open to the hon. Member to move his Amendment.

SIR LEWIS McIVER (Edinburgh, W.) said that the difficulty would be got over by negativing the Amendment before the Committee and proceeding to the next Amendment standing in the name of the Secretary for Scotland. His right hon. friend stated that they wanted to put representation on the same elastic footing as the areas; but they were striking at the old system of election by wards. If election by wards was abolished, an elector might only know two or three candidates out of sixty or eighty; whereas, if there was election by ward the elector would know the man he wished to represent him.

MR. BRYCE said he could not agree that the abolition of ward voting was, as regarded cities of a certain size, a great advantage. Ward voting in Glasgow would be very different to ward voting in Aberdeen or Dundee.

*MR. A. GRAHAM MURRAY said that the question was a very interesting one, but it would arise absolutely on Clause 6. Why, therefore, should it be discussed now?

*MR. McCRAE asked if he would have an opportunity of discussing the subject on Clause 6?

*THE CHAIRMAN: I will consider any Amendment that the hon. Gentleman frames. The question is "that the words proposed to be left out stand part." If the hon. Member can frame any Amendment to that he will be in order, but I have never known it to be done yet.

*MR. A. GRAHAM MURRAY said the whole point would be directly raised by the Amendments on Clause 6, why then should the Committee discuss the question on a clause in connection with which it was not directly raised?

*SIR CHARLES RENSHAW submitted that a distinct question was raised by the Amendment of the hon. Member for Ross and Cromarty. The right hon. Gentleman had given notice of an Amendment to omit the words from line 35, but not the words from line 33, and he desired to speak from the county point of view with regard to the omission of the earlier words. The right hon. Gentleman thought the omission of words necessary in order to give him a freer hand in the constitution of the new educational districts under Clause 3. But that clause did not give the right hon. Gentleman power to divide electoral divisions. In view of the fact that considerable importance was attached by many county councils to the question of electoral districts, he asked whether the present Amendment could not be withdrawn, and the Amendment of the Secretary for Scotland accepted, on the understanding that between now and the Report stage the right hon. Gentleman would consider whether any further alteration of the clause was necessary.

MR. MUNRO FERGUSON (Leith Burghs) said that one of the securities for the proper representation of large districts on the boards was the appointment of one representative for each unit, and that was a strong argument in favour of retaining the original design of the Bill as far as was practicable. He did not agree that better members would be secured from a division than from a parish or ward. He was not an economist in matters of education, but he believed the large *ad hoc* bodies tended to become extravagant, and consequently, so far as the original scheme of the Bill was departed from, the security for economy would be lost. The Secretary for Scotland had promised that as far as possible he would give members to wards or parishes, but the Committee ought to have an assurance that to as large an extent as was practicable the original design of the Bill would be followed.

* MR. A. GRAHAM MURRAY said the reason for his original Amendment being in the shape in which it appeared on the Paper was as clear as possible. The Bill began with a cast-iron unit, namely, the district, and with that cast-iron unit there was no harm in saying that in making the school boards there should be at least one representative for each electoral division. Moveover, as originally drafted, the Bill provided for voting by ward in the enumerated cities, and in that case also there was no harm in saying that there should be at least one representative for each ward. But since then he had put down an Amendment to Clause 6 based on the principle that voting by wards was not the best plan to adopt in the great cities, and in consequence of that Amendment it was necessary that the latter part of this clause should go. In the discussion on Clause 3, the cast-iron unit was entirely dropped, and he had been given power not only to divide, but also to combine districts. The moment that power of combination was given the plan of one member for each electoral division became a practical impossibility. He would illustrate that by referring to the county of Renfrewshire. There were in that county twenty-one county council representatives in the upper district and seventeen in the lower district, so that under the cast-iron rule, if the whole of the county was formed into one district for educational purposes, there would have to be a minimum of thirty-eight members for the education authority. They would represent a population of 83,000. But there was also to be provided for a population of 167,000 comprised in the great cities of Paisley, Renfrew, Greenock, and Port Glasgow, and, if they were represented in the same proportion as the remaining population, it would mean that the school board would have to consist of 114 members. That would have been the effect of the cast-iron rule, and yet the hon. Member was surprised that it had been dropped.

MR. McCRAE said that the argument of the right hon. Gentleman applied altogether to districts other than the enumerated districts, and he hoped the Secretary for Scotland would allow the Committee to vote on a straight issue as between the enumerated and the other districts. The contention of the supporters of the Amendment was that in the enumerated districts each ward should have one representative, and he hoped the right hon. Gentleman would agree to that.

* MR. A. GRAHAM MURRAY said that the whole question to which the hon. Member referred depended on Clause 6, and there he would have a direct issue. If the hon. Member carried his point, there would be no objection whatever to giving each ward one representative.

* MR. McCRAE asked whether he would be out of order in attempting to raise the question on Clause 6 if the present Amendment were voted upon.

MR. PARKER SMITH pointed out that Kinning Park, which was a part of Glasgow, had four wards each containing 4,000 people. If each of those wards of 4,000 people was to have one representative, the remainder of Glasgow, consisting of 1,000,000 people, would require at least 250 representatives. It was just as necessary to have the latitude in enumerated districts as in any others.

MR. WALLACE (Perth) asked whether if the present Amendment were accepted it would hereafter be said that the question had been decided.

* The CHAIRMAN explained that under the clause, power was given to the Secretary for Scotland to make certain Orders. Under Clause 6 the Committee would lay down the standard which the right hon. Gentleman was to follow. That seemed to take away the discretion.

Mr. WALLACE pointed out that in the particular words concerned there was no question of discretion whatever. The words were "Provided that in every enumerated district at least one member shall be assigned to every ward." If that were decided on now, would the Committee be precluded from dealing with the question on Clause 6?

*The CHAIRMAN said that the whole of Clause 4 was governed by the words at the commencement, by which the Secretary for Scotland was given a certain discretion. If by a later clause the Committee chose to say that in exercising this discretion the right hon. Gentleman should do certain things, it was obviously in the power of the Committee to do so. He did not see, therefore, that by the Committee omitting the words now the hon. Member would be precluded from raising the question later.

Sir CHARLES RENSHAW said he would be extremely sorry if the figures with regard to the county of Renfrewshire given by the right hon. Gentleman had the effect of inducing the Committee to reject the Amendment. Renfrewshire was not at all a typical instance, as it contained an exceptional number of burghs and a very large population. In fact, it had no parallel in the whole of Scotland; consequently it was hardly a fair illustration.

*Mr. JOHN DEWAR (Inverness) said he was sorry that the words were going, but after the explanation given by the right hon. Gentleman it was probably necessary that they should be omitted. He was altogether in favour of election by wards in burghs, and he believed that the relative popularity of town council elections as compared with school board elections was due to the fact that in the former case the elections were by wards. In Inverness-shire there were many districts in which the religious question would arise. Some districts were purely Roman Catholic, others were predominately Protestant, while others might be said to be half and half.

Mr. A. GRAHAM MURRAY said it was really unnecessary for the hon. Member to go into the case of Inverness-shire. He had already stated that he was perfectly willing to give representatives to electoral districts, where possible; it was only when the authority would become so large as to render it practically impossible that he would not be able to do it.

Mr. BLACK suggested that the views of both parties might be met by inserting words to the effect that "except in cases where there is a combination of countie or county council districts the principle of one man for each electoral division shall apply."

Question put, and negatived.

Question proposed, "That Clause 4, as amended, stand part of the Bill"

Mr. CALDWELL pointed out that in apportioning the members of the school board between the county or local government district and the Royal or Parliamentary burghs, the Secretary for Scotland was to have regard to population, distribution and pursuits of the population, area, annual value, and educational and other circumstances. It was quite right and proper that such matters should be taken into account in the constitution of a local government area, because they affected the question of taxation, but he submitted that when the question was purely that of education nothing more than population need be considered. The principle of the equality of votes ought to hold good. Complaints were often made of the inequalities of the franchise under which some Members of Parliament were elected by large numbers of voters and others by very small numbers, and he contended that if it was right that all voters should be equal in Parliamentary elections, it was equally right that the same principle should apply in school board elections.

Question put, and agreed to.

Clause 5.

SIR CHARLES RENSHAW formally moved the substitution of "Secretary for Scotland" for "Department."

Amendment proposed—

"In page 2, line 39, to leave out 'department,' and insert 'Secretary for Scotland.'"—*(Sir Charles Renshaw.)*

Amendment agreed to.

Consequential drafting Amendments agreed to.

Question proposed, "That Clause 5, as amended, stand part of the Bill."

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON suggested that it would be better to leave out the proviso to the clause by which it was proposed that in making an amending or modifying Order the procedure prescribed by the 46th Section of the Local Government (Scotland) Act 1894, should be followed as nearly as possible. That section provided that Orders should be published in the *Edinburgh Gazette.* It appeared to follow, therefore, that under the proviso an amending Order would have to be published in the *Edinburgh Gazette,* whereas it was not necessary so to publish the original Order. As the beneficial provisions of that section of the Local Government Act had already been secured, he submitted that the proviso in this lause was unnecessary.

*MR. A. GRAHAM MURRAY said it was not intended that the section should apply to the original Orders, because it was absolutely necessary that they should get on as quickly as possible in order that the Bill might be started. But when once the Bill was in operation and the whole of the arrangements in going order, so that time was not of the essence of the matter, he thought it would be advisable that they should adopt the more serious procedure laid down by the Act of 1894.

Mr. Caldwell.

MR. THOMAS SHAW said it appeared to him that if they could trust the Secretary for Scotland with the initial arrangements of the districts throughout Scotland, they might very well trust him with power to amend an Order. He asked the right hon. Gentleman to consider whether the procedure provided by Section 46 of the Act of 1894 could be applied here.

Question put, and agreed to.

Clause 6.

*MR. JOHN DEWAR moved to omit the word "not" in line 10. The effect of the clause as drafted was that burghs for electoral purposes would be included in the electoral district of a county. At present the burghs elected the school boards as a whole instead of by wards, as in the case of the election of town councils, and he believed that this was the explanation of the greater interest taken in town council elections. Elections by wards always added to the interest, as the personal element entered so much more into the contest. In saying this he believed he would have the support of the Attorney-General, who represented a burgh which had lately been divided into wards to the great benefit of the town. He believed that burghs such as Perth and Inverness should elect their school boards as they elected their town councils. For that reason he begged to propose that, in cases where burghs were divided into wards, the election of members of school boards should be by wards.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 3, line 10, to leave out the word 'not.'"—*(Mr. John Dewar.)*

Question proposed, "That the word 'not' stand part of the clause."

*MR. A. GRAHAM MURRAY said he could not help thinking that the hon. Member had not fully considered the proposal he had made. It was something quite different from what the hon. Member expected. He asked the hon. Member to consider what would be the use of election by wards in a burgh in a non-enumerated district unless it meant a member for each ward.

*MR. JOHN DEWAR: Certainly.

*MR. A. GRAHAM MURRAY: The hon. Member said "Certainly." Let him take the hon. Member the next step. A burgh which was only a smallish burgh was part of a large county district. Suppose that the burgh had eight wards.

*MR. JOHN DEWAR: There is no small burgh divided into wards.

*MR. A. GRAHAM MURRAY said it was quite obvious that a burgh might divide itself into wards, if it liked. Accordingly, if they passed the Amendment of the hon. Member, there must be one representative for each ward. That burgh was only, of course, a fraction of a much larger district, or it might be, under the powers of this Bill, a fraction of two or three districts combined. That burgh could only have representation somewhat proportionate to its own population. Yet if this Amendment were accepted, they would begin with a necessary minimum of members according to the wards of the burghs, and these wards might be altered from time to time, and they would have proportionately to raise the representation of the other places in the county in order to make the proper proportion to the wards in the burgh. The Amendment would really produce chaos.

MR. WALLACE said there were burghs to which this Amendment should apply. The city of Perth, which he represented, was divided into four wards, and he understood that the city itself would represent nearly four-fifths of the population of the school board area. Did the right hon. Gentleman suggest that in regard to a school board election in the city of Perth there should be no opportunity of dividing the city into wards, so that the different sections should have an opportunity of expressing their opinions? The city of Inverness, with a slightly smaller population, was of a very similar character to the city of Perth. He agreed with his hon. friend that interest in elections was greatly quickened when, in such places, the electors were divided into smaller areas. Speaking in regard to the city of Perth he could state that the school board election never aroused the same degree of interest as the elections which took place in the ward areas. He thought that was the experience of everyone in connection with the elections in England, and the result was that the minority had governed for education purposes. Recognising this state of matters the Government, in the Education Bill of 1902, objectionable as it was in other respects, introduced the principle for which he was contending. The right hon. Gentleman had asked what they were going to do in regard to the very small burghs, if they were to have them as an electoral unit. He would remind the right hon. Gentleman that the small burghs in Scotland were not divided into wards at all. The question only arose in regard to a few large towns.

SIR CHARLES RENSHAW thought there was a good deal in what had fallen from the hon. Member for Perth. He would like to ask the Secretary for Scotland whether it would be possible to deal with cases of this kind by inserting in the Amendment, of which the right hon. Gentleman had given notice in regard to Sub-section 2 of the clause, words for the purpose of protecting the interest of the larger burghs to which his hon. friend had referred. He quite agreed that it might not be necessary to apply this arrangement in the case of some of the smaller burghs, but in the case of burghs of over 10,000 inhabitants it would be valuable.

*MR. A. GRAHAM MURRAY said he was perfectly willing to accept that suggestion. Of course, they should be in a better position to discuss the proposal when they came to deal with the merits of the next Amendment. If the hon. Member would not press the Amendment, the matter would be kept open for consideration on the next Amendment.

MR. JOHN DEWAR begged leave to withdraw the Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 3, line 12, to leave out the words 'municipal ward of every.' "—(*Mr. A. Graham Murray.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the clause."

Dr. MACNAMARA said this was an endeavour to introduce the fantastic manner of election which was fatal to the school board system in England. They got all the disadvantages here of the cumulative vote and none of the advantages. They did not protect minorities at all, and that he imagined was what the right hon. Gentleman desired to do. He saw that the Secretary for Scotland would take power, by the Amendment which he would afterwards move, to combine wards. In Edinburgh there were sixteen, and in Glasgow twenty-five wards. Under the system proposed they would have to elect sixteen members for Edinburgh, all on one voting paper. They might have twenty-five or thirty candidates, and, acute as the people of Scotland were in matters of education, how did they think it was possible to give an intelligent vote for sixteen out of the number nominated? Supposing the Secretary for Scotland, under the powers which he proposed to take, combined the wards, they would have precisely the same experience as they had in London, where twenty-five members had been elected. They had been elected in areas sending six, five, and four members. For ten years he had been elected from an area which selected six members of the London School Board, and he was bound to say that there had never been an intelligent vote on any of these occasions, because the number of candidates to be voted on was too large. He might be excused for saying this, because he was always at the top of the poll. There had been the most profound lack of interest under the cumulative system of election, when the voters had to select from so many candidates. He was sorry to find himself in sharp difference with the right hon. Member for South Aberdeen; and with great deference he would suggest to the right hon. Gentleman that he was at entire variance with what was the proper democratic idea. He maintained that, with small areas of voting, the greater interest was taken in the elections. The proposal before the Committee was merely doctrinaire. He did not know what was behind it. If it was desired to secure a representation of the minority because the cumulative vote had been thrown over, then he believed that that would not be accomplished. He admitted his conviction was that the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary for Scotland had not made a single proposal which had not been directed to secure a better educational system for Scotland, and that the right hon. Gentleman hoped by breaking up the ward system he would get a better election. Would the right hon. Gentleman tell the Committee why he thought so? His contention, derived from experience, was that by general voting a lack of interest was produced, and there was not so intelligent a choice of members as under the ward system. In London they had to come back to what was practically the ward system on account of the hopeless breakdown of the general voting system. They took it upon themselves to form sub-divisions of the area and agreed that each of the six candidates should run for a certain portion of the area. That was the only way in which they could get anything like an intelligent interest in the election. If they had to do that in London, surely the Secretary for Scotland should pause before he broke down the ward system.

*Mr. A. GRAHAM MURRAY said that so far as he could see they were more likely, under the system of general voting as against ward voting, to get the best class of members on the school board. Although the proposal was not meant as a protection to the minority, he would be perfectly thankful if it would be more likely to secure the election of women and Roman Catholic representatives. In fact, he thought that there would be a better chance under the system he proposed than under ward voting. He confessed he parted with the cumulative system with regret, but he could not see his way actually to repeat it, because there were obvious difficulties in the way, and it would work very badly with the general scheme of the Bill. He could not help saying that under the cumulative system they got a class of members who were devoted to education, and who had done very good work indeed. Although they could not have the cumulative system in its entirety, he thought that under the system he proposed women and Roman Catholics would be able to retain their places. He might be wrong, but, as a matter of fact, he had received a great many representations on this matter from those who were very much entitled to speak on educational questions. He did not for one instant believe that what was called the diminution of interest in school board elections was due so much to the cumulative vote as to other causes. He was glad to think that he was going to have a stalwart backer of his proposal in the right hon. Member for South Aberdeen who had such great educational experience.

*MR. McCRAE said he regretted the attitude assumed by the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary for Scotland, because he thought the reasons the right hon. Gentleman had adduced were not good and sufficient. In this case second thoughts were not best; the original proposal in the Bill was the right proposal. He regretted that the right hon. Gentleman had given way to pressure brought to bear upon him by those who were, no doubt, interested in education, but who were only familiar with the old, bad system which this Bill should have put an end to. The Secretary for Scotland had said that he looked upon this provision as a protection to the minority. So far as Edinburgh was concerned the right hon. Gentleman was entirely wrong. The right hon. Gentleman had mentioned the case of the Roman Catholics. He ventured to say that election by wards would give a better representation to Roman Catholics than the proposal now made for voting over the whole district. Voting over the whole district, in the absence of the cumulative vote, would, he was sure, prevent any Roman Catholic being elected, not only in Edinburgh but, he believed, also in Glasgow. It must be remembered that Roman Catholics in these cities were concentrated in certain districts, and if the election were to be made in these wards they would be able to return representatives of their own communion, but would not be able to do so by general voting over the whole district. He agreed with the hon. Member for Camberwell that the smaller interest taken in municipal and school board elections was due to the fact not only of the cumulative vote but to the large areas called upon to vote for representatives out of a large number of candidates. The Secretary for Scotland should have stuck to the original principle of the Bill. Be it good or bad, the right hon. Gentleman had adopted the *ad hoc* principle, and, therefore, whatever might be said in regard to the unenumerated districts, he ought to have maintained representation by wards in the enumerated districts. He was anxious that the right hon. Gentleman should concede that the minimum of representation should be one member for each ward. If the right hon. Gentleman would consider this matter in all its bearings, he was sure that educational interests would not suffer by this being done. He had been astonished at the position taken up by his right hon. friend the Member for South Aberdeen because he was sure that the original proposal of the Bill would give effect to efficient representation, and that, under it, the right men would be got more easily by election by wards than under the scheme now suggested by the right hon. Gentleman.

SIR LEWIS McIVER said that he entirely concurred with the hon. Member for East Edinburgh that if there was to be a protection for minorities it would be by voting by wards. The Roman Catholics occupied districts by themselves, and there were certain wards in Edinburgh where they might be fairly competent to send representatives to the school board, but in which they would fail if the voting was over the whole city. He did not profess to express an opinion as to whether or not better men would be got by ward representation; but this he knew, that the ward system was interwoven with the whole civic life of the towns and cities of Scotland, and that it would be a great pity to depart from it. To depart from the ward system would, he believed, be to take a retrograde step.

MR. BRYCE said that the hon. Member for East Edinburgh had expressed his belief that the ward system of election was the best; but he and others who supported it had given no ground for their belief.

*Mr. McCRAE said that the groundwork of their belief was experience.

Mr. BRYCE said that, of course, there were many causes which conduced to the lack of interest taken in school board elections, such as the many questions as to administration which confused the issue. His own belief was that they were much more likely to rouse a real interest in the great question of educational policy in the hearts of the citizens by having the elections spread over the whole city than by having them in wards. He did not agree with his hon. friend that it would be difficult for people electing fifteen members over a whole city to know for whom they voted. They had done so ever since the Act of 1872 had come into force. The electors had no difficulty in knowing who were the good candidates. He was not fond of the system, and he was glad it was gone, but it appeared to him that this Amendment would give some protection to minorities. He was no advocate for representation of minorities, but he did not think it was possible to leave that out of account altogether, because different cities were affected by different circumstances. What they wanted was to get the best men of the city or burgh who would come forward and devote their knowledge and experience to this kind of work, and they were a good deal more likely to do so if they went to the city as a whole than if they went to a particular ward and got the best man in that ward. They would get a better candidate for education if they went to the city as a whole, and by so doing they would also eliminate a certain number of questions which sometimes gave trouble. He did not want to see a representative of a ward come forward and represent the interest of his ward as against another ward or as against the whole city. In his opinion everybody ought to represent the city as a whole, and do the best he could for the city, every part of which ought to interest every member of the board. That was of special interest when they came to deal with secondary education, which it was clear must be dealt with over the whole city. Although these arguments applied to every city he agreed that there was a difference between the large cities and the small. He was not prepared to deny that in the case of a great city like Glasgow, which would have a large school board, it might be better to cut the city up into districts, each district returning a certain number of members. If they had to return fifty or sixty members, it might be difficult for the individual elector to judge of the individual capabilities of each candidate, but when they came to a small city like Aberdeen, whose board only consisted of some thirteen members, then a better result would be obtained by having the election over the whole city. That was the view of Aberdeen, and he hoped that those cities which had not boards of an inordinate size might be allowed to elect their members over the whole city if they chose to do so.

Mr. HALDANE (Haddingtonshire) said this was a question on which there was a great diversity of opinion, but it must be considered from the point of view of how they were likely to get the best result in the composition of the school boards. A good deal had been said as to the Catholic minority which had to be considered, but there was a much more serious minority in his opinion than that, and that was that of the women. In his opinion they were less likely to get the best result in the election of women by an election over the whole city than by an election over a ward. If the people of a ward had to elect three candidates they would say: "We will have two men and one woman." That was a matter which weighed considerably in his mind, because the part which women had to take in the education of Scotland was very important. They had more leisure and were good workers, and with regard to the education of girls and young children had done very efficient work indeed. He had been very much moved by that consideration. The Secretary for Scotland did not propose to leave the big cities in their present condition; he proposed to divide them into smaller divisions, but on the merits of the proposal it seemed to him, on the arguments of his hon. friend the Member for East Edinburgh, that the question was of great general importance, and that all the concessions made went in favour of the proposal which the Secretary for Scotland had put upon the Paper. He associated himself in this matter with the speech made by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Aberdeen.

MR. CHARLES DOUGLAS said he was sorry to differ from the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Aberdeen and from the right hon. Gentleman opposite, but he thought the Secretary for Scotland had made an unfortunate change, and the grounds upon which he had maintained that change were that there had been some compulsion. The right hon. Gentleman frankly admitted that he preferred the cumulative vote but he abandoned it because public opinion rendered it wholly impossible. The Secretary for Scotland desired to protect the minority, but the right hon. Member for Aberdeen supported the proposal because he thought it would not protect the minority. If the right hon. Gentleman desired to protect the minority surely it was better to have a cumulative vote than a vote which would have all its vices and none of its supposed merits. The right hon. Gentleman did not believe that the lack of interest in school board elections had been due to the cumulative vote, but most of those who had been engaged in school board work would not agree with him. They would say the lack of interest was largely brought about by want of close attention to the work, not by the supporters of the schools but by the community, and by the power given to the people who had special interests to serve in defeating the intention of those in office. Anything that perpetuated that in the least degree would do a great deal of harm in this Bill. Under these circumstances he deplored the right hon. Gentleman's refusal to stick to the Bill as he brought it forward. The abandonment of this part of the Bill made it entirely different in its application in the towns and in the country districts, because the right hon. Gentleman had given an assurance that day that he was going to adopt this old method of cumulative vote for the country. But every argument put forward against the cumulative vote in the town would apply equally well to the country, especially in the crowded parts of it. Why had the right hon. Gentleman adopted a different system for the towns and not for the large rural districts which lived practically under the same conditions as the towns and the suburbs? He hoped this would not be insisted upon because, if it were, it would impair much of the usefulness they hoped to get from this Bill. After all, educational local government was not so different from other local government as to necessitate its being managed by entirely different staffs. His experience was that when there was local responsibility and local representation there was much greater interest on the part of the public than there could be under any other elective system.

MR. PARKER SMITH expressed his approval of the Amendment of the Secretary for Scotland partly on the ground that it gave the minority a better chance of representation, but mostly because it permitted a better class of people to be elected on the school board. It was a most imperfect method of protecting minorities, and if parties interested in local government were organised in the same way as political Parties it would be no protection at all. To carry out this Vote properly the method of preferential voting ought to be altered so as to allow the people to vote for one man and one man only, but to transfer their votes in order of preference. In that way they would have secured the protection of the minority and would have also had the advantage of the large district and an increased chance for the election of women and other suitable persons. As to the system most likely to give the best results, the weight of educational opinion was in favour of the Amendment of the Government and upon that ground he should support it.

MR. ALEXANDER CROSS (Glasgow, Camlachie) said he was not in favour of the view taken by the Government. It occurred to him, from the remarks of the right hon. Member for Aberdeen, that the right hon. Gentleman spoke of some necessary complement by which persons in a ward were bound to vote for a person residing in that ward. That would not be the case at all. It was also said that the system of election with regard to women would not be so well carried out over a ward as over the whole city. That was a statement which he could not understand, because from his experience of Edinburgh it was not the fact. In his opinion the services of the best people could not be secured by the electoral area being spread over large districts. The best people did not care to fight a large election involving great public meetings and a large amount of speaking, when, in the case of a ward, the social standing of the candidate was frequently sufficient to return him to the school board. Up to now the school board elections had been run on a system of *scrutin de liste.* They had been run by one party in favour of that party, and the men who were returned were the representatives of a clique; the nominees of a party or a church. He followed and shared the views of the hon. Member who had spoken in favour of election by wards.

Question put.

The Committee divided:—Ayes, 85; Noes, 213. (Division List No. 149.)

AYES.

Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
Ainsworth, John Stirling
Asher, Alexander
Ashton, Thomas Gair
Asquith, Rt. Hn. Herb. Henry
Atherley-Jones, L.
Barlow, John Emmott
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Brigg, John
Brown, George M. (Edinburgh)
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Burt, Thomas
Buxton, Sydney Charles
Caldwell, James
Campbell-Bannerman, Sir H.
Causton, Richard Knight
Corbett, A. Cameron (Glasgow)
Craig, Robert Hunter (Lanark)
Crombie, John William
Dalziel, James Henry
Davies, Alfred (Carmarthen)
Davies, M. Vaughan (Cardigan)
Dewar, John A. (Inverness-sh.
Dobbie, Joseph
Douglas, Charles M. (Lanark)
Edwards, Frank
Elibank, Master of
Ellice, Capt. E.C(SAndrw'sBghs
Emmott, Alfred
Evans, Samuel T. (Glamorgan)
Farquharson, Dr. Robert
Ferguson, R. C. Munro (Leith)
Fitzmaurice, Lord Edmond
Foster, Sir Walter (Derby Co.)
Furness, Sir Christopher
Gladstone, Rt.Hn. Herbert Jn.
Harmsworth, R. Leicester
Hayter, Rt. Hon. Sir Arthur D.
Hobhouse, C. E. H. (Bristol, E.
Holland, Sir William Henry
Hope, John Deans (Fife, West)
Horniman, Frederick John
Joicey, Sir James
Jones, D. Brynmor (Swansea)
Jones, William(Carnarvonshire
Kemp, Lieut.-Colonel George
Kitson, Sir James
Leese, Sir Jos. F. (Accrington)
Leng, Sir John
Lewis, John Herbert
Lloyd-George, David
Macnamara, Dr. Thomas J.
M'Arthur, William (Cornwall)
M'Iver, Sir Lewis(Edinburgh, W
Mappin, Sir Frederick Thorpe
Morgan, J. Lloyd (Carmarthen)
Nussey, Thomas Willans
Pease, J. A. (Saffron Walden)
Reid, Sir R. Threshie (Dumfries.
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.)
Runciman, Walter
Russell, T. W.
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Schwann, Charles E.
Shaw, Thomas (Hawick B.)
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Sinclair, John (Forfarshire)
Soares, Ernest J.
Spencer, Rt.Hn.C.R(Northants
Stevenson, Francis S.
Tennant, Harold John
Thomas, Abel(Carmarthen, E.)
Thomas, D. Alfred (Merthyr)
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Wallace, Robert
Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan)
Wason, Jn. Cathcart (Orkney)
Weir, James Galloway
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
Whittaker, Thomas Palmer
Wilson, John (Glasgow)
Wilson, J.W.(Worcestersh., N.)
Woodhouse, Sir J.T(Huddersf'd
Yoxall, James Henry

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Mr. M'Crae, and Mr. Alexander Cross.

NOES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N.E.)
Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Aird, Sir John
Ambrose, Robert
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arrol, Sir William
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Austin, Sir John
Bagot, Capt. Josceline FitzRoy
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour, Rt. Hn. A.J.(Manch'r
Balfour, Capt. C. B. (Hornsey)
Balfour, Rt. Hon. G. W. (Leeds
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Bhownaggree, Sir M. M.
Bignold, Arthur

Mr. Alexander Cross.

Black, Alexander William
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Boland, John
Boulnois, Edmund
Bowles, T. Gibson(King'sLynn
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Bryce, Rt. Hon. James
Campbell, Rt.Hn.J.A (Glasgow
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Carvill, Patrick Geo. Hamilton
Cavendish, V.C.W. (Derbyshire
Cayzer, Sir Charles William
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Cecil, Lord Hugh (Greenwich)
Chamberlain, Rt. Hn.J.(Birm.
Chapman, Edward
Charrington, Spencer
Coates, Edward Feetham
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Coddington, Sir William
Cohen, Benjamin Louis
Collings, Rt. Hon. Jesse
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Craig, Chas. Curtis (Antrim, S.)
Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Cullinan, J.
Cust, Henry John C.
Dalkeith, Earl of
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Delany, William
Devlin, Chas. Ramsay (Galway
Devlin, Joseph (Kilkenny, N.)
Dickinson, Robert Edmond

Dickson, Charles Scott
Dickson-Poynder, Sir John P.
Digby, John K. D. Wingfield-
Dimsdale, Rt. Hn. Sir Joseph C.
Donelan, Captain A.
Doogan, P. C.
Doughty, George
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers
Dunn, Sir William
Durning-Lawrence, Sir Edwin
Dyke, Rt. Hn. Sir William Hart
Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
Elliot, Hon. A. Ralph Douglas
Fergusson, Rt. Hn. Sir J. (Manc'r
Field, William
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
Fisher, William Hayes
Fison, Frederick William
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Flower, Sir Ernest
Forster, Henry William
Gardner, Ernest
Gibbs, Hon. A. G. H.
Gordon, Hn. J. E. (Elgin & Nairn)
Gorst, Rt. Hn. Sir John Eldon
Goschen, Hon. George Joachim
Goulding, Edward Alfred
Graham, Henry Robert
Greene, Henry D. (Shrewsbury)
Guest, Hon. Ivor Churchill
Gunter, Sir Robert
Hain, Edward
Haldane, Rt. Hon. Richard B.
Hall, Edward Marshall
Hammond, John
Hardy, L. (Kent, Ashford)
Haslam, Sir Alfred S.
Haslett, Sir James Horner
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Hayden, John Patrick
Heath, Arthur Howard (Hanley
Heath, James (Staffords., N.W.
Heaton, John Henniker
Hickman, Sir Alfred
Hoare, Sir Samuel
Hogg, Lindsay
Hope, J. F. (Sheffield, Brightside
Houldsworth, Sir Wm. Henry
Hozier, Hn. James Henry Cecil
Hunt, Rowland
Jebb, Sir Richard Claverhouse
Johnstone, Heywood (Sussex)
Joyce, Michael
Kennaway, Rt. Hn. Sir John H.
Kerr, John
Kimber, Henry
King, Sir Henry Seymour
Laurie, Lieut.-General
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
Lawrence, Sir Joseph (Monm'th
Lawson, J. Grant (Yorks., N.R.
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Leveson-Gower, Frederick N.S.
Loder, Gerald Walter Erskine
Long, Rt. Hon. W. (Bristol, S.)
Lowther, C. (Cumb., Eskdale)
Lucas, Reginald J. (Portsmouth
Lundon, W.
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
Macdona, John Cumming
Maconochie, A. W.
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
M'Killop, James (Stirlingshire)
M'Killop, W. (Sligo, North)
Maxwell, W. J. H. (Dumfriessh.)
Middlemore, Jn. Throgmorton
Milner, Rt. Hn. Sir Frederick G.
Milvain, Thomas
Montagu, G. (Huntingdon)
Morpeth, Viscount
Morton, Arthur H. Aylmer
Mount, William Arthur
Mowbray, Sir Robert Gray C.
Murnaghan, George
Murphy, John
Murray, Rt. Hon. A. G. (Bute)
Murray, Charles J. (Coventry)
Murray, Col. Wyndham (Bath)
Myers, William Henry
Nannetti, Joseph P.
Nicholson, William Graham
Nolan, Col. J. P. (Galway, N.)
O'Brien, James F. X. (Cork)
O'Brien, K. (Tipperary, Mid.)
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Brien, P. J. (Tipperary, N.)
O'Connor, James (Wicklow, W.
O'Connor, T. P. (Liverpool)
O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
Parkes, Ebenezer
Percy, Earl
Pirie, Duncan V.
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Plummer, Walter R.
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Power, Patrick Joseph
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Pym, C. Guy
Rankin, Sir James
Rasch, Sir Frederic Carne
Redmond, John E. (Waterford)
Reid, James (Greenock)
Renshaw, Sir Charles Bine
Renwick, George
Richards, Henry Charles
Ridley, Hon. M. W. (Stalybridge
Ridley, S. Forde (Bethnal Green
Ritchie, Rt. Hn. Chas. Thomson
Roberton, Herbert (Hackney)
Roche, John
Rothschild, Hon. Lionel Walter
Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford
Sadler, Col. Samuel Alexander
Seely, Charles Hilton (Lincoln)
Seton-Karr, Sir Henry
Sharpe, William Edward T.
Shaw-Stewart, Sir H. (Renfrew)
Sheehy, David
Smith, James Parker (Lanarks.
Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
Spear, John Ward
Spencer, Sir E. W. Bromwich)
Stanley, Rt. Hon. Lord (Lancs.
Stirling-Maxwell, Sir John M.
Stone, Sir Benjamin
Stroyan, John
Strutt, Hon. Charles Hedley
Sullivan, Donal
Talbot, Lord E (Chichester)
Talbot, Rt. Hn. J. G (Oxf'd Univ.
Taylor, Austin (East Toxteth)
Thorburn, Sir Walter
Thornton, Percy M.
Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
Tritton, Charles Ernest
Tuff, Charles
Tuke, Sir John Batty
Valentia, Viscount
Walrond, Rt. Hn. Sir William H.
Wanklyn, James Lleslie
Warde, Colonel C. E.
Welby, Lt.-Col. A. C. E (Taunton
Wharton, Rt. Hon. John Lloyd
Whitmore, Charles Algernon
Williams, Colonel R. (Dorset)
Wodehouse, Rt. Hn. E. R. (Bath
Wolff, Gustav Wilhelm
Worsley-Taylor, Henry Wilson
Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B. Stuart
Wyndham-Quin, Col. W. H.
Young, Samuel

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Sir Alexander Acland-Hood and Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 3, line 14, to leave out from the word 'such' to end of sub-section, in order to insert the words 'burgh, and, except as hereinafter mentioned, any division of such burgh into wards shall not have effect for the purposes of such election: Provided that the Secretary for Scotland may by order as aforesaid determine that such election shall be held in electoral districts, each of which shall consist of two or more municipal wards of such burgh.'"—(*Mr. A. Graham Murray.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 3, lines 19 and 20, to leave out the words 'ward of a burgh or,' in order to insert the words 'for a burgh or electoral district of a.'"—(*Mr. A. Graham Murray.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 3, line 23, to leave out the word 'ward,' in order to insert the words 'electoral district.'"—(*Mr. A. Graham Murray.*)

Amendment agreed to.

MR. DALZIEL said the Amendment he desired to move raised the question of one man one vote. Under the new arrangement it would be possible for a man to have a vote in, say, both Edinburgh and Leith, and the object of the Amendment was to secure that such a man should exercise the franchise only once in the same election. As he understood the Secretary for Scotland was not antagonistic to the Amendment, he would simply move.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 3, line 23, at end, to insert, '(4) At every election of members of a school board for an education district, any person registered as a county elector for any division of such district, and also as a municipal elector for any burgh embraced therein, or registered as an elector for two or more burghs embraced in any one of the enumerated districts, shall only be entitled to vote in respect of one such qualification.' "—(*Mr Dalziel.*)

* MR. A. GRAHAM MURRAY said he was quite willing to accept the Amendment.

Amendment agreed to.

Clause 6, as amended, agreed to.

Clauses 7 and 8 agreed to.

Clause 9.

MR. MAXWELL (said the Amendment he now proposed to move raised the question of the qualifications of members of school boards. Under the Bill it was not necessary for members of school boards to be either ratepayers or electors, and the object of the Amendment was to render such a qualification necessary. In this matter he was following the precedent of the county and parish councils, in regard to which it was necessary for members to be electors in the district over which the council had jurisdiction. Such a qualification he thought was necessary in the interests of economy, because, if a member was not an elector or a ratepayer, he was likely to be more extravagant and less thoughtful of the interest of the ratepayers than members possessing those qualifications. He was aware that at present it was not necessary for a member of a school board to be a ratepayer in the parish, but that was because, in consequence of the smallness of the area, it might sometimes be difficult to secure suitable persons for the office. But under the Bill the much larger area of the district or county was taken, and there would be no difficulty whatever in securing from within that area suitable persons who, by reason of their position as ratepayers, would have a greater feeling of responsibility than persons who had no such connection with the parish. In order that the qualification should not make it more difficult for women to be members of school boards he had placed a further Amendment on the Paper to except women from the provision. He begged to move.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 5, line 13, after the word 'board,' to insert the words, 'if he is not at the time of the election registered as a county or burgh elector within the education district and.' "—(*Mr. Maxwell.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

*MR. A. GRAHAM MURRAY thought it would be a great mistake to accept the Amendment. The Local Government Act and the Parish Councils Act afforded no analogy whatever. It frequently happened that there were persons who had really devoted their lives to educational work, but were not electors in a particular district. It would be a great pity to prevent for that reason their being chosen by the electors to serve on the school board.

SIR CHARLES RENSHAW said he attached much importance to the Amendment, which was considered very desirable by many persons connected with local government in Scotland. At present there was no obligation upon persons elected to the school board to be ratepayers, but that was not the case in regard to parish or county council elections, and he could not see why it should remain the case in regard to school boards. Having regard to the enormous amount of money now raised from the rates for educational purposes, everything possible ought to be done to secure the interests of the ratepayers. About £1,200,000 was now raised by rates for educational purposes in Scotland, and when this Bill came into operation the amount would probably tend to increase. The Bill would also considerably change the incidence of the rates, because the outlying rural parts would be more heavily burdened than at present. That being so, it was essential for the protection of the ratepayers that those upon whom the responsibility of spending the money was to devolve should themselves be liable to the burdens they were going to impose on the locality. He hoped that before the Report stage the right hon. Gentleman would reconsider the question.

MR. TENNANT (Berwickshire) felt bound in the interests of education to support the Government. He entirely agreed with the right hon. Gentleman as to the necessity of widening the area of choice, so that the people of a locality should not be in any way fettered in their selection of persons to represent them on the schoolboard.

Question put and negatived.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 5, line 14, after the word 'the,' to insert the word 'paid.'"—*(Mr. A. Graham Murray.)*

Amendment agreed to.

*MR. DOBBIE (Ayr Burghs) said the Bill very properly disqualified teachers in Board schools for being members of the school board. He fully appreciated the necessity for that disqualification, but he thought it was unnecessary that it should apply to certain teachers in continuation classes. It frequently happened that in a burgh there would be an expert in some technical subject who happened to be an important member of the local town council and who voluntarily gave his services to the continuation classes in order that the youth of the district might have the benefit and advantage of his experience. He submitted that it would be a hardship if such persons were debarred from serving on the school board, and in order to exempt them from the disqualification he begged to move the Amendment of which he had given notice.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 5, line 18, after the word 'Act,' to insert the words 'other than the office of teacher of continuation classes.'"—*(Mr. Dobbie.*

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

*MR. A. GRAHAM MURRAY thought the position of the persons to whom the hon. Member referred would be met by the insertion of the word "paid" which had already been made. If a man was paid for teaching it mattered not whether he was a teacher in a board School or in a continuation class.

*MR. DOBBIE said he quite agreed with the right hon. Gentleman; he was not aware that the Amendment referred to had been made.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

*MR. DOBBIE said the next Amendment he desired to move suggested that a man's connection with a co-operative society contracting with a Board should not of itself be a disqualifying element. The Bill very properly gave to directors of joint stock companies the right to sit upon school boards, and inasmuch as the only difference between a joint stock company and a co-operative society was that the former was a company of capitalists while the latter was a company of working men, there was no reason why the same privilege should not apply to persons responsible for the management of co-operative societies as applied to directors of joint stock companies. He begged to move.

Amendment proposed.

"In page 5, line 37, after the word 'company,' to insert the words 'co-operative society.'"—*(Mr. Dobbie.)*

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

*MR. A. GRAHAM MURRAY said the hon. Member was under a misapprehension in supposing that a member of a co-operative society would be disqualified from sitting on a school board while a director of a joint stock company would not be. There was no disqualification of either class; the disqualification took effect only if they happened to have a contract with the school board. But this clause was not really framed for the present Bill at all; it was taken from several Acts of Parliament, and if any change was to be made it should be made generally and not simply in an Education Bill. The whole question of disqualification by reason of contract relations was a general principle which ought not to be settled by a side wind.

Mr. THOMAS SHAW said there was doubtless much force in the right hon. Gentleman's remark, but the matter would have to be dealt with at some time, and the present seemed a good opportunity for beginning. He quite agreed that the disqualification was in respect of a person having a share or an interest in any contract with the school board, but exceptions were already made in the case of persons who were members of companies limited under the Companies Act. Under Section 21 of the Industrial Societies Act, 56 & 57 Vic., cap. 30, industrial societies and limited liability companies were in several respects placed on the same footing. That being so, why should a man who happened to be in humble circumstances be disqualified for serving on a school board because he was a member of an industrial society which had entered into a small contract with the school board for the supply of soap, towels, and articles of that kind? The Amendment infringed no great principle; it simply desired to provide that all members of the community, however humble their circumstances, should have the privilege of serving on their local school board, if their fellow-ratepayers chose to elect them.

*Mr. A. GRAHAM MURRAY said that if the matter were not further discussed at present he would undertake to refer the matter to the Law Officers and bring up a proposal on the Report stage.

Mr. CALDWELL said that a similar point was raised by a Municipal Corporations Bill introduced by the hon. and learned Member for the Stretford Division of Lancashire. He had looked very carefully into the matter and had come to the conclusion that there was much force in the arguments used by his hon. friend. That being so, if the right hon. Gentleman would agree to remove the disqualification in the present Bill, he, on his part, would permit it to go in the case of the Municipal Corporations Bill in England.

*Mr. A. GRAHAM MURRAY said that if the arguments had convinced the hon. Member for Mid-Lanark, he had no doubt the law officers of the Crown would fall an easy prey.

*Mr. DOBBIE, in view of the reply of the Secretary for Scotland, asked leave to withdraw the Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Clause 9, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 10.

Colonel DENNY (Kilmarnock Burghs) moved an Amendment for the purpose of providing that one-third of the members of school boards should retire annually. He said it must not be forgotten that under the new system the school boards would have a very much enlarged sphere. The proposal in the clause was that the whole of the members should be elected for three years, and what he suggested was that a certain proportion of the members should retire annually so that the boards should be refreshed by the addition of some new men. The school boards would have a great deal of most important work to do, and what he wished was to secure continuity of policy. The work of a board might at the end of three years fall into absolutely new hands, and the result would be that it would be dealt with by the permanent officials. He was in favour of having the election of the new school boards on the same principle as the municipal authority, namely, one-third retiring annually. He begged to move.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 6, line 13, to leave out the word 'in.'"—(*Colonel Denny.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'in' stand part of the clause."

*Mr. A. GRAHAM MURRAY said the meaning of this Amendment could be stated in a word. It was to substitute the burgh system of a third of the members going out every year instead of the whole of the members going out every three years. He really did not believe that anybody was in favour of multiplying elections. They might be necessary evils, but they were evils, and certainly a school board would not gain in strength of policy or in grasp of the subject if a third went out and a new third came in every year. He did not wish to argue the principle of the burgh system. It was a very old principle, but he did not think it could be adopted in school board elections.

*MR. McCRAE supported the Amendment of the hon. Member for the Kilmarnock Burghs, who, he thought, had taken up unassailable ground. The Secretary for Scotland had very wisely evaded the issue. With regard to any question which arose in a board there should be an opportunity, yearly, for the citizens to express their opinion. With regard to continuity of policy, it was admitted that the burgh election gave that continuity by electing a third each year. There was no doubt that a considerable part of the lack of interest in school board elections was due to the fact that the ratepayers at the present time had no real control over the board not only because of the cumulative vote but because the members were elected *en bloc* for three years. From that point of view he welcomed the Amendment. He thought the Committee would do well to homologate the principle that had worked so well and so long in burgh elections, namely, that one-third of the members should retire annually.

MR. EUGENE WASON (Clackmannan and Kinross) hoped that the hon. Member for the Kilmarnock Burghs would not proceed with the Amendment. So far as the towns were concerned it might be possible to work the arrangement proposed, but it would not be so easily applied in the country districts. He hoped they would not be put to the trouble of having annual school board elections.

MR. JOHN DEWAR said he was in entire sympathy with the hon. Member for the Kilmarnock Burghs. He was of opinion that the proposal would not only give continuity of policy but would give the electors an opportunity of annually reviewing the policy of the board, and thus keeping the board in close touch with public opinion. In regard to the board's finance the proposal would have an excellent effect, as at present it was not unusual for a board elected for three years to assess in the last year of its office for 1d. or 2d. less than was necessary, leaving the new board to impose a a rate correspondingly too high in its first year of office. This would be avoided if one third of the members were elected annually.

COLONEL DENNY asked leave to withdraw the Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

*MR. DOBBIE moved an Amendment to Clause 10 to provide that, in the event of casual vacancies occurring in a school board, "a fresh election shall be held to supply such a vacancy." The effect of this substantially would be that the vacancy would be filled by the electors and not by the remaining members as would be the case under the proposal in the Bill. He brought forward this Amendment on the suggestion of the Edinburgh School Board and after representations received from the members of other school boards in Scotland who thought that the practice on this point should be assimilated to the practice which obtained in connection with town councils. He quite agreed that in small boards it was, perhaps, hardly worth while putting the electors to the trouble and expense of an election in the event of the death or the retirement of one of the members. He thought, however, they had a different atmosphere in dealing with the large areas contemplated by the Bill. This question became all the more important as they multiplied the number of members, or increased the area over which the board had control. In the town council of Edinburgh, for example, there were at the present moment three casual vacancies caused through death or the retirement of members. That illustrated the importance of determining that in a large board with heavy responsibilities there should be a resort to the electors, and that the remaining members should not have the duty of filling up the vacancies. He begged to move.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 6, line 20, to leave out from the word 'office,' to the word 'shall' in line 23, and insert the words 'a fresh election shall be held to supply such vacancy, and every person so elected.'"—(*Mr. Dobbie.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the clause."

*MR. A. GRAHAM MURRAY said he could not accept the Amendment. Everybody, he thought, deprecated these continually recurring elections. The hon. Member admitted that there would be a difficulty in regard to the boards for the smaller areas. The hon. Member failed to see that the argument cut both ways. In a burgh like Glasgow the average life of the members might be taken at forty. If the hon. Member looked into life tables he would find that there was a certainty of one death during the triennial period, so that there would be one extra election and possibly many more. They might have one election after another, and they might be doing nothing for three years but electing school board members.

Question put, and agreed to.

The Amendment was negatived without a division.

Clause 10 agreed to.

Clause 11.

MR. MAXWELL moved an Amendment having for its object the conferring on the Secretary for Scotland instead of the Department the powers proposed as to the nomination of persons to serve when boards were not elected at the time they ought to be elected, when an insufficient number were elected, or if a school board became unable to act by reasons of the deficiency in the number of members. It appeared to him that the Bill proposed to put enormous powers in the hands of the Department which could be better exercised by the Secretary for Scotland. He begged to move.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 6, line 29, to leave out the word 'Department' and insert the words 'Secretary for Scotland.'" —(*Mr. Maxwell.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'Department' stand part of the clause."

*MR. A. GRAHAM MURRAY said that this clause was no novelty; it was merely a repetition of what had been the law all along. Where there was a continual refusal to elect there must be power to appoint a board to carry out the work.

*SIR CHARLES RENSHAW said he was sorry that the right hon. Gentleman had not seen his way to accept this Amendment, because it was undesirable to allow the Department to fill up casual vacancies by gentlemen who had no relation whatever to the locality. It was true that when there were 940 school boards in Scotland there was one case where a school board refused to act in filling up vacancies, and caused considerable trouble. But that was not likely to happen in the future with the larger areas and larger school boards. Under the County Council Act of 1889 vacancies were not filled up by nomination, but by a distinct provision for a fresh election; and in the Parish Councils Act of 1894 the vacancies could only be filled up temporarily by nomination. He thought there was a great deal to be said for the hon. Member's proposal.

MR. CALDWELL said there might be something to be said for the Secretary for Scotland filling up these vacancies; but if there was anything which the Scotch people objected to, it was the interference of Departments in local questions. If there was not a sufficient number of members on a school board let there be a fresh election.

MR. THOMAS SHAW said that assuming a case where a locality was anxious to make a fresh election in order that the fresh opinion of the locality might govern a particular situation, the Department might be put into an awarkward situation if they were to have the power of nominating members to the vacancies, and so preventing the people having a fresh election. He hoped the Amendment would not be withdrawn.

*MR. A. GRAHAM MURRAY said, if the electors would not elect, things would come to a dead-lock. The clause was not meant specially to deal with casual vacancies.

*SIR CHARLES RENSHAW said that the nomination should not take place before an opportunity was given for a new election.

*MR. A. GRAHAM MURRAY said that if the hon. Member would bring up a new clause it could be considered on the Report stage.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Clause 11, agreed to.

Clause 12.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 7, line 4, at end of clause, to add the words 'All deeds granted by a school board shall be signed by two members of the board, and by the clerk to the board.'"—(*Mr. A. Graham Murray.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Clause 12, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 13.

*COLONEL DENNY said that there was a fund in existence in many burghs in Scotland which he did not think existed in any town in England. It was known as the "Common Good," which was as much the exclusive property of that burgh as a man's watch was his own. Consequently, it should not be divorced from that burgh's purposes unless very good reason could be shown. He might illustrate his case by a specific instance. The county of Renfrew had probably given more trouble to the Lord-Advocate than all the others in Scotland. Renfrew was an ancient burgh, and had had from time immemorial a fund in the "Common Good," which had been gifted to it in days gone by. The grammar school of the burgh had been maintained out of that fund without memory. A movement was initiated in the burgh, long ago, to erect a memorial to a distinguished citizen, and it took the shape, as it often did in Scotland, of an educational institute known as the "Blythswood Memorial." The burgh, out of the "Common Good," gave a sum of £223 11s. to that memorial. When the Education Act of 1872 was passed, this particular contribution was made constant, but specially attached to this one particular school. Now, under this Bill the fund would be divided up and distributed over the educational district of which Renfrew formed only a part, to the disadvantage of Renfrew to which the fund really belonged, and, therefore, henceforth, if the Bill passed in its present shape, it would only enjoy an infinitesimal part thereof. In like manner the burgh of Haddington felt very strongly about a sum of £45 which was being treated in that same way. His complaint was that where a fund belonged to one particular place, it should not be withdrawn from its original and wise purpose and distributed over districts that had originally nothing to do with it. The "Common Good" belonged to the burgh just as much as a private man's fortune belonged to him. He begged to move.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 7, line 28, at end, to add the words, 'Any contributions made by the town council of any burgh under charter or agreement, or in virtue of Section 46 of the Education (Scotland) Act, 1872, to the school fund, may be withdrawn by the said town council.'"—(*Colonel Denny.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."—(*Colonel Denny.*)

*MR. A. GRAHAM MURRAY said that since the days of the wolf and the lamb he had never heard of a more outrageous proposal. He should like to call the attention of the Committee to the position in which the matter stood. The hon. and gallant Gentleman said that the "Common Good" belonged to the burghs, just as much as a private personal fund belonged to an individual. Certainly that was so until a burgh came under any obligation, statutory or otherwise, in regard to its "Common Good." A burgh might put a certain portion of the "Common Good" under a trust, and then that portion belonged to the trust. When, under the Act of 1872, the educational system in Scotland was made national, the framers of that Act said that they would make part of the national assets whatever had been in use, whether given by a private individual or under a private trust or by a burgh out of its common fund; and, although no perfectly constituted trusts were instituted, the use of the contribution was taken as the equivalent to a specific trust in favour of a particular school. Accordingly, Section 46 of the Act of 1872 provided that all such funds should be given to the school boards as part of the general arrangement under the Act; and the cost to the ratepayers of any particular burgh was the cost of the school, minus whatever was contributed from the "Common Good" or by private trust. If his hon. and gallant friend's argument were good for anything it would be good for every other contribution made all over Scotland under Section 46 of the Act of 1872. There was an extraordinary confusion of ideas in this matter; and on the broad ground that the burghs were getting so much the best of it—that was why he mentioned the fable of the wolf and the lamb—and that they should not get an additional advantage and impose an extra cost on the county districts, he could not accept the Amendment, which had not the slightest semblance of equity.

Mr. WALLACE said that undoubtedly there was some confusion of mind in regard to the proposal; but, with all respect, he ventured to suggest that the confusion was in the mind of the right hon. Gentleman, and not in the minds of hon. Members who were supporting the Amendment. The proposal was practically one to punish burghs in Scotland who had acted generously in the past, and to let off the burghs which had devoted their property to purposes other than education. The right hon. Gentleman suggested that there was some trust in connection with the "Common Good"; but that was not an accurate legal postion to take up.

*Mr. A. GRAHAM MURRAY said that in his remembrance as a lawyer Section 46 of the Act of 1872 distinctly constituted a statutory trust for that portion of the "Common Good" which was devoted to education.

Mr. WALLACE said he was dealing with the suggestion of the right hon. Gentleman as to the position in 1872. At that time the owners of the "Common Good" were, out of their generosity, making contributions to existing schools. They were under no obligation to make them, and could have withdrawn them at any time. What he ventured to point out, therefore, was that those who used the "Common Good" in the past in that way were now to be penalised. Under the Act of 1872 that which had been a mere gift became a legal obligation for the purpose of education; but it was strictly qualified and was not for education generally, nor for the relief of the rates at large, but particularly for the purpose of the grammar school of the particular burgh owning the "Common Good." The whole matter was now changed. In future, they were no longer to have the grammar school as the exclusive property of the burgh; and the proposal of the right hon. Gentleman would practically put an increased burden on the inhabitants of the burghs as against the inhabitants of the county districts joined on to them. In future the grammar school of Perth would be utilised for the higher education, not merely of the children of the citizens of Perth, but of a considerable outside area. Why, therefore, should not the cost of that grammar school fall in equal proportions all over the whole area, so that the contribution that the burgh made from the common fund should be balanced by some extra rate from the county? He would, therefore, strongly support the Amendment.

Mr. ASHER (Elgin Burghs) said he would support the Amendment. If, however, it had had for its object the limitation of the resources of any body which was to provide secondary education, he would not have had anything to do with it. But it would not have any such effect. It would merely distribute over a locality the responsibility for providing the money necessary for secondary education. It appeared to him that the burghs had a very strong case. The "Common Good" was undoubtedly the property of the burghs for use within the burghs. The circumstances now were very different from the circumstances in 1872; and that made it necessary to revise the whole situation. There was the strongest possible reason for taking the course which was adopted in 1872. The burghs were then the only centres for secondary education in Scotland. When the school boards were created it was natural that it should be said that they were merely transferring the administration of education from the town councils to the school boards; and that the "Common Good" was transferred to the school boards to be used for the purpose for which it had been previously used. Now school boards with a greatly enlarged area were to be created. Those areas might have a large number of secondary schools; and the question was whether the contributions for maintaining those schools should be used equally over the whole area or whether the contribution from the common fund should be devoted solely to the schools within the burgh. The proposal of the burghs was a reasonable one. It was that they should pay their share with others for what was necessary for secondary education, but that they should not be specially assessed to make up the contribution taken from them in 1872 under totally different circumstances, and which since that time had been employed exclusively for the maintenance of secondary education within their own borders.

*MR. A. GRAHAM MURRAY said that Perth had tried to wriggle out of its obligations in 1878. In that case between the Perth School Board and the magistrates, the learned Judge having quoted the section, said that he was of opinion that the effect of the provision was to convert the amount of the customary payment made by any burgh on behalf of the burgh school into a permanent annual debt. The hon. Member was really going back and arguing on the fallacy that what was settled in law to be a debt was only a voluntary contribution and that they should not be called upon to make that contribution twice over. Those for whom they pleaded had no more right to shake themselves free of this liability than any private individual.

SIR ROBERT REID (Dumfries Burghs) said, as he understood the matter, in 1872 an obligation was imposed upon the burghs to provide a certain sum of money, and it became a debt, but that debt then imposed upon them was to be spent for the benefit of the school in the burgh. Since then the uses of the school board, in consequence of the advantage derived from the debt created in 1872, had been enlarged, and when a common burden was imposed on an area to maintain the schools of that area, surely the fact that the debt which was created in 1872 was created for the benefit of the burgh itself ought to be taken into consideration.

*SIR CHARLES RENSHAW said he did not rise to express any opinion as to what were or were not the obligations of a burgh, but to advocate generosity on the part of the burghs. He appealed to the burghs not to propose any difference in a system which had worked well for so many years. It seemed to him that whether the right hon. Gentleman was a lawyer or not, the law on this occasion was on the side of the Secretary for Scotland and he appealed to the Committee not to continue the discussion.

CAPTAIN ELLICE (St. Andrews Burghs) said that in the case of Perth they tried to wriggle out of this responsibility, and could not do so; but in other cases they did it, possibly by the superior intelligence of the people of Fife.

*MR. JOHN DEWAR said that the charge for education on the "Common Good" had existed, not since 1872 but for generations previous to that date, and if the hon. Member would look into the history of the matter he would find that in many cases sums had been given to the various towns for the special purpose of education and had been incorporated in the "Common Good" of the burgh. The sums to be paid to grammar schools and high schools had been fixed after careful consideration of all the circumstances. A good deal had been said about this money being intended for education in the burghs, but he wished to point out that it would still be devoted to that purpose. The £286 to which the hon. Member for Perth objected would still be spent for the benefit of the inhabitants of Perth and the students who would be, as they always had been, attracted from the surrounding country, would add to the efficiency and value of the Academy. He hoped that on this point the Secretary for Scotland would maintain the position he had taken up.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN said this was a case of pull burgh, pull county, apparently. He supposed that, as a burgh Member, he ought to say something. So little had he been lobbied in the matter that he was really destitute of accurate figures or information beyond the most summary knowledge contained in a representation conveyed by the Town Council of Stirling to the right hon. Gentleman. But he did not think there was any reason to make a joke of the position of the burghs or speak lightly of what they had done. They had in the past maintained those schools for the benefit of the benighted districts in the county where was neither the means, the funds, nor the public spirit to create the necessary machinery for education. The burghs in the past had done all that with the greatest goodwill and without grudging it in the least. For his part he took a somewhat opposite view to the hon. Member opposite, because he was very glad that under this new arrangement the counties would be made to pay a little towards the cost of intermediate education, the benefits of which they had been enjoying so long at other people's expense. The hon. Member had complained that they would be made to pay too much; but he was glad that they were not going to get all these advantages gratis as before. In the case of Stirling they had charitable endowments of great value, but they were to have the mortification of seeing the money which should be secured to Stirling spread over the whole of the county round about. That money was left strictly and tied down to the burgh of Stirling; the men who left that money might have been wrong in tying it down in that manner to some particular object, but there was one thing beyond all question, and it was that this money was intended to be applied strictly within the burgh of Stirling for charitable purposes. Under the legislation of thirty years ago, a large part of these endowments was diverted to education, and now it was proposed that the enjoyment of these funds, which had been left solely to the people of Stirling, should be extended to people who had no claim whatever to them. By this money being used for that purpose the people of Stirling were practically being deprived of the full enjoyment of those large sums of money, and all for the benefit of those who had no claim whatever upon those funds. With all the generosity that could be imagined towards their neighbours, and with all the desire they had shown to share their advantages with their neighbours, they must draw the line somewhere. This was a case which he would strongly commend to the notice of the right hon. Gentleman opposite. He referred to the case of endowments for charitable purposes confined to a particular locality which had been, with the assent of the community, diverted from charity to education in days when there was a very inadequate provision for education. Now, when education was being provided for in other ways, they thought it was very hard that they should be deprived of the use of these funds for charitable or other beneficial purposes which the founders undoubtedly intended.

*MR. A. GRAHAM MURRAY said he acknowledged fully the great services which the burgh schools had rendered in the past. At one time they were practically the only secondary education schools for many years, but he assured the right hon. Gentleman opposite that there was no intention whatsoever by this Bill of interfering with anything like endowments. There was a clause down on the Paper, which he intended to accept, which would secure endowments for the purposes for which they were intended. This Amendment before the Committee dealt with the statutory contributions under Section 46 of the Education Act. He could not without inquiry say whether that applied to Stirling institutions. His view was that it merely limited it to the Education Act and nothing else.

COLONEL DENNY said that the hon. Members who had spoken against this proposal represented the county. He wished to ask hon. Members opposite if any of them had ever heard of Paisley. That was one of the poor districts which would benefit by this proposal. He thought that what had been given to one particular school in the past should still be given to it. As the Secretary for Scotland had shown no disposition to accept his proposal, if he did not get some better assurance on this point he have would to press his Amendment to a division.

Question put—

The Committee divided:—Ayes, 83; Noes, 220. (Division List No. 150.)

AYES.

Ainsworth, John Stirling
Asher, Alexander
Ashton, Thomas Gair
Barlow, John Emmott
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Bolton, Thomas Dolling
Bowles, T.Gibson (King's Lynn
Brigg, John
Brown, George M. (Edinburgh)
Brunner, Sir John Tomlinson
Bryce, Rt. Hon. James
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Burt, Thomas
Buxton, Sydney Charles
Caldwell, James
Campbell-Bannerman, Sir H.
Causton, Richard Knight
Craig, Robert Hunter (Lanark)
Crombie, John William
Cross, Alexander (Glasgow)
Dalziel, James Henry
Davies, Alfred (Carmarthen)
Davies, M. Vaughan (Cardigan)
Dobbie, Joseph
Dunn, Sir William
Edwards, Frank
Ellice, Capt E.C(SAndrw'sBghs
Emmott, Alfred
Evans, Samuel T. (Glamorgan)
Eve, Harry Trelawney
Farquharson, Dr. Robert
Fitzmaurice, Lord Edmond
Foster, Sir Walter (Derby Co.)
Gladstone, Rt.Hn. Herbert Jn.
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Grant, Corrie
Haldane, Rt. Hon. Richard B.
Harmsworth, R. Leicester
Hobhouse, C. E. H. (Bristol, E.)
Holland, Sir William Henry
Hope, John Deans (Fife, West)
Horniman, Frederick John
Jones, D. Brynmor (Swansea)
Jones, William(Carnarvonshire
Labouchere, Henry
Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cornwall)
Leng, Sir John
Lewis, John Herbert
M'Arthur, William (Cornwall
M'Crae, George
M'Iver, Sir Lewis(Edinburgh, W
Morgan, J. Lloyd(Carmarthen)
Morley, Rt.Hn.John (Montrose
Nolan, Col. J. P. (Galway, N.)
Nussey, Thomas Willans
Partington, Oswald
Pirie, Duncan V.
Reid, James (Greenock)
Reid, Sir R. Threshie(Dumfries
Richards, Henry Charles
Rigg, Richard
Roberts, John Bryn (Eifion)
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.)
Robertson, Edmund (Dundee)
Runciman, Walter
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Schwann, Charles E.
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Sinclair, John (Forfarshire)
Sloan, Thomas Henry
Soares, Ernest J.
Tennant, Harold John
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Walton, J. Lawson (Leeds, S.)
Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan)
Wason, Jn. Cathcart (Orkney)
Weir, James Galloway
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
Whittaker, Thomas Palmer
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid.)
Wilson, John (Falkirk)
Woodhouse, Sir J.T.(Huddersf'd
Yoxall, James Henry

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Colonel Denny and Mr. Robert Wallace.

NOES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N.E)
Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
Aird, Sir John
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster, Rt.Hn.HughO
Arrol, Sir William
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Aubrey-Fletcher, Rt.Hn.Sir H.
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour, Rt. Hn. A.J.(Manch'r
Balfour, Capt. C. B. (Hornsey)
Balfour, Rt. Hon. G. W. (Leeds
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Bartley, Sir George C. T.
Bhownaggree, Sir M. M.
Bignold, Arthur
Bigwood, James
Black, Alexander William
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Boland, John
Boulnois, Edmund
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Bull, William James
Burdett-Coutts, W.
Butcher, John George
Campbell, Rt.Hn.J.A.(Glasgow
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Cautley, Henry Strother
Cavendish, V.C.W. (Derbyshire
Cayzer, Sir Charles William
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Cecil, Lord Hugh (Greenwich)
Chapman, Rt. Hn. J. A. (Worc.
Chapman, Edward
Charrington, Spencer
Clare, Octavius Leigh
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Coghill, Douglas Harry
Collings, Rt. Hon. Jesse
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Cook, Sir Frederick Lucas
Corbett, A. Cameron (Glasgow
Craig, Chas. Curtis (Antrim, S.)
Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Cullinan, J.
Dalkeith, Earl of
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Davenport, William Bromley
Delany, William
Devlin, Chas. Ramsay (Galway
Devlin, Joseph (Kilkenny, N.)
Dewar, John A. (Inverness-sh.
Dickson, Charles Scott
Digby, John K. D. Wingfield-
Dimsdale, Rt.Hn.Sir Joseph C.
Dixon-Hartland, Sir F. Dixon
Donelan, Captain A.
Doogan, P. C.
Doughty, George
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers
Douglas, Charles M. (Lanark)
Duke, Henry Edward
Durning-Lawrence, Sir Edwin

Dyke, Rt.Hn.Sir William Hart
Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
Elliot, Hon. A. Ralph Douglas
Ferguson, R. C. Munro (Leith)
Field, William
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
Fison, Frederick William
FitzGerald, Sir Robert Penrose
Flower, Sir Ernest
Forster, Henry William
Galloway, William Johnson
Gardner, Ernest
Gibbs, Hon. A. G. H.
Gordon, Hn.J.E.(Elgin&Nairn)
Gore,Hn G.R.C.Ormsby-(Salop
Gorst, Rt. Hon.Sir John Eldon
Hardy, L. (Kent, Ashford)
Harris, F. Leverton (Tynem'th
Haslam, Sir Alfred S.
Haslett, Sir James Horner
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Hayden, John Patrick
Heath, Arthnr Howard(Hanley
Heath, James (Staffords., N.W.
Henderson, Sir A.(Stafford,W.)
Hermon-Hodge, Sir Robert T.
Hickman, Sir Alfred
Hoare, Sir Samuel
Hogg, Lindsay
Hope, J.F.(Sheffield,Brightside
Hozier, Hn. James Henry Cecil
Hunt, Rowland
Jebb, Sir Richard Claverhouse
Joyce, Michael
Kennaway, Rt.Hn.Sir John H.
Keswick, William
Kimber, Henry
King, Sir Henry Seymour
Laurie, Lieut.-General
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
Lawrence, Sir Jos. (Monmouth)
Lawson, J. Grant (Yorks., N.R.
Leamy, Edmund
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Loder, Gerald Walter Erskine
Long, Rt. Hon. W. (Bristol, S.)
Lucas, Reginald J.(Portsmouth
Lundon, W.
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
Macdona, Joun Cumming
Macnamara, Dr. Thomas J.
Maconochie, A. W.
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
M'Arthur, Charles (Liverpool)
M'Killop, James (Stirlingshire)
M'Killop, W. (Sligo, North)
Maxwell, W.J.H. (Dumfriessh.)
Milner, Rt.Hn.Sir Frederick G.
Milvain, Thomas
Montagu, G. (Huntingdon)
Montagu, Hn. J. Scott (Hants.)
Morpeth, Viscount
Morrell, George Herbert
Morton, Arthur H. Aylmer
Mount, William Arthur
Muntz, Sir Philip A.
Murnaghan, George
Murphy, John
Murray, Rt. Hon. A. G. (Bute)
Murray, Charles J. (Coventry)
Murray, Col. Wyndham (Bath)
Myers, William Henry
Nannetti, Joseph P.
O'Brien, James F. X. (Cork)
O'Brien, K. (Tipperary, Mid.)
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Brien, P. J. (Tipperary, N.)
O'Connor, James (Wicklow, W.
O'Connor, T. P. (Liverpool)
O'Malley, William
Parkes, Ebenezer
Percy, Earl
Pierpoint, Robert
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Plummer, Walter R.
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Power, Patrick Joseph
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Pym, C. Guy
Quilter, Sir Cuthbert
Randles, John S.
Rankin, Sir James
Rasch, Sir Frederic Carne
Reddy, M.
Redmond, John E. (Waterford)
Renshaw, Sir Charles Bine
Renwick, George
Ridley, Hon. M.W.(Stalybridge
Ritchie, Rt.Hn.Chas. Thomson
Roberts, Samuel (Sheffield)
Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
Roche, John
Rolleston, Sir John F. L.
Rothschild, Hon.Lionel Walter
Round, Rt. Hon. James
Rutherford, W. W. (Liverpool)
Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford
Sadler, Col. Samuel Alexander
Seely, Charles Hilton (Lincoln)
Seton-Karr, Sir Henry
Sharpe, William Edward T.
Shaw, Thomas (Hawick B.)
Sheehan, Daniel Daniel
Sheehy, David
Smith,H.C(North'mb.Tyneside
Smith, James Parker(Lanarks.)
Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
Spear, John Ward
Spencer, Sir E. (W. Bromwich)
Stanley, Rt. Hon. Lord (Lancs.
Stewart, Sir Mark J. M'Taggart
Stock, James Henry
Stone, Sir Benjamin
Stroyan, John
Strutt, Hon. Charles Hedley
Sullivan, Donal
Taylor, Austin (East Toxteth)
Thorburn, Sir Walter
Thornton, Percy M.
Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
Tritton, Charles Ernest
Tuff, Charles
Tuke, Sir John Batty
Valentia, Viscount
Walrond, Rt.Hn.Sir WilliamH.
Wanklyn, James Leslie
Warde, Colonel C. E.
Webb, Colonel William George
Wharton, Rt. Hon. John Lloyd
Whitmore, Charles Algernon
Williams, Colonel R. (Dorset)
Wilson, John (Glasgow)
Wodehouse, Rt.Hn. E.R.(Bath
Wolff, Gustav Wilhelm
Worsley-Taylor, Henry Wilson
Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B. Stuart
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George
Wyndham-Quin, Col. W. H.
Young, Samuel

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Sir Alexander Acland-Hood and Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes.

*MR. McCRAE said he wished to point out to the Secretary for Scotland that in addition to the existing school boards there were education committees discharging duties for which certain provision must be made for handing them over to the new authority. These committees were doing useful work, and he thought some provision should be made as to the time when they were to hand over their duties to the new authority created by this Bill.

*MR. A. GRAHAM MURRAY said it would have been quite out of place to have mentioned these committees in the Bill. They did not require to be dealt with by statute.

Clause 13 agreed to.

Clause 14.

MR. CROMBIE (Kincardineshire) moved an Amendment by which the debts and liabilities transferred would be limited to debts incurred in respect of loans contracted under the Act of 1872. He said this clause was intimately connected with Clause 25 (Power to impose rate), which he did not wish to discuss at present.

The Bill really dealt with the debts in two ways. There were first the ordinary current debts and secondly the permanent loans. Under the Bill as it stood the permanent debts were not to be handed over to the new authority, but were to remain a charge on the parishes which contracted them. There was a general feeling all through the country that this would be unjust, and Amendments were put down against it. He was glad that the Secretary for Scotland had made a concession on that point by agreeing that these debts should also be transferred to the new authority. In regard to the ordinary current debts, the point that he wished to bring up was this. Any debt that a school board incurred at present would be taken over by the new authority. He was told by many people that this would encourage school boards to have conveniently large debts to hand over on the day the Bill came into operation, with the result that many districts would get lightly off. He had information of a case where a school board had been mulcted in damages for injury done to a child, or something of that sort. It seemed to him that it would be very hard if the whole of the new area had to pay for that. Apart from debts of that sort, he quite recognised the justice of transferring the whole of the debts to the community within the new area. Did the Secretary for Scotland not think that if Clause 14 stood as it was there would be very great danger of school boards running up large debts in order to hand them over to the new board?

Amendment proposed—

"In page 7, line 29, after the word 'board,' to insert the words 'incurred in respect of any loan contracted by an existing school board in terms of the forty-fifth Section of the Education (Scotland) Act, 1872.'"—(*Mr. Crombie.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

*MR. A. GRAHAM MURRAY thought the hon. Member would see that this Amendment would not do, because it would restrict the debts to be taken over to the debts in respect of loans. That, of course, would leave the ordinary current expenses debts in the air. The hon. Member had spoken of a case in which a school board had had to pay damages for an assault. He did not think there was any likelihood of teachers indulging in a jollification of that kind between now and the time when the present school boards would cease to exist.

MR. DALZIEL asked what was to be done in respect of debts for schools in course of construction.

* MR. A. GRAHAM MURRAY said that if schools were in course of being erected, and if the present school board had raised a loan for that purpose, the loan would be taken over by the new authority. If they had not provided for a loan the new district would have to raise a loan.

MR. DALZIEL: The point is, will they be justified in going on incurring fresh expenditure?

*MR. A. GRAHAM MURRAY: Yes, subject to the ordinary rules to be observed in carrying out the erection of such buildings.

DR. MACNAMARA said they were really discussing a serious proposal now which might have a far-reaching effect. According to the Bill as it stood, the liabilities would be taken over subject to the provisions of Section 25. If the Bill remained in that way, each parish would have to pay its own debts, but he understood that the proposal now was that the new district should take over the whole of the debts. The people of Scotland would signalise the passing of the Bill by handing debts over to others to pay. With great respect, he would say that was characteristically Scotch. Districts in Scotland would cut down the maintenance to the very bone. There was a place in Scotland called Kirriemuir. Supposing Kirriemuir carried out the work of education thoroughly, and did not anticipate this Bill by pooling all its debts, why should it have to pay a deficiency created by another district? A district which had built a good school ought not to be taxed until it had wiped off its loan; on the other hand, a district should not be allowed to anticipate this

Bill by having its debts wiped out at the expense of other people. He hoped the Secretary for Scotland would consider some means by which a proportion of the specific debt which accrued to a particular school board should in future be paid by that school board; otherwise they would have districts which would anticipate this Bill by cutting the maintenance down to the lowest limit, reducing the rates, and piling up debts which would have to be paid for by other districts. Take the case of Forfar. He was informed that the school board there met a couple of nights ago and decided to impose no rate for the ensuing year. Last year the ratepayers paid 8d. in the £1. In view of this it might be said that it would not be fair at the end of May next year if the board were to hand over to the county board a debt of about £2,000.

***SIR CHARLES RENSHAW** said there was no doubt that this was a very serious question. No one could read in the Scottish newspapers during the last few weeks the requisitions to parish councils by the school boards for the amounts they required to make their annual budgets, without realising that there had been a very substantial reduction. The result would be that they might close their last financial year with a deficiency. He should like to ask the Secretary for Scotland whether provision could not be made in the Bill that in the amount apportioned in the first year after the Act came into operation between the parishes, anything standing to the debit should be an additional charge on the parish, and anything standing to the credit of the parish should be applied to the relief of parish rates for the first year. In that way, equal treatment would be given.

***MR. A. GRAHAM MURRAY** said that when he spoke on the Amendment he was really considering the necessity of having some clause to transfer debts. He thought the hon. Gentleman would see that his Amendment would scarcely do in its present place. There must be some provision for making someone liable; and if there were to be no transference to the new school boards there would be no one to sue for debts. That was quite a different question to the question mentioned by the hon. Gentleman the Member for North Camberwell. He did not know whether the school board for Forfar had been "running cunning" or not; but it was quite clear that they ought to see that each school board should, on the date of transfer, have a clean balance sheet; and he would be glad if the hon. Gentleman would assist him by suggesting, between now and the Report stage, some kind of clause to carry out that object, and prevent what certainly would be a very scandalous abuse of the position. He hoped the hon. Gentleman would withdraw the Amendment and the Bill could be amended later in accordance with the general consent of the Committee.

MR. CROMBIE said he would withdraw the Amendment. It was a point of importance, however; and he thanked the right hon. Gentleman for his reply.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

***MR. A. GRAHAM MURRAY** said he would move in Clause 14, page 7, line 29, to leave out from "shall" to "become" in line 31.

Amendment proposed—

"In Clause 14, page 7, line 29, to leave out from the word 'shall,' to the word 'become, in line 31."—(*Mr. A. Graham Murray.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the clause."

And, it being half-past Seven of the clock, the Chairman left the Chair to make his Report to the House.

Committee report Progress; to sit again this evening.

EVENING SITTING.

MAIDENHEAD BRIDGE BILL [LORDS] (BY ORDER).

[SECOND READING.]

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."

***DR. SHIPMAN** (Northampton) said the Motion which he had put down upon the Paper for the rejection of this measure was neither frivolous nor obstructive. He opposed the Bill on its demerits, and he believed when the House fully understood what the Bill was intended to do they would agree that it was not such a Bill as should receive a Second Reading. Its title was misleading. It was said to be a Bill for the purpose of freeing Maidenhead Bridge, yet at the present moment the bridge was free to all traffic. If the House would allow him he would give a short history of this bridge in order to show what the corporation of Maidenhead had been doing. Years ago there was a rotten old wooden bridge crossing the river on the great highway between Bath and London, and an Act was obtained by the corporation of Maidenhead in 1772 to enable the corporation to borrow £19,000 or £20,000 for the purpose of replacing this rotten wooden bridge by a new stone bridge, the repayment of the £20,000 having to be made out of the tolls it was permitted to the corporation of Maidenhead to charge on all vehicular traffic. It was also to provide for the maintenance of the bridge out of the tolls levied. The corporation ignored paying off the money borrowed and confined itself to paying the interest. This highway at that time was the great means of transit between London and Bath, and the corporation made a great profit out of the tolls, and there was a large surplus which was devoted by the corporation of Maidenhead to the purchase of land and the building of houses and in that way a further revenue was obtained. The misapplication of this money, which belonged to the public, and which should have been used for freeing the bridge, went on for some time. The corporation of Maidenhead then got a plum from the Great Western Railway in the shape of £5,000 to stop their mouth and to keep them from opposing the Great Western Railway's scheme. They received that money, but no one knew what had become of it.

About 1835 some of the members of the corporation were rather troubled in their consciences and began to wonder whether they were rightly applying the surplus derived from their tolls in the way they did, and a man named Bishop took counsel's opinion on the matter. That opinion was to the effect that they had no right to apply any of the money derived from the bridge except for the purposes of the bridge. He then consulted Sir John Phillamore, who advised that the Law Officers of the Crown should be consulted and their opinion taken. That was proposed at a meeting of the corporation of Maidenhead by Sir John Phillamore, and seconded by Mr. Bishop, and the result of the discussion that ensued was that the corporation decided not to take counsel's opinion. For seventy years after this matters were allowed to sleep, until a gentleman named Fullbrook who lived at Slough, passed over the bridge on his motor-car. Motor-cars rather troubled the corporation, they had provided for all other kinds of traffic but not motors, and when Mr. Fullbrook came they did not know what toll to levy but thought they would put it as high as possible and charged 8d. Mr. Fullbrook thought this toll rather exorbitant and objected to pay it. Thereupon they took a cushion from his car, the cushion was sold for 3s., but by this time their charges with the toll had mounted from 8d. to 2s. 9d., and they returned Mr. Fullbrook 3d. He might point out that tolls had been collected for many years, because in the 12th century the citizens of London protested against the exorbitant charges made by the citizens of Maidenhead for passing over the bridge. Mr. Fullbrook applied then for support to a gentleman well known in reference to bridge matters. A gentleman who had done more than anyone else on behalf of the public to see the bridges freed, Mr. Joseph Taylor. Mr. Taylor had practically freed the Windsor Bridge, as it was through the action which he brought and fought up to the House of Lords that the Windsor Bridge was freed. Mr. Joseph Taylor took the matter up and investigated it and took counsel's opinion, which opinion was rather startling. That opinion stated that the corporation of Maidenhead had no right to appropriate to their own purposes the surplus of tolls levied on the bridge and, beyond that, that since 1835 they had no right to levy tolls at all. That the effect of certain Acts of Parliament up to and since 1835 had been to take away from the corporation all right to interfere with the bridge, which was a charitable trust, and that since 1835 the corporation of Maidenhead had not the right to levy a single toll. It might be argued that the corporation was ignorant of this, but it must have appeared on their minutes, and they must have had due warning in 1835, when they were told they had no right to use the money derived from the bridge for corporate purposes, and when they refused to take the opinion of the Law Officers of the Crown. Mr. Joseph Taylor communicated the opinion he had got to the Charity Commissioners and told them that they were the proper persons to control the trust. The Charity Commissioners at once investigated the matter at Maidenhead itself, and, having the power to examine all accounts, found out exactly what the corporation had been doing for so many years, but finding themselves in a difficulty they allowed the matter to go on for another three years until the expiration of the lease. Mr. Joseph Taylor, in the meantime, instilled the position of affairs into the minds of the people, with the result that on the expiration of the lease on 31st October, 1903, they gathered at midnight at the bridge, which was then declared to be free, removed the gates and threw them into the Thames, from whence they were subsequently recovered, and they were now preserved in some museum.

This Bill now proposed to free from tolls Maidenhead Bridge which was already free, and to enable the corporation of Maidenhead to borrow a sum of £20,000, in return for which they proposed to maintain the bridge and pay their debts. It was through Mr. Joseph Taylor that the wrong-doing of the corporation of Maidenhead had been brought to light and that they had been stopped in that wrong-doing, and if this Bill was not passed they might be in a difficulty. They had been doing wrong for many years, and were possessed of a little property which they had purchased out of tolls they had no right to levy, and from which they derived a revenue of £1,000 a year, and it was by this Bill for the first time that they attempted to put themselves in the right. They were vindictive against Mr. Joseph Taylor because he brought this to light. If it had not been for him things would have been going on in the same old way and people be still paying tolls and no one the wiser. That the corporation of Maidenhead desired to get rid of their responsibility without paying over a large sum of money was shown by the fact that they entered into negotiations with both county councils to sell the bridge for £20,000. Mr. Joseph Taylor's action stopped that, because he showed they had not a tittle of right to the property they proposed to hand over. This Bill also asked that the corporation of Maidenhead should be allowed out of the money they were to be permitted to borrow all the costs and charges they had been put to. No doubt but for the Petitions against it lodged by Mr. Joseph Taylor this Bill would have passed both Houses of Parliament without opposition. But Mr. Joseph Taylor, knowing what was going on, petitioned to be heard on the Bill when it was before the Committee of the House of Lords; he was listened to with consideration, but the House of Lords Committee finally came to the conclusion that it would be better to pass the Bill and allow Mr. Joseph Taylor to take action when the Bill reached this House. When the Bill came before a Committee of this House Mr. Joseph Taylor lodged his Petition against it and asked to be heard before the Committee, but the corporation of Maidenhead lodged a notice of objection and refused to hear him in Committee, a most contemptible proceeding on the part of the corporation of Maidenhead, after having allowed him to be heard before the Committee of the House of Lords. He could not say one word against the judgment of the Court of Referees, which decided that Mr. Taylor had no *locus* to be heard. The Court had to look to the strict letter of the Standing Order and could give favour to no one. But he went behind that decision and asked how it was that the corporation raised an objection to his going before a Committee of that House. He should have been glad to see some signs of repentance on the part of the corporation of Maidenhead and some indication that they were willing to pay Mr. Taylor those reasonable costs and expenses he had been put to in throwing light on their proceedings. Under the Bill the expenses of the corporation were to be paid. Why, then, should not the expenses be paid of the man who had had the public spirit to get up, against great opposition, without any strong support and without any funds, to let the public know how they had been swindled and what this corporation had been doing? It was in order to give Mr. Joseph Taylor an opportunity of being heard in Committee that he had put down the Instruction standing in his name. There was an old equity saying that he who sought for equity should be prepared to act equitably and should come to the Court with clean hands. He opposed this Bill because it was misleading; because there was no question of freeing the bridge it proposed to free, and because this corporation, in his opinion, did not come to the House with clean hands. He begged to move.

MR. WEIR (Ross and Cromarty) said he rose to second the rejection of the Bill. After the manner in which his hon. friend had dealt with the case it was not for him to occupy the time of the House. It appeared to him that the House could not sanction the Second Reading of this Bill. Mr. Taylor had done a magnificent work in freeing the bridge. He had expended an enormous amount of time, and had been put to enormous cost. The corporation had ignored him; had paid no regard to the good work he had done; had referred him to the public to be recouped the cost to which he had been put, and now they had the audacity to bring to this House a Bill the object of which was to whitewash them and relieve them from the responsibility of their wrongdoing of so many years. This Corporation had received from 1772 to the 31st of October, 1903, out of tolls on this bridge, £140,000, and the upkeep of the bridge for the last ten years had not exceeded £30. They also derived a revenue of £1,116 from the property they built and purchased out of the surplus of the tolls received from the bridge, and beyond that they had built a church, and the money derived from the pew-rents had vanished, and they had sold the advowson and no one knew what had become of the money. Since 1836 they had had no right to collect tolls, but they collected them until the whole question was raised by Mr. Fullbrook crossing the bridge on his motor. That case was still before the Courts, and he protested against this Bill being proceeded with until the case had been disposed of. He submitted that the House should not grant powers while that case was engaging the attention of the Courts. What were they going to do with all this money which had been set aside by the corporation? He thought the corporation ought to pay their debts out of that money, and not come to the House of Commons for power to borrow £70,000 or £80,000 as was provided for in this Bill. He sincerely trusted the House would not pass a Bill of this nature. The mayor and corporation of Maidenhead were obdurate upon this subject, and he could only suppose that they had a grudge against this man and felt annoyed because they were not able to enjoy the tolls at the present time. Ever since the year 1836 the corporation had been taking these tolls, and the House of Commons ought not to encourage anything of this kind. He sincerely hoped the House would not allow this Bill to have a Second Reading, but would see that justice was done all round. He begged to second his hon. friend's Motion.

Amendment proposed—

"To leave out the word 'now,' and at the end of the Question to add the words 'upon this day three months.'"—(*Dr. Shipman.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

MR. BRYNMOR JONES (Swansea District) said he thought there must be some misunderstanding with regard to this Bill on the part of his hon. friend who had just spoken. He had heard from his hon. friend near him that it was the desire of Mr. Joseph Taylor to free this bridge from tolls. That might or might not be the case, but he knew that there was an action now pending in the High Court with reference to this very matter. In regard to the principle of this Bill, the question was whether it was expedient that an Act to free Maidenhead Bridge from tolls and to enable the corporation to borrow money to discharge certain debts should or should not obtain a Second Reading. He had heard nothing from either of his hon. friends to suggest any grounds whatever for contradicting the proposition that this Bill should obtain a Second Reading. He had heard something about Mr. Joseph Taylor, and, after having listened to that gentleman, all he could say was that he thought he was a most active and energetic citizen. This was one of those private Bills brought forward in the House of Lords, and there he understood that Mr. Joseph Taylor and the other petitioners who were now complaining of this Bill were heard, but the House of Lords passed the Bill. It then came to the House of Commons and a Petition was presented in this House. The matter came before the Court of Referees, because the promoters objected to the *locus standi* of Mr. Joseph Taylor and the other gentlemen who had signed the Petition which he presented. Mr. Taylor was heard at length, and he was bound to say he presented his case with the utmost clearness and with very great vigour to the Court. There were two grounds on which he argued his right to be heard before a Committee of this House. When anyone asked for a *locus standi* he generally did so on the ground that he had a *locus standi* under one of the Standing Orders of the House or according to the practice of Parliament. It soon became clear that Mr. Taylor had no *locus standi* under any Standing Order, and therefore the question arose whether according to the practice of Parliament he had any *locus standi* on some other ground recognised by the decisions of the Court of Referees. They listened with the utmost patience, and two points were made by him, and both of them had been referred to by his hon. friend on his left. The first point was that the corporation of Maidenhead had illegally exacted tolls and that litigation was pending in the High Court of Justice. The point was that he or some servant of his was going with a conveyance and was stopped and pulled up at the bridge and had to pay 4d. Consequently Mr. Taylor brought an action in the High Court of Justice to recover this 4d. and damages. He understood that this was a test case. Objection had been taken to this Bill because this case was pending in the High Court. The question was what was there in this Bill which affected Mr. Taylor's right to go on with his action, and the answer was that there was nothing whatever in this Bill affecting that litigation. This measure had nothing to do with any illegal exactions. It was obvious that according to Parliamentary practice they could not allow Mr. Taylor a *locus standi* on that ground.

But Mr. Taylor raised another point of much greater gravity, and as to which it was possible that the Attorney-General might be asked for some explanation, and that was with regard to the general action of the Maidenhead Corporation ever since the year 1835. From that year this corporation had been guilty of misapplication or non-application of these bridge tolls, and it appeared from the very preamble of this Bill that these funds had become vested in them under ancient charters and under the Act of 1772, to which reference had been made, and by subsequent legislation, and that this was a public charitable trust. They had under these circumstances to consider whether this gave any *locus standi* to Mr. Joseph Taylor. He said that this was a public charitable trust, and he was in exactly the same position in regard to this matter as any other of His Majest's subjects. None of the petitioners were landowners or ratepayers in the borough of Maidenhead, nor was it alleged that any of them had been injuriously affected by this, consequently they had to ask themselves by what right did Mr. Joseph Taylor complain of this Bill. Anyone else might justly complain of the misapplication or non-application of these trust funds. It was a matter of common knowledge that the action to enforce the accounts against trustees in the case of charitable trusts must be brought in the name of the Attorney-General and any citizen might ask him to bring the action. That was how the case came before them, and by Clause 11 it was undoubtedly the case that if there had been misapplication of the funds, the corporation of Maidenhead had obtained an indemnity. He did not know whether they ought to obtain that indemnity or not, but Mr. Joseph Taylor was not entitled to a *locus standi* on that point, because he had made no special case for himself. He thought some explanation ought to be given by the Attorney-General of his certificate in the House of Lords that he was satisfied with the Bill, and that it ought to proceed. In regard to matters concerning charities, either one of the Charity Commissioners or the Attorney-General had to make some report, which had been made in this case. He confessed that he did not know why the Attorney-General had agreed to this indemnity so readily being given to the Maidenhead Corporation, and upon that point he thought they were entitled to some explanation from the Government.

*MR. J. W. LOWTHER (Cumberland, Penrith): Will the hon. Member say what would happen if this Bill is rejected?

MR. BRYNMOR JONES said he thought the position would be very unsatisfactory if the Bill were rejected, and he agreed that there was a case for a Second Reading of the Bill. He thought, however, that the Unopposed Bills Committee would criticise Clause 11 very severely. He did not propose to vote against the Bill, but he thought some explanation ought to be given in regard to Clause 11 and the certificate given by the Attorney-General.

*MR. GARDNER (Berkshire, Wokingham) said that the corporation so much condemned by the hon. Members who had moved and seconded the rejection of this Bill was one in his Division. The speeches of hon. Gentlemen opposite were a condemnation of those who formed the corporation of Maidenhead three quarters of a century ago. The position of Mr. Joseph Taylor in this case had been well put before the House by the hon. Member opposite (Mr. Brynmor Jones). This Bill was promoted by the corporation of Maidenhead under the instructions of the Charity Commissioners, who knew all about the case. The hon. and learned Member for Northampton had taken them over a good many years, even to the year 1200. The history of Maidenhead Bridge was long enough without going back so far. The bridge was built under an Act of 1772, which enacted that the bridge should be the property of the mayor and burgesses of the borough of Maidenhead for ever, and that they should erect a toll house and levy tolls for ever. A body of laymen might be excused if they considered that that bridge and tolls were theirs for all time. At any rate they acted upon that assumption until 1836. It was quite true that in 1836 a question was raised by a member of the corporation as to whether the corporation of Maidenhead were right in dealing with the bridge and the money derived from it in the way they had done. It was not to be wondered at that the corporation, armed by their Bill of 1772, saw no reason to depart from the method which had hitherto obtained. From the year 1897 to 1901 the corporation were anxious to obtain the freedom of the bridge with the co-operation of the local authorities around, and it was not accurate to say that they were not able to carry out the freeing because they had not a good title. The local authorities in the neighbourhood of the bridge were unable to agree upon a course of action, and the proposal fell through. The hon. Member opposite had spoken very highly of Mr. Taylor, who had had great experience in bridge matters. In his statement in another place he said that up to April, 1900, he had not had the least intention of intervening, because he shared the general opinion that the bridge was corporate property and being legally administered under the Act of 1772. If the Maidenhead people were doing wrong then at any rate they had the concurrence of Mr. Taylor in their proceedings up to that time. Mr. Taylor obtained counsel's opinion, and he was advised that the bridge was a charitable trust, and that the proper method of procedure was to apply to the Charity Commissioners. He did so, and after some correspondence with the town clerk, who rendered every assistance, the Commissioners announced to the Maidenhead Corporation that the bridge was a charitable trust and that they should hold an inquiry. The corporation offered every assistance to the Charity Commissioners. The Commissioner representing the Charity Commissioners said that the corporation had expressed its willingness to afford all possible information. After reading extracts from the evidence before the inquiry, the hon. Member proceeded to say the Charity Commissioners recommended that this Act should be passed to free the bridge in 1905. As a result of that inquiry the Commissioners made certain suggestions which had been embodied in this Bill, and as a matter of fact the corporation had freed the bridge this year, instead of waiting till 1905, at a considerable loss to themselves.

What was the opposition to this Bill? It narrowed itself down to a few persons. Who desired the Bill to pass? In the first place the Charity Commissioners strongly recommended it and the Local Government Board approved of it, and the general public had got all they wanted. The Attorney-General, in his report, said that although there might have been misapplication of the funds he saw no reason to suppose that those funds had not been fairly applied for the benefit of the public. He thought that was a recommendation upon which the House might very well be asked to act. Who were the opponents of the Bill? One of them was Mr. Joseph Taylor, who was a member of the public who had taken action. He opposed this measure on the ground that his costs ought to be paid. What costs had he incurred? He might have gone to the expense of getting counsel's opinion, but having done that he had no need to go further. He venturd to suggest to the House that no good reasons had been shown for killing this Bill. This measure had in its favour all those in authority and the corporation and rateyayers of Maidenhead. It benefited the public and it did no harm to a single individual.

MR. CORRIE GRANT (Warwickshire, Rugby) said he was sorry to hear the last words of the hon. Member who had just sat down, because with a very large part of his speech he found himself in agreement. If a Bill did an injustice to a single man that Bill ought not to pass until the injustice had been removed. He thought the hon. Member opposite had stepped a little beyond his usual good taste and kindly feeling when he said that Mr. Taylor could not have this money both ways. Mr. Taylor had only had £36 of his costs by public subscription, while his total costs were between £300 and £400. He thought his hon. friends on the Opposition side had gone a great deal too far by the use of such a strong word as "swindle." This was clearly not a case of swindle, but of a little misapprehension of what was fair and equitable. But for the action of Mr. Taylor it was quite clear that this Bill would not now have been before the House of Commons. The hon. Member opposite agreed that Mr. Taylor was entitled to the amount of counsel's fee. But why did the Maidenhead Corporation not pay it? They had put in a clause that they should be paid their own costs, and they might have added also the taxed costs of Mr. Taylor. He was not asking that Mr. Taylor should have the expenses he incurred by going about the country addressing public meetings, but simply that he should have his out-of-pocket expenses, which he had been put to in fighting for a public right. A corporation which was asking for indemnity from wrong-doing ought to take every step to see that it was doing what was right for others. The necessity for this Bill arose out of the action of the Maidenhead Corporation. Nobody wanted Mr. Taylor to go on with his action in Court to maintain his right to go over the bridge without paying a toll; but if the Maidenhead Corporation would not do justice to Mr. Taylor, he thought hon. Members would be justified in voting against this Bill. His hon. friend the Member for Swansea had explained Mr. Taylor's position very fully, and it was clear that he had no *locus standi* under the Orders of this House, and consequently he had been refused a hearing. That was why this question had to come before the House, because the Standing Orders did not cover every possible case. Mr. Taylor had no more *locus* before the Committee than any other member of the public; but the distinction was that he had taken upon himself a public duty, and was endeavouring to assert a public right, and had incurred certain expenses in doing it. Now when the Maidenhead Corporation came here asking for indemnification for the wrong they had done in the past, it was only reasonable that the man who had been in the right should be indemnified also.

*MR. J. W. LOWTHER said that earlier in the debate he interjected a Question, and asked what would happen if this Bill was rejected. The only answer given to him by the hon. Member for Swansea was that the position of matters would be very unsatisfactory. It seemed to him that if this Bill were rejected the first thing that would happen would be that the Act of 1772 would still remain in force, and that Act empowered the tolls to be levied on the bridge. Now that was the last thing which anybody in this House wished to see. The corporation of Maidenhead did not wish to levy these tolls, neither did Mr. Taylor, or the Charity Commissioners, or the Attorney-General—in fact, nobody wished to levy them—and if the House rejected the Second Reading, the very thing would happen which none of them wished to happen Clause 4 of this measure provided that the Act of 1772 should be repealed, and that Act must be in force, or there would be no necessity to repeal it.

DR SHIPMAN said that the corporation had got plenty of money to provide for the maintenance of the bridge. They had taken an enormous sum of money from the public in tolls, and during the last ten years they had only paid £30 for the maintenance of the bridge.

***MR. J. W. LOWTHER** said they were all agreed that it was desirable that this Bill should become an Act, and the whole difficulty related to Mr. Taylor's bill. The question was had Mr. Taylor any claim at all. He regretted that the corporation and Mr. Taylor did not come to an amicable arrangement, but both parties decided to stand on their rights, and Mr. Taylor's rights were now at vanishing point, because the Court of Referees had disallowed his *locus* There was, moreover, no fund out of which Mr. Taylor could be compensated. Mr. Taylor could hardly expect a special rate to be levied. The Charity Commissioners had decided that this money was to be considered in the nature of a charitable trust which must be applied to certain purposes, and one of those purposes was not Mr. Taylor.

MR. CORRIE GRANT said the right hon. Gentleman was wrong.

***MR. J. W. LOWTHER** said that he suggested to the parties that some amicable arrangement might be arrived at, and personally he regretted that both parties decided to stand on their legal rights; and he did not see how Mr. Taylor had any legal rights in the matter. He was very sorry for him; but in the interests of all parties it was extremely desirable that this Act should go through, and therefore he should vote for the Second Reading. He trusted the House would pass this Bill, in order that Maidenhead Bridge might be freed from tolls, and that the Act of 1772 might be repealed.

***MR. CORRIE GRANT** said the right hon. Gentleman had stated that the expenses of this Bill were to be paid out of the charity trust funds, and that there was no fund out of which Mr. Taylor could be compensated. In that he was in error. If he would look at Section 28 he would see that the costs of the Corporation were to be paid out of the borough fund.

***MR. J. W. LOWTHER** said that what he stated was that the accumulated funds arising from the tolls on the bridge were impressed with a charitable trust.

***MR. CORRIE GRANT** said Mr. Taylor's expenses might be paid out of the same fund as that from which the expenses of the Maidenhead Corporation were to be paid.

Question put.

The House divided:—Ayes, 137; Noes, 78. (Division List No. 151.)

AYES.

Acland-Hood, Capt. Sir Alex.F.
Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arrol, Sir William
Asher, Alexander
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour, Capt. C. B. (Hornsey)
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Bhownaggree, Sir M. M.
Bignold, Arthur
Boscawen, Arthur Griffith
Brigg, John
Brotherton, Edward Allen
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Bull, William James
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Cavendish, V.C.W. (Derbyshire
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Cecil, Lord Hugh (Greenwich)
Charrington, Spencer
Clare, Octavius Leigh
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Collings, Rt. Hon. Jesse
Corbett, A. Cameron (Glasgow)
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Crombie, John William
Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Dalkeith, Earl of
Davenport, William Bromley
Dewar, John A. (Inverness-sh.
Dickson, Charles Scott
Dimsdale, Rt.Hn.Sir Joseph C.
Doughty, George

Duke, Henry Edward
Durning-Lawrence, Sir Edwin
Ellice,Capt E.C(SAndrw'sBghs
Fellowes, Hn. Ailwyn Edward
Ferguson, R. C. Munro (Leith)
Fergusson, Rt.Hn.SirJ(Manc'r
Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
Fitzmaurice, Lord Edmond
Forster, Henry William
Fuller, J. M. F.
Garfit, William
Gibbs, Hon. A. G. H.
Gordon, Hn.J.E.(Elgin&Nairn)
Gore, Hon. S.F.Ormsby-(Linc.)
Gray, Ernest (West Ham)
Greene, Henry D.(Shrewsbury)
Haslam, Sir Alfred S.
Heath, Arthur Howard(Hanley
Heath, James (Staffords., N.W.
Heaton, John Henniker
Henderson, Sir A. (Stafford,W.
Hermon-Hodge, Sir Robert T.
Hickman, Sir Alfred
Hope, J.F.(Sheffield,Brightside
Hozier, Hn. James Henry Cecil
Hunt, Rowland
Jameson, Major J. Eustace
Jebb, Sir Richard Claverhouse
Johnstone, Heywood (Sussex)
Jones, DavidBrynmor(Swansea
Kemp, Lieut.-Colonel George
Keswick, William
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
Lawrence, Sir Jos. (Monmouth)
Lawson, J. Grant (Yorks., N.R.
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Leveson-Gower, Frederick N.S.
Loder, Gerald Walter Erskine
Lowther, RtHn.J.W(Cum.Penr
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Maconochie, A. W.
M'Arthur, Charles (Liverpool)
M'Crae, George
M'Iver,Sir Lewis(Edinburgh,W
M'Killop, James (Stirlingshire)
Maxwell, W.J.H. (Dumfriessh.)
Milvain, Thomas
Montagu, G. (Huntingdon)
Moon, Edward Robert Pacy
Morley, Rt.Hn. John(Montrose
Morpeth, Viscount
Morton, Arthur H. Aylmer
Murray, Rt. Hon. A. G. (Bute)
Nolan, Col. J. P. (Galway, N.)
Parkes, Ebenezer
Peel, Hn.Wm.Robert Wellesley
Percy, Earl
Plummer, Walter R.
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Pym, C. Guy
Randles, John S.
Rasch, Sir Frederic Carne
Reid, James (Greenock)
Reid, Sir R. Threshie(Dumfries
Remnant, James Farquharson
Renshaw, Sir Charles Bine
Roberts, Samuel (Sheffield)
Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
Royds, Clement Molyneux
Russell, T. W.
Rutherford, W. W. (Liverpool)
Sadler, Col. Samuel Alexander
Shaw, Thomas (Hawick B.)
Skewes-Cox, Thomas
Slack, John Bamford
Smith,H.C(North'mb.Tyneside
Smith, James Parker(Lanarks.)
Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
Spear, John Ward
Stewart, Sir Mark J. M'Taggart
Stirling-Maxwell, Sir John M.
Stock, James Henry
Stone, Sir Benjamin
Stroyan, John
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Taylor, Austin (East Toxteth)
Thorburn, Sir Walter
Thornton, Percy M.
Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
Tritton, Charles Ernest
Tuff, Charles
Tuke, Sir John Batty
Valentia, Viscount
Walrond, Rt.Hn.Sir William H.
Warde, Colonel C. E.
Wason, Jn. Cathcart (Orkney)
Webb, Colonel William George
Welby, Sir Charles G.E.(Notts.
Whitmore, Charles Algernon
Wilson, John (Glasgow)
Yoxall, James Henry

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Mr Gardner and Mr. Mount.

NOES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N.E.)
Abraham, William (Rhondda)
Ainsworth, John Stirling
Barlow, John Emmott
Bell, Richard
Black, Alexander William
Boland, John
Brown, George M. (Edinburgh)
Burns, John
Burt, Thomas
Caldwell, James
Campbell, John (Armagh, S.)
Cremer, William Randal
Cross, Alexander (Glasgow)
Cullinan, J.
Dalziel, James Henry
Davies, Alfred (Carmarthen)
Delany, William
Devlin, Chas. Ramsay (Galway
Devlin, Joseph (Kilkenny, N.)
Dobbie, Joseph
Doogan, P. C.
Douglas, Charles M. (Lanark)
Duncan, J. Hastings
Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
Eve, Harry Trelawney
Farquharson, Dr. Robert
Field, William
Foster, Sir Walter (Derby Co.)
Gladstone, Rt. Hn. Herbert Jn.
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Grant, Corrie
Haldane, Rt. Hon. Richard B.
Hammond, John
Harmsworth, R. Leicester
Hayden, John Patrick
Hope, John Deans (Fife, West)
Horniman, Frederick John
Jones, William(Carnarvonshire
Joyce, Michael
Kilbride, Denis
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Leigh, Sir Joseph
Lewis, John Herbert
Lloyd-George, David
Lundon, W.
Macdona, John Cumming
Macnamara, Dr. Thomas J.
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
M'Killop, W. (Sligo, North)
Morgan, J. Lloyd (Carmarthen)
Murnaghan, George
Murphy, John
Nannetti, Joseph P.
Norman, Henry
Nussey, Thomas Willans
O'Brien, K. (Tipperary, Mid.)
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Brien, P. J. (Tipperary, N.)
O'Connor, James (Wicklow,W.
O'Malley, William
Partington, Oswald
Pirie, Duncan V.
Power, Patrick Joseph
Reddy, M.
Rigg, Richard
Roberts, John Bryn (Eifion)
Robertson, Edmund (Dundee)
Sheehy, David
Sinclair, John (Forfarshire)
Soares, Ernest J.
Sullivan, Donal
Tennant, Harold John
Thomas, D. Alfred (Merthyr)
Warner, Thomas Courtenay T.
Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan)
Whittaker, Thomas Palmer
Wilson, John (Falkirk)
Young, Samuel

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Dr. Shipman and Mr. Weir.

Main Question put, and agreed to.

Bill read a second time, and committed.

PIER AND HARBOUR PROVISIONAL ORDERS (No. 2.) BILL (BY ORDER).

[SECOND READING.]

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."

MR. AINSWORTH (Argyllshire) moved: That this Bill be read a second time this day three months. He wished to explain the grounds on which he made this proposal.

*MR. SPEAKER pointed out that it was extremely undesirable to make that Motion at present. There were three separate Provisional Orders included in one Bill, and one hon. Member objected to one of them, and another hon. Member to another of them, and Amendments were put down to the Second Reading of the whole Bill. There were also notices of Instructions on the Paper to strike out each of those two Orders. He only pointed out that the more reasonable method would be to allow the Second Reading to pass, and to deal with the objections on the Instructions.

MR. AINSWORTH: If it falls in with your opinion, I am willing to move any Instruction now.

*MR. SPEAKER: The Instruction is objected to, and whether the Motions against the Second Reading are withdrawn or proceeded with, the Instruction cannot be taken to-night.

MR. AINSWORTH said it seemed to him that in the circumstances the only course for him was to proceed against the Second Reading. He pointed out that part of the Provisional Order related to Islay, and stated that he was hopeful that before the end of the discussion the promoters would be prepared to withdraw this part from the Bill. The objection of the Provisional Order was to place in the hands of the owners of the land the entire control of the piers on the island, all of which were of the utmost importance to the inhabitants. He had not the smallest intention of proposing anything which might at all interfere with the rights of any of the proprietors, but he thought it was only right that the House should have its attention drawn to the extreme importance of these piers to the people of the district, who for the carrying on of their industries were largely dependent on water carriage. If anything were done to interfere with the enjoyment by the public of the piers, they would do something in the direction of putting a stop to the interchange of traffic between the island and the mainland. The piers, so far as they were attached to the shore, must stand on the property of the individual proprietor of the land, and so far as they extended into the ocean they must stand on the property of the Crown, so that the Crown occupied an important place in connection with the ownership of the piers. No rates had up to the present time been charged for the use of the piers, but by this Provisional Order it was proposed to empower the promoters to charge rates on every species of traffic. He wished the House to remember that they were dealing with a remote and poor part of the country, and that the imposing of these rates would be a serious burden on the people for a service which had hitherto been free. The island had a population of 8,000, and there was great difficulty in securing employment. He thought the proper policy would be to encourage the transfer of the piers from the proprietors to the county councils, and he wished to point out that, if the House agreed to the Order they were now asked to pass, they would put off the day when the transfer could take place. It was of the greatest importance to the island that that day should not be put off indefinitely. If the House confirmed this Order they would really interfere seriously with what were in the nature of permanent highways of the island. If there was to be an alteration in the present state of things the proper authority to take over the piers was the county council of Argyll.

MR. WEIR (Ross and Cromarty), in seconding the Motion said that if there was a curse in the Highlands it was the everlasting demand for tolls. It was all very well for Members of that House when they visited the Highlands to put their hands in their pockets and pay the penny or twopence asked for pier dues, but these charges were a very serious matter for the poor people who lived in these districts. He supposed that the proprietors took the tolls to Continental resorts and played *rouge et noir* with them. He could only hope that the county councils would ultimately secure every pier in the Highlands. Ten years ago, in the Black Isle case, the Crown lawyers stated that a ferry was part of the public highway, and as a boat must get to land somewhere, that showed that piers should be under the control of a public authority, and not in the hands of private individuals. He did not know when Mr. Morrison secured the Island of Islay, but he found that, as landlord, he demanded 10 per cent. on his expenditure. A more monstrous thing he had never heard of. The powers contained in the Bill would enable the landlord or his factor to know exactly the earnings of every poor fisherman on the island, and every small trader, and the result would be that the rents of the holdings would be increased 30, 40, or 50 per cent., and the landlord would be master of the situation. Mr. Morrison would have acted in accordance with reason and justice if he had come to some arrangement with the county council. He wished to know whether the Board of Trade or the Department of Woods and Forests had looked after the Crown rights in this case. He did not want a Bill of this character to pass, and accordingly he seconded the Motion of the hon Member.

Amendment proposed —

"To leave out the word 'now,' and at the end of the Question to add the words 'upon this day three months.'"—(*Mr. Ainsworth.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

MR. POWER (Waterford, E.) said that the Irish Members distinctly sympathised with the views of the hon. Gentlemen who had moved and seconded the Resolution. Anyone did not require to live in the Highlands to understand the depopulation which had been going on in that part of the country. But the Irish Members found themselves in an awkward position on account of this being an omnibus Bill, and it contained provisions in relation to Ireland as to which arrangements satisfactory to all parties had been made. If they were to vote against the Second Reading of this Order, that part of it in which they were interested would go by the board. As to the Instruction, that was quite another matter; and they hoped to have an opportunity of supporting the hon. Gentleman in that respect.

THE PARLIAMENTARY SECRETARY TO THE BOARD OF TRADE (Mr. BONAR LAW, Glasgow, Blackfriars) said that on behalf of the Board of Trade he asked the House to let the Bill go to a Select Committee where the arguments could be sifted, and the evidence duly weighed. The hon. Member for Ross and Cromarty said that it was desirable that piers should be in the hands of the county councils, but there was no proposal of the county council of Argyllshire to take over these piers, and surely it was not the duty of private owners to part with their property without compensation. The Board of Trade sent down a Commissioner to Scotland, who heard all the evidence and the arguments put forward by eminent counsel, and the Commissioner was satisfied that on the merits a *prima facie* case had been made out for the Bill. He did not wish to go into the merits of the Bill now, but he might point out to the hon. Gentleman who said that this was a case of a greedy landlord wanting 10 per cent. that the proprietor of these piers had spent over £14,000 in keeping them up during his lifetime, apart from the original cost. The Board of Trade had put in a provision that the utmost sum to be paid was 10 per cent., not on the original sum, but on expenditure after the Provisional Order came into operation. The interests of the public had been duly safeguarded in the Bill, and he hoped the House would allow the Second Reading to be taken.

MR. DALZIEL (Kirkcaldy Burghs) said he quite agreed with the hon. Gentleman that there was something to be said for the Bill now before the House. But he wished to enter his protest against the Board of Trade bringing forward a Bill of this character, which included three Provisional Orders, each of considerable importance, but dealing with entirely separate interests. He should vote against the Government for another reason, and that was that this was not a time when they were justified in passing legislation giving such large powers to a private landowner. From all he had heard, he believed Mr. Morrison to be a highly respected landlord. But this Bill was giving him authority which he ought not to have—authority which ought to be in the hands of the local body. The Government ought to have given sufficient money to build these piers. Grants had been made for building piers in other places which had not so strong a claim on the public funds as this locality. The schedule to the Bill almost suggested that there was to be a little protection introduced under the guise of a Provisional Order. Mr. Morrison would have power to put a tax on all the food which went into the island. That was giving far too much power to a private individval, and practically it seemed to him as if an attempt was being made to experiment with protection in the island of Islay.

Mr. LEVESON-GOWER (Sutherland) said that, as a Member for a Highland district, he had very great pleasure in voting for the Second Reading of this Bill. He must confess that he did not understand on what grounds the rejection of the Bill had been moved and seconded. He held that such works as were dealt with in the Bill were of the greatest benefit to the crofters in the Highlands, and every encouragement should be given to private landlords to build piers, harbours, and the like which provided for the safety and security of the people.

***Mr. JOHN DEWAR** (Inverness) said he knew so well the difficulty of getting piers erected that he hesitated to oppose this Bill. He understood the object of putting two or more Provisional Orders in one Bill was to save expense; but he was informed that the whole crofting population of Islay and the smaller landlords were opposed to Mr. Morrision getting these powers under this Provisional Order. He hoped that the Secretary to the Board of Trade would see to it that the proprietor of the piers was not empowered to increase the rates so as to stop trade and prevent steamers landing passengers and goods as had been done at one of the piers in his constituency.

Mr. COURTENAY WARNER (Staffordshire, Lichfield) said he was not specially interested in the Highlands, but he understood that no tolls had been levied at these piers hitherto. It was said that those who objected to the Bill would have a *locus standi* upstairs; but how could they put their case before the Committee when they were all poor crofters or fishermen?

Question put.

The House divided:—Ayes, 172. Noes, 33. (Division List No. 152)

AYES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N.E.)
Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster, Rt.Hn.Hugh O
Arrol, Sir William
Asher, Alexander
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour, Rt. Hn. A.J (Macnh'r
Balfour, Capt C. B. (Hornsey)
Balfour, Rt. Hon. G. W. (Leeds
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Bhownaggree, Sir M. M.
Bignold, Arthur
Boland, John
Brigg, John
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Brotherton, Edward Allen
Caldwell, James
Campbell, John (Armagh, S.)
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Cavendish, V.C.W. (Derbyshire
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Cecil, Lord Hugh (Greenwich)
Chamberlain, Rt Hn.J.A(Worc.
Charrington, Spencer
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Corbett, A. Cameron (Glasgow)
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Crombie, John William
Cross, Alexander (Glasgow)
Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Cullinan, J.
Dalkeith, Earl of
Davenport, William Bromley
Delany, William
Devlin, Chas. Ramsay (Galway
Devlin, Joseph (Kilkenny, N.)
Dewar, John A. (Inverness-sh.
Dickson, Charles Scott
Doogan, P. C.
Doughty, George
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers
Douglas, Charles M. (Lanark)
Durning-Lawrence, Sir Edwin
Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
Farquharson, Dr. Robert
Ferguson, R. C. Munro (Leith)
Fergusson, Rt.Hn.SirJ(Manc'r
Field, William
Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne

Fitzmaurice, Lord Edmond
Forster, Henry William
Foster, P. S. (Warwick, S.W.)
Gardner, Ernest
Gordon, Hn.J.E.(Elgin&Nairn)
Grant, Corrie
Gray, Ernest (West Ham)
Greene, Henry D.(Shrewsbury)
Haldane, Rt. Hon. Richard B.
Hammond, John
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Hayden, John Patrick
Heath, Arthur Howard(Hanley
Heath, James (Staffords., N.W.
Henderson, Sir A. (Stafford,W.
Hermon-Hodge, Sir Robert T.
Hickman, Sir Alfred
Hope, J.F.(Sheffield,Brightside
Hozier, Hn. James Henry Cecil
Hunt, Rowland
Jameson, Major J. Eustace
Jones, William(Carnarvonshire
Joyce, Michael
Keswick, William
Kilbride, Denis
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
Law, Hugh Alex. (Donegal, W.
Lawrence, Sir Jos. (Monmouth)
Lawson, J. Grant (Yorks., N.R.
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Lees, Sir Elliott (Birkenhead)
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Leveson-Gower, Frederick N.S.
Loder, Gerald Walter Erskine
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lundon, W.
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
Macdona, John Cumming
Maconochie, A. W.
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
M'Arthur, Charles (Liverpool)
M'Killop, James (Stirlingshire)
M'Killop, W. (Sligo, North)
Maxwell, W.J.H. (Dumfriessh.
Milvain, Thomas
Montagu, G. (Huntingdon)
Montagu, Hn. J. Scott (Hants.)
Morpeth, Viscount
Morton, Arthur H. Aylmer
Mount, William Arthur
Murnaghan, George
Murphy, John
Murray, Rt. Hon. A. G. (Bute)
Nannetti, Joseph P.
Nolan, Col. J. P. (Galway, N.)
O'Brien, K. (Tipperary, Mid.)
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Brien, P. J. (Tipperary, N.)
O'Malley, William
Parkes, Ebenezer
Partington, Oswald
Peel, Hn.Wm.Robert Wellesley
Percy, Earl
Plummer, Walter R.
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Randles, John S.
Rasch, Sir Frederic Carne
Reddy, M.
Reid, James (Greenock)
Renshaw, Sir Charles Bine
Renwick, George
Roberts, Samuel (Sheffield)
Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
Royds, Clement Molyneux
Russell, T. W.
Rutherford, John (Lancashire)
Rutherford, W. W. (Liverpool)
Sadler, Col. Samuel Alexander
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Seton-Karr, Sir Henry
Shaw, Thomas (Hawick B.)
Sheehan, Daniel Daniel
Skewes-Cox, Thomas
Smith,H C(North'mb.Tyneside
Smith, James Parker(Lanarks.)
Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
Soares, Ernest J.
Spear, John Ward
Stanley, Rt. Hon. Lord (Lancs.
Stewart, Sir Mark J. M'Taggart
Stirling-Maxwell, Sir John M.
Stock, James Henry
Stroyan, John
Strutt, Hon. Charles Hedley
Sullivan, Donal
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Talbot, Rt.Hn.J.G(Oxf'dUniv.
Taylor, Austin (East Toxteth)
Tennant, Harold John
Thorburn, Sir Walter
Thornton, Percy M.
Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
Tuff, Charles
Tuke, Sir John Batty
Valentia, Viscount
Walrond, Rt.Hn.Sir WilliamH.
Warde, Colonel C. E.
Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan)
Wason, Jn. Cathcart (Orkney)
Webb, Colonel William George
Welby, Sir Charles G.E.(Notts.
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
Whitmore, Charles Algernon
Wilson, John (Glasgow)
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George
Young, Samuel

Tellers for the Ayes—Sir Alexander Acland - Hood and Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes.

NOES.

Abraham, William (Rhondda)
Barlow, John Emmott
Beaumont, Wentworth C. B.
Bell, Richard
Black, Alexander William
Brown, George M. (Edinburgh)
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Causton, Richard Knight
Cremer, William Randal
Dalziel, James Henry
Davies, Alfred (Carmarthen)
Dobbie, Joseph
Duncan, J. Hastings
Foster, Sir Walter (Derby Co.)
Gladstone, Rt. Hn. Herbert Jn.
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Harmsworth, R. Leicester
Hope, John Deans (Fife, West)
Horniman, Frederick John
Leigh, Sir Joseph
Macnamara, Dr. Thomas J.
M'Crae, George
O'Connor, James (Wicklow, W.
Pirie, Duncan V.
Rigg, Richard
Roberts, John Bryn (Eifion)
Runciman, Walter
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Sinclair, John (Forfarshire)
Slack, John Bamford
Thomas, D. Alfred (Merthyr)
Warner, Thomas Courtenay T.
Wilson, John (Falkirk)

Tellers for the Noes—Mr. Ainsworth and Mr. Weir.

Main Question put and agreed to

Bill read a second time and committed.

EDUCATION (SCOTLAND) BILL.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[Mr. J. W. Lowther (Cumberland Penrith) in the chair.]

Clause 14.

Amendment again proposed—

"In page 7, line 29, to leave out from the word 'shall' to the word 'become,' in line 31."—(*Mr. A. Graham Murray.*)

Question again proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the clause."

Sir CHARLES RENSHAW said he did not know whether it would be more convenient to discuss the Amendment of the Secretary for Scotland now or on

Clause 25. He felt, however, that if he did not express an opinion now on the omission of the words he might not be in order in discussing the matter on Clause 25.

*MR. A. GRAHAM MURRAY said he thought it would be far better to take out the words. The clause was necessary in the interests of creditors, because if the school boards disappeared it might be held that there was no one to sue. It would be an arrangement between the new school board and the ratepayers of the parish. Of course, it was for the Chairman to say, but he could not see how the hon. Baronet would be prejudiced in any way because the question would come up when he himself moved to strike out Sub-section 1 of Clause 25.

DR. MACNAMARA said that if the words were omitted, all the debts and liabilities of the old school boards would become the debts and liabilities of the new school boards. They were agreed that that should apply to debts incurred by way of loan or capital charges; but they had agreed that the existing school boards should meet any deficiency arising from maintenance charges. Would it be competent for the Committee, if the words were omitted, to provide that the old school boards should meet out of their own areas debts incurred for maintenance charges.

*MR. A. GRAHAM MURRAY said that it was really the ratepayers in the districts of the old school boards who would be responsible; and a provision that the debts and liabilities of the old school boards should be the debts and liabilities of the new did not affect the question as to from what class of ratepayers debts could be recovered.

MR. THOMAS SHAW said that substantially what they desired could be accomplished in the first year of the new rate by means of an adjustment over the particular area in which the delinquency occurred.

*THE CHAIRMAN: I do not think the hon. Baronet will be in any worse position on Clause 25.

MR. BUCHANAN (Perthshire, E.) said that the Committee ought to have a statement from the Secretary for Scotland, as this was a very substantial alteration, and gave rise to a great deal of diversity of opinion.

*MR. A. GRAHAM MURRAY said the Chairman had just given his ruling, and the question could be settled on Clause 25.

Question put, and negatived.

Clause 14, as amended, agreed to.

Clauses 15, 16, 17, agreed to.

Clause 18.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 8, line 27, to leave out from the word 'or,' to the word 'shall,' in line 29, and insert the words 'such greater number as may from time to time be determined at a meeting of the school board called after special notice.'"—(*Mr. A. Graham Murray.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Clause 18, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 19.

*MR. A. GRAHAM MURRAY moved, "In Clause 19, page 8, line 30, to leave out from beginning to the word 'commit' in line 31, and insert the words 'a school board may from time to time.'"

Amendment proposed—

"In page 8, line 30, to leave out from beginning to the word 'commit' in line 31 and insert the words 'a school board may from time to time.'"—(*Mr. A. Graham Murray.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the clause."

Mr. DALZIEL said he hoped the right hon. Gentleman would explain what the Amendment meant.

*Mr. A. GRAHAM MURRAY said that the Amendment would remove the difference which existed in the Bill originally as between enumerated and non-enumerated districts. Owing to the views he had gathered, he had altered that, and now there was to be no distinction as regarded the appointment of managers in the two classes of districts. both would have the power to appoint managers.

Dr. MACNAMARA said he was doubtful of the wisdom of the Amendment. Some of the most successful school boards did not appoint managers at all; but he doubted whether the option should be given to large areas administered from a remote centre. There were eight counties which were single districts under the Bill; and in those districts the centres would be so remote from the management of the schools, that it would be desirable, in order to keep alive public interest in the schools, to insist upon the appointment of managers. He should also like to see the original form retained under which parish councils would have a voice in the management of the schools. There was a precedent for that in the Act of 1902. In the case of towns there was no need to compel school boards to appoint managers; but it was different in the case of country districts, and he doubted the wisdom and expediency of an endeavour to run schools in such districts without managers.

Mr. BUCHANAN said the Amendment represented the most substantial alteration yet made by the Secretary for Scotland in the Bill. It meant the doing away, root and branch, of any power on the part of the parents of the locality of exercising control over the schools. It would also mean that there would be no possibility of the remoter districts in Scotland taking any substantial interest in the management and prosperity of their schools. He thought they were being led away to sacrifice the important interests of elementary education in the scattered districts of Scotland for the possible advantages to be gained from united control in regard to secondary and technical education. The school boards might or might not appoint managers; but, if they exercised that power, they could appoint anyone they liked, whether a resident in the locality or not. If the Committee accepted the alteration they would be absolutely abandoning, for good and all, all interest and power on the part of the parents to exercise any control over the schools, and also the possibility of any local management in the direction of the schools, particularly in the more scattered parts of the country districts. He viewed with the gravest doubt the proposal of the Secretary for Scotland.

MR. MAXWELL said that he agreed with the hon. Gentleman who had just spoken that this was a most important change in the Bill. With regard to the managers a good deal would depend on what the area was. There might be a district with only three or four parishes, and it would be absurd, in that case, to make it compulsory on the school board to appoint managers. It appeared to him very desirable that, as far as possible, local interest should be kept up between the schools and the parish. It would make a tremendous change in local institutions in Scotland to take away the control of the parish schools from the parish. He had put down an Amendment which proposed that where managers were appointed a certain number should be from the parish or town council. He thought, however, that the question could not be altogether considered without reference to Clause 29, which dealt with the appointment of attendance committees. In that clause it was provided that where the school board appointed an attendance committee they should have power to add a certain number of persons to that committee who were connected with that locality. He thought that was rather vague. It was probable that, in many cases, the managers would act as the attendance committee, subject to the supervision of the school boards. He thought, however, it was very desirable that the managers should be in close touch with the schools, and he hoped the Secretary for Scotland would consider favourably the Amendment he had put down.

MR. BRYCE said the Amendment introduced a very important point indeed. He had endeavoured to keep an open mind on the matter; but he should like to have a fuller statement from the Secretary for Scotland as to what his view was. He did not know whether the right hon. Gentleman's view was that the school boards need not have managers at all, if they thought fit, or any managers they pleased without reference to the local authorities. He should like to hear from the Secretary for Scotland what his general policy in the matter was.

***MR. A. GRAHAM MURRAY** said it was rather difficult, when he was anxious to please people, that he should be criticised for doing what they wanted. As he stated in his speech on the Second Reading, he thought it was desirable to have local interest in the schools maintained, and that it would be better that schools should be locally managed through managers. Deputation after deputation came to him from all parts of Scotland on the subject; and when the Bill came to be discussed there was a consensus of opinion that it would be very unwise indeed to fetter the discretion of the new education bodies, that they should be trusted to appoint managers, and that it would be very foolish to throw on the parish councils, which were elected for quite other purposes and for interests other than those of education, the duty of management. On all sides he was asked to leave the matter free, and trust to school boards to elect proper managers. Accordingly, he was doing his best in that direction, and had put down the Amendment with that object. The striking out of the three clauses was a mere corollary, as, having given a free hand, the restrictions which the school boards were to be directed to prescribe from time to time were not necessary. He could assure hon. Gentlemen that if they took the trouble to ascertain what was the general opinion in Scotland in this matter, they would find it was in the direction of the Amendment. He admitted that the change was a very substantial change; but it was no Machiavellian scheme on the part of the Secretary for Scotland to change the Bill at the last moment. It was an honest attempt to meet what he believed to be the prevalent opinion in Scotland.

MR. HALDANE said the right hon. Gentleman asked the Committee to ascertain what the prevalent opinion on this matter in Scotland was. He did his best in the matter when last in Scotland; and he was bound to say that the result of his inquiries entirely coincided with the conclusion at which the right hon. Gentleman had arrived. It could not be disguised, however, that this was really a crucial point in the Bill. It was one of the things which, in the earlier stages, they were more puzzled about than anything else, viz., how to reconcile the maintenance of the parish authority with the main principles of the Bill. He thought, however, that the right hon. Gentleman had worked out to a right conclusion, and he would support him. The question was whether it was desirable to fetter the discretion of the new bodies, or trust them with unlimited discretion. The result of such consultations as he had had with education authorities was all in the direction of the conclusion of the right hon. Gentleman. This, however, was one of the crucial matters in the Bill, and a matter which required a certain amount of sifting out; and, therefore, he thought the Committee would do well not to part with it without fuller consideration. He said that while fully recognising that the right hon. Gentleman had arrived at the best conclusion he could.

MR. CALDWELL said that with reference to opinion in Scotland, the only opinion on this question came from the school boards. There was no expression of opinion from local people. Of course, the members of the present school boards, who hoped to be members of the new bodies, wished this power to be placed in the hands of the new boards. Look at the importance of the change. Under this Bill they were abolishing the parish area, separating the people of the parish from the management of the schools, and leaving the schools to be managed by boards which were not specially interested in any particular school. They were giving to these boards the control and management of the educational part of the new system, but they were now also asked to give them power to appoint whomsoever they pleased as managers, whether residents or ratepayers in the locality or not.

And, it being Midnight, the Chairman left the Chair to make his Report to the House.

Committee report Progress; to sit again to-morrow.

SELECT COMMITTEE ON WORKMEN'S TRAINS.

That Mr. BONAR LAW be discharged from the Committee.

Ordered, That Mr. GERALD LODER be added to the Committee.—(*Sir A. Acland-Hood.*)

Adjourned at three minutes after Twelve o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Wednesday, 15th June, 1904.

The House met at Two of the Clock.

UNOPPOSED PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 1) Bill. Lords Amendment considered, and agreed to.

Dundee, Broughty Ferry, and District Tramways Order Confirmation Bill; Leith Burgh Order Confirmation Bill; Motherwell and Bellshill Railway (Abandonment) Order Confirmation Bill. Read the third time, and passed.

Local Government Provisional Order (No. 4) Bill. Read the third time, and passed.

Pier and Harbour Provisional Order (No. 1) Bill [Lords] (by Order). Read a second time, and committed.

Llanelly Harbour Bill [Lords]. Reported, with Amendments; Report to lie upon the Table.

PRIVATE BILLS (GROUP J).

Mr. TENNANT reported from the Committee on Group J of Private Bills; That, for the convenience of parties, they had adjourned till Friday, at half-past Eleven o'clock.

Report to lie upon the Table.

PETITIONS.

EDUCATION (SCOTLAND) BILL.

Petition for alteration; from Kilsyth; Kirriemuir; and Lintrathen; to lie upon the Table.

LICENSING BILL.

Petitions against; from Abbey Town; Aberdeen (four); Aikton; Alne; Aston; Auchinleck; Axminster; Ballast Hills; Balne; Barrow-in-Furness (two); Bedminster (two); Belper; Berwick; Birmingham; Bourne; Bridgford; Burhos; Burmantofts; Butterknowle; Cannock Wood; Carlisle; Carmarthen West; Cawthorne; Cheetham (two); Cheetham Hill; Chorlton-upon-Medlock; Cockermouth; Colyton; Cradley Heath; Crewe (four); Crookes (two); Cullompton; Cwmsyfiog; Dodsgreen; Dumfries and Maxwelltown; Durham; Easingwold; East Finchley (three); Ecclesall; Egborough; Elmscott; Etherley; Evenwood; Finchley; Fiskerton; Flimby; Folkestone (two); Forest Gate; Frodsham; Frome; Garlinge; Gowdall; Gravenhurst; Gweek; Hackney; Halesowen and Hasbury; Hanley; Harefield; Hartlepool; Haswell; Heck; Heddon and districts; Hednesford (two); Hensall; Heptonstall; Hindley Green; Hollyhurst; Husthwaite; Ipswich; Islington; Kilmarnock (two); Kingston-on-Thames; Kingston-upon-Hull; Lands; Leeds (four); Leicestershire; Leigh; Lightwood Green; Littleton Panel; Liverpool (two); Longsight; Low Moor (two); Ludworth; Luton (three); Lyminge; Malpas; Manchester (two); Manea; Marden; Maryport; Meddon; Middleton-in-Teesdale; Monton; Mosbro; Mutley; Newark; Newbiggin; Newcastle-on-Tyne (six); New Mills and other places; Newsham; Norbury (Cheshire); Normansheath; North West Manchester; Oswaldwistle; Otterton; Oulston and Craike; Oxenhope; Paisley; Piccadilly (seven); Plymouth; Pollington; Preston Brook and Runcorn; Quarry Hill; Rawcliffe; Rochdale (two); Runcorn; Sandgate; Sanquhar; Seaforth; Selly Oak; Sessacott; Sheffield (two); Shillington; Snaith; Southport (two); Stamford; Stretford; Sutton-on-Forest; Swansea (two); Swinton; Thornton Heath; Thornton-le-Clay; Thurlby; Tilston; Tiverton; Todmorden; Totterdown; Tunstall; United Free Church of Scotland; Wakefield; Walbottle; Walkden; Waterloo; West Auckland; Wigan (three); Winchmore Hill; Wing; Wisbech (two); and Wyke; to lie upon the Table.

The asterisk (*) at the commencement of a speech indicates revision by the Member.

LICENSING BILL.

Petitions for alteration; from Aitken; Alcester; Kensington; Llanelly; Mutford and Lothingland; Swansea; and Wigton; to lie upon the Table.

LICENSING BILL.

Petitions for extension to Scotland; from Castle Douglas; Dalbeattie; and Kirkcudbright; to lie upon the Table.

LOCAL AUTHORITIES (QUALIFICATION OF WOMEN) BILL.

Petition from Edgbaston, in favour; to lie upon the Table.

PUBLIC LIBRARIES ACTS (EXTENSION) BILL.

Petition from Westminster, against; to lie upon the Table.

RE VACCINATION BILL.

Petition from West Ham, against; to lie upon the Table.

SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS ON SUNDAY BILL.

Petition from Bradford, in favour; to lie upon the Table.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

LOCAL TAXATION ACCOUNT (SCOTLAND) ACT, 1898.

Copy presented, of Return showing the Total Payments into and out of the Local Taxation (Scotland) Account for the financial year 1903–4 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

TRADE REPORTS (ANNUAL SERIES).

Copy presented, of Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Annual Series, No. 3185 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

TRADE REPORTS (MISCELLANEOUS SERIES).

Copy presented, of Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Miscellaneous Series, No. 613 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

PAPER LAID UPON THE TABLE BY THE CLERK OF THE HOUSE.

Public Records (Office of His Majesty's Woods, Forests, and Land Revenues), Copy of Schedule containing a List and Particulars of Classes of Documents in the Office of His Majesty's Woods, Forests, and Land Revenues which are not considered of sufficient public value to justify their preservation in the Public Record Office [by Act].

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

Poor Law Children in the Metropolis.

SIR ERNEST FLOWER (Bradford, W.): To ask the President of the Local Government Board if he will state the number of children at present accommodated in metropolitan district and separate Poor Law schools, metropolitan workhouses, and metropolitan infirmaries, respectively.

(*Answered by Mr. Walter Long.*) The numbers on the 4th instant were as follows:—

In district and separate schools (including 827 in scattered homes and 278 in separate receiving homes) - - - - -	10,902
In workhouses - - - - - -	1,342
In infirmaries . - - - - -	1,980

Village Communities for Poor Law Children.

SIR JOHN GORST (Cambridge University): To ask the President of the Local Government Board what is the total outlay for the purchase of sites, the erection of buildings, and furnishing, respectively, incurred by boards of guardians in the establishment of village communities for Poor Law children since the year 1897.

(*Answered by Mr. Walter Long.*) I am not in a position to state the total outlay since the year 1897 incurred by boards of guardians in respect of the several matters referred to. The expenditure, however, authorised by the Local Government Board since that date for the purchase of sites for grouped cottage homes amounts to £129,004. In two cases the guardians have not proceeded further with their proposals, and in one case the amount sanctioned is inclusive of buildings, etc. The sums authorised during the same period in respect of buildings and furnishing are £912,464 and £32,013, respectively; but in two cases the sums sanctioned for buildings are inclusive of furnishing.

Publication of List of Deaths by Registrars.

SIR WALTER FOSTER (Derbyshire, Ilkeston): To ask the President of the Local Government Board whether he will communicate with the Registrar-General with a view to the issue of an order to the registrars of births and deaths to place every week in a convenient position in their offices, accessible to the public, a list of deaths registered by them with the date of death in each case, but not specifying the causes of death, so that the public may be informed of the names of persons whose deaths are registered in each registration district.

(*Answered by Mr. Walter Long.*) I have communicated with the Registrar-General on this subject, and I find that it would not be practicable to give effect to the suggestion of the hon. Member apart from any question of the expediency of so doing.

Young Children in Industrial Schools.

SIR JOHN GORST: To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department if he will state the number of children under nine years old now in industrial schools; the number of children under that age who have been committed during the last ten years to industrial schools; the average annual cost of maintaining a child in an industrial school; and the portion of such cost defrayed by public funds, private charity, and the profits of the child's labour, respectively.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Akers-Douglas.*) I cannot give the number of children under nine years of age now in industrial schools without an elaborate scrutiny of books and forms which it will take a considerable time to carry out. Perhaps it will serve my right hon. friend's purpose if I give the figures of committals during the last ten years in respect of children under eight and between eight and ten years.

Number of children committed to Industrial Schools.

Year.	Under 8 years of age.	Over 8 and under 10 years of age
1893	345	695
1894	353	658
1895	339	656
1896	396	729
1897	415	708
1898	374	648
1899	292	609
1900	298	568
1901	315	592
1902	313	576

The gross average annual cost of a child committed to an industrial school (including the cost of disposing of the child on discharge) is £22 1s. 8d. Of this cost public funds defray £18 6s., private charity £1 11s. 6d., and profits of child's labour £1 4s. 6d.

Import Duties on Unmanufactured Tobacco Abroad.

Mr. ROBSON (South Shields): To ask the President of the Board of Trade what are the import duties levied on unmanufactured tobacco in France, Germany, Belgium, Holland, the Commonwealth of Australia, and the Dominion of Canada, respectively; and what, in each case, is the difference between the duty when the unmanufactured tobacco is imported in leaf, and the duty when it is imported in strips.

(*Answered by Mr. Gerald Balfour.*) The following statement gives the tariff classification and rates of import duty on unmanufactured tobacco in the countries and Colonies mentioned:—

Country.	Tariff Classification.	Tariff rates of duty.	English equivalents.
France	Tobacco, unmanufactured, in leaves or stalks—		
	For the Regie - - -	Free	Free
	For private account - -	Importation prohibited	
Germany	Tobacco, unmanufactured leaves and stalks - - - - -	Mks. Pfg. 100 kilogs. 85.00	s d. Pound 0 4½
Belgium -	Unmanufactured tobacco—	Frs. Cts.	
	Stemmed - - - -	„ 75.00	„ 0 3¼
	Other kinds, including stalks -	„ 55.00	„ 0 2½
	In addition to excise duty of -	„ 15.00	„ 0 0.65
Holland -	In leaves and rolls—	Fls. Cts.	
	Unstemmed - - - -	„ 0.70	„ 0 0.06
	Stemmed - - - -	„ 1.50	„ 0 0.14
Australian Commonwealth	Unmanufactured tobacco, stemmed and unstemmed - - -	s. d. Pound 3 3	„ 3 3
	Ditto entered to be locally manufactured into tobacco, cigars, or cigarettes—to be paid at the time of removal to the factory - -	„ 1 6	„ 1 6
Dominion of Canada	Unmanufactured tobacco - -	Free	Free
	Unmanufactured tobacco imported is subject to the provisions of the Inland Revenue Act, and Excise duty is charged thereon at the following rates when taken for use in licensed tobacco manufactories:—		
	Not for use in making cigarettes:	Dolls.	
	Unstemmed leaf - - -	Pound 0.30	Pound 1 3
	Stemmed leaf - - -	„ 0.42	„ 1 9
	For use in making cigarettes:		
	Unstemmed leaf - - -	„ 0.47½	„ 2 0
	Stemmed leaf - - -	„ 0.67	„ 2 9½
	For use in a cigar factory:		
	Unstemmed leaf - - -	„ 0.26	„ 1 1
	Stemmed leaf - - -	„ 0.37	„ 1 6½

Accidents on Electric Railways Caused by Live Rails.

Mr. SOARES (Devonshire, Barnstaple): To ask the President of the Board of Trade whether his attention has been called to the death of Patrick Flood, who was recently electrocuted on the Southport Railway through stepping on a live rail; whether he will grant a Return of the number of accidents which have happened up to the present time of a similar nature; and what steps does he propose to take in order to prevent the happening of such accidents.

(*Answered by Mr. Gerald Balfour.*) A report of the accident has been rendered by the railway company. Two fatal and two non-fatal accidents of this character have occurred on the railway mentioned. The sufferers in each case were trespassers on the line. I have ordered an inquiry into the causes of the accident.

Nenagh Telephone Service.

MR. P. J. O'BRIEN (Tipperary, N.): To ask the Postmaster-General, with a view of having Nenagh connected with the telephone system of the United Kingdom, and in order to ascertain the information the Department requires, if he will state approximately the number of persons who would be required to rent exchange lines at Nenagh; and what is the ordinary tariff rate.

(*Answered by Lord Stanley.*) The ordinary rate of subscription for an unlimited local service on a Post Office provincial exchange is £7 10s. a year. On the message rate system the subscription is £3 a year, with a fee of 1d. for each local call originated by the subscriber. The minimum payment on account of the calls is £1 10s. a year. The number of subscribers required to justify an extension of the telephone trunk system to Nenagh must depend chiefly upon the cost of constructing and maintaining the line between Limerick and Nenagh. I am obtaining estimates for this work and will inform the hon. Member of the number required as soon as possible. An extension of the telephone trunk system to Nenagh could be carried out at any time under a guarantee of about £145 a year for seven years.

Strength of Militia and Volunteers—Percentage who volunteered for South Africa.

SIR JOHN COLOMB (Great Yarmouth): To ask the Secretary of State for War whether he can state the total enrolled strength of the Militia and Volunteer Forces, respectively, belonging to the United Kingdom on the 1st October, 1899; and what percentage of the enrolled strength of Militia and Volunteers, respectively, volunteered for service beyond the sea between that date and the 31st December following.

SIR JOHN COLOMB: To ask the Secretary of State for War whether he can state what number of Militia and Volunteer battalions, respectively, volunteered for service beyond the United Kingdom between the outbreak and the close of the South African War.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Arnold-Forster.*) The enrolled strength of the Militia on the 1st October, 1899, was 98,050; that of the Volunteers on the 1st November, 1899 (figures for the 1st October not being available), was 222,584. There are no records at the War Office which show the numbers of Militia or Volunteers who volunteered for service beyond the United Kingdom during the South African War. The Militia units which were sent abroad, all of which volunteered, were as follows:—

68 Infantry battalions;
6 companies, Royal Garrison Artillery;
3 companies, Royal Engineers;
2 sections, Royal Engineers;
amounting to a force of 51,488 in all.

The Volunteers who went to South Africa were composed of—

The City Imperial Volunteers;
1 battery of Artillery;
38 sections, Royal Engineers;
132 companies of Infantry and drafts;
amounting to a force of 19,856 in all.

Facilities for Men of the Leicestershire Regiment to Vote at Harborough Election.

SIR JOHN ROLLESTON (Leicester): To ask the Secretary of State for War whether he is aware that the 3rd Battalion of the Leicestershire Regiment are now undergoing annual training at Edale, in North Derbyshire, as well as a number of the permanent staff of the regiment who are voters in the Harborough Division, in which an election is in progress; and whether he will cause arrangements to be made by which these men may have the opportunity of recording their votes without the expense of the railway journey falling on themselves.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Arnold-Forster.*) When an election takes place while a Militia regiment is out for training, any qualified to vote, who are desirous of doing so, may (in accordance with Section 39, Militia Act, 1882) be granted leave for the purpose with pay as may be absolutely necessary, and may travel at their own expense at Government rates. No departure can be made from this rule.

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE.

The New Rifle at Bisley.

Mr. HUNT (Shropshire, Ludlow): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether any opportunity will be given for the new rifle to be tried at Bisley this year.

The FINANCIAL SECRETARY to the WAR OFFICE (Mr. Bromley-Davenport, Cheshire, Macclesfield): It is understood that the National Rifle Association, under whose auspices the rifle meeting at Bisley is held, will afford facilities for competing with the new rifle.

Wages of Chinese Labourers in the Transvaal.

Dr. MACNAMARA (Camberwell, N.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he can state the minimum wage per head per month now being offered in the Transvaal to native labourers and to Chinese labourers indentured under the Transvaal Labour Ordinance.

The SECRETARY of STATE for the COLONIES (Mr. Lyttelton, Warwick and Leamington): I understand that the minimum wage for black labourers in the Transvaal mines is 45s. for men and 30s. or less for youths and boys per month of thirty working days. The minimum wages of Chinese under the Transvaal Labour Ordinance are shown in No. 53 of Cd. 2026 and the Papers referred to therein. Lord Milner informs me that he is well within the mark in his estimates of £2 10s. 0 as the average wage, and that the adoption of the schedule which has been inserted in the contract gives ample security that Chinese will earn present average Kaffir wage and will not be used to undercut the latter. Of course this is independent of the effect of piece-work, which will, Lord Milner believes, result in Chinese earning considerably more.

Dr. MACNAMARA: I asked the right hon. Gentleman to give me the minimum wage.

Mr. LYTTELTON: The minimum average wage is 50s. for the Chinese. That is the provision I have impressed on Lord Milner, and, as I have stated, he says that it is well within the mark as the average wage. That is independent of the effect of piece-work.

Sir H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN (Stirling Burghs): May I ask what the right hon. Gentleman means by the minimum average wage; if it is the minimum it cannot be the average, and if it is the average it cannot be the minimum. Will the right hon. Gentleman state what the minimum wage is?

Mr. LYTTELTON: The minimum wage of Kaffirs is 45s. for men and 30s. or less for boys. The minimum wage for Chinese is 30s., which is the minimum wage for corresponding work done by Kaffirs.

Dr. MACNAMARA: As compared with 45s.?

Mr. LYTTELTON: No.

An HON. MEMBER: Why not?

Mr. SYDNEY BUXTON (Tower Hamlets, Poplar): These wages have been promulgated in the Transvaal. May we have a copy of what has appeared in the proclamation?

Mr. LYTTELTON: The wages appear in the form of contract.

Dr. MACNAMARA: Am I to understand that the minimum wage of the Kaffir is 45s. and the minimum wage of the Chinaman 30s.?

Mr. LYTTELTON: No, Sir. The minimum wage of Kaffirs is 30s. But, as I have explained before, the system on which we have gone is this. Take 100 Chinamen and 100 Kaffirs doing work in the mines. If the 100 Chinamen earn on the average not less than is earned by the 100 Kaffirs, then the minimum wage would not come into effect at all. Our object is to prevent malingerers, or skulkers as they are called out there, from earning the 50s.; but, at the same time, the object we wish to attain is that the rate throughout should be not less than 50s.

DR. MACNAMARA: Am I right in saying that among the 100 Kaffirs there would be included a large number of boys, or any boys at all?

MR. LYTTELTON: Some of the work would be done by boys, I believe.

MR. CROOKS (Woolwich) May we have a distinct answer to this—is the work to be day work or piece-work?

*MR. SPEAKER: The Question on the Paper has been fully answered. If the hon. Member wants any further information he must put a Question on the Paper.

MR. CROOKS: It is only on occasions of this sort that we can get information.

Transvaal Finances.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON: A few days ago the right hon. Gentleman the Colonial Secretary promised to lay Papers with regard to the condition of the finances of the Transvaal, and I beg to ask how soon we may expect to have them? Will it be in time for the debate on the Colonial Vote?

MR. LYTTELTON: I hope the Papers will be ready next week but I am afraid I cannot give any pledge. I want to make them as complete as possible.

Kimberley Census.

DR. MACNAMARA: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies if he can furnish from the Cape Colony Census Returns the white population of the town of Kimberley for each of the last three years, including 1904, in which the census has been taken.

MR. LYTTELTON: I have not yet received the full Census Returns giving the white population of the town of Kimberley in 1904. The numbers for Kimberley District are 20,478. The numbers for the same district in 1891 were 20,306. The numbers for Kimberley Municipality were then 12,658. The previous Cape census of 1875 did not include Griqualand West, which was annexed in 1880.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES (Lynn Regis): When may the result of the recent census be expected?

MR. LYTTELTON: I think we ought to receive it very shortly.

Transvaal Agreement with Portugal.

MR. BUCHANAN (Perthshire, E.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether the Transvaal Government in December, 1901, concluded a convention with the Portugese authorities, by which, as is alleged by the Cape and Natal Governments, a preference is given to goods entering the Transvaal by way of Delagoa Bay, as compared with goods entering by way of the Cape or Natal; and, if so, whether he will lay upon the Table of the House a copy of the convention and the communications from the Cape and Natal Governments on the subject.

MR. LYTTELTON: I will lay the agreement concluded on 18th December, 1901, but I am not prepared at present to lay the correspondence, which is not complete.

The Tibet Mission.

CAPTAIN NORTON (Newington, W.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India whether, in view of the fact that the approaching rainy season will prevent the keeping open of the 300 miles of communication with the Tibet Mission and that supplies cannot be drawn from the surrounding country, he will enter into direct diplomatic communication with the Chinese Government, who have accredited residents with escorts in all chief towns of inner Tibet.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Mr. BRODRICK, Surrey, Guildford): I stated on Thursday last, in reply to a Question by the hon. Member for North Manchester, the steps that have been taken to communicate with the Chinese Government and the Amban at Lhasa. It is not proposed to take any further steps at present.

CAPTAIN NORTON: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that unless he communicates with the Chinese Government direct and asks them to give the Amban of Lhasa instructions, the Amban dare not meet the Mission?

MR. WEIR (Ross and Cromarty): Is the Amban now at Lhasa?

MR. BRODRICK: He was at Lhasa when we last held communication with him.

CAPTAIN NORTON: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that the officer in charge of our Mission is now on the Indian frontier, 300 miles from the Mission?

MR. BRODRICK: No, Sir.

CAPTAIN NORTON: It is so.

MR. PIRIE (Aberdeen, N.): Can the right hon. Gentleman give us any information as to the actual military situation at the present moment?

[No answer was returned.]

India and the Brussels Sugar Convention.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India what is the instruction he has communicated to the Government of India with regard to its dealings with sugar; was that instruction due to any, and, if so, what, decision of the Brussels Permanent Sugar Commission; what were the arrangements which that instruction obliged the Indian Government to cancel at short notice; did their cancellation affect the levy by that Government of countervailing duties on all imports of sugar profiting by direct or indirect bounties in the country of production; and will he lay the terms of the instruction upon the Table of this House; do His Majesty's Government hold that they are under an obligation to impose upon the Indian Government, either by an instruction such as that in question or by any other method, decisions of the Brussels Permanent Sugar Commission.

MR. BRODRICK: In November last the Government of India was instructed that, in respect of sugar coming from a country which in accordance with the Brussels Convention had reduced its surtax within the permissible limit, they should confine the duty countervailing the former excessive surtax to sugar produced before the surtax had been reduced, and should exempt sugar of the 1903-4 crop. (2). This decision was taken after consulting the Law Officers and was not based on any finding of the Permanent Commission, but on the obligation of the Government of India to take off a countervailing duty when the bounty countervailed ceased to be operative. (3). The Government of India accordingly notified that instead of levying the special duties in question on all sugars up to 31st March, 1904, they would exempt new-crop sugars under certificate. (4). The sugar thus exempted could not be held to have profited by the bounty created by an excessive surtax. The decision does not affect the right of the Indian Government to levy countervailing duties on bounty-fed sugar. (5). I do not propose to lay any Papers. (6). The answer to the last clause of the Question is in the negative.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES: How does the right hon. Gentleman reconcile the apparent contradiction in his answer? First he says that his instruction to the Indian Government was based on the decision of the Permanent Commission, and later on he said it had nothing to do with it.

MR. BRODRICK was understood to reply that the Indian Government were represented at the Brussels Convention and agreed to certain provisions, but it was not represented on the Permanent Commission.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES: The Indian Government has refused to be bound by the Convention, and nevertheless the right hon. Gentleman is imposing the decision of the Permanent Commission on it.

MR. LOUGH (Islington, W.): Is it not the fact that the Indian Government has refused to be bound by the decision of the Convention, and will the Government respect that determination.

MR. BRODRICK: That affects the future and not the past.

Port of London Bill—Cost of Promotion.

MR. CHARLES HOBHOUSE (Bristol, E.): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether there are any costs, charges, or expenses, preliminary and incidental to the preparing and applying for the passage of the Port of London Bill through the House of Commons, yet incurred by the Board of Trade; and, if so, what is the total amount of such expenses.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE (Mr. GERALD BALFOUR, Leeds, Central): The expenditure incidental to preparing and applying for this Bill up to the present time amounts to a little over £4,000.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES: In what Estimate will this be provided?

MR. GERALD BALFOUR: Under the Civil Contingencies Fund.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES: Will it not appear on the Board of Trade Vote?

MR. GERALD BALFOUR: It will have to be repaid by the Board of Trade to the Fund.

MR. CHARLES HOBHOUSE: In what Vote is the Civil Contingencies Fund comprised?

MR. GERALD BALFOUR: The Treasury Vote, I believe.

Motor-Car Fatalities.

CAPTAIN DONELAN (Cork County, E.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether he will grant a Return showing the number and nature of the casualties caused by motor-cars, in Great Britain and Ireland respectively, from 1st June, 1903, to 31st May, 1904.

*THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. AKERS-DOUGLAS, Kent, St. Augustine's): I have no means of obtaining such a Return for the whole country; but I am making inquiries as to whether information on the point can be obtained for the Metropolitan Police District, where most, if not all, serious motor car accidents come to the notice of the police. If the figures can be compiled, I shall be glad to supply them to the hon. Member.

CAPTAIN DONELAN: May I ask whether any record is kept of the persons killed or injured by these infernal machines?

[No answer was returned.]

MR. SOARES: Do we understand that the right hon. Gentleman will not give a Return?

*MR. AKERS-DOUGLAS: I do not think the hon. Member can infer anything of the sort from my answer. I have explained that I shall be prepared to give any information which comes into my possession, but that it is difficult to obtain a Return except from the Metropolitan Police. I will give any information I can get.

Telephone Wayleaves.

COLONEL DENNY (Kilmarnock Burghs): I beg to ask the Postmaster-General whether he is aware that there have recently been a number of interruptions on the telephone circuit erected for life-saving purposes between Padstow and Hawker's Cove; and whether, seeing that Hawker's Cove is an important lifeboat station, he will take steps to improve the service.

THE POSTMASTER-GENERAL (Lord STANLEY, Lancashire, Westhoughton): The telephone line from Padstow to Hawker's Cove is regarded by the Admiralty as very necessary for life-saving purposes, as there are three lifeboats at Hawker's Cove, including the only steam lifeboat on the North Cornish coast. Colonel Prideaux-Brune, the owner of the land over which the line passes, insisted recently upon the removal of the wires, on account of the injury caused by them to his partridge shooting. A temporary cable on the ground had to be substituted for the wires, with the result, I regret to say, that interruptions have been frequent. I have been in communication with Colonel Prideaux-Brune, and have offered to pay a reasonable rent as compensation for any injury to the shooting; but I fear that, as he maintains his objections to the present route, it will be necessary to re-erect the line on another route at a heavy cost to public funds. I am glad to say such extreme unreasonableness is rare—but difficulties are so continually put in the way of the Post Office when seeking to obtain wayleaves, that I am to-day bringing in a Bill which will give the Postmaster-General powers to deal with certain cases in which the present state of the law gives facilities for unreasonable obstruction.

COLONEL DENNY: How many brace of partridges have been killed?

LORD STANLEY: About five, I think.

Orkney Mail Service.

MR. CATHCART WASON (Orkney and Shetland): I beg to ask the Postmaster-General if, in view of the decision that the call of the Orkney mail steamer at Swilha is only to be made when the conditions of weather and tide are favourable, and that the evidence before the Postmaster-General shows that under such conditions such detention does not delay the steamer more than ten minutes, the steamship company will be held responsible for delays to mails and passengers beyond that time.

LORD STANLEY: The steamship company are held responsible for any delay which occurs on the Orkney mail steamer service, and they are required to furnish an explanation whenever the authorised time is exceeded. With regard to the call at Swilha, if it is found that in practice such a call interferes seriously with the Orkney mail service, the question of permitting it will be reconsidered.

Non-Provided Schools—Qualifications of Teachers.

DR. MACNAMARA: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Board of Education whether his attention has been called to two recent letters written by corresponding managers of non-provided schools to applicants in each case for a vacant head-mastership, in the first case from the Rector of Euston, Thetford, Norfolk, dated 20th March, 1904, asking whether the applicant could play the organ, as this extra work was in that place an essential; and in the second from the Vicar of Alwinton, Rothbury, Northumberland, dated 31st May, 1904, stating that a man would be preferred who was a churchman and communicant, and who would be able to play the harmonium at one of the Sunday services; and, if so, whether, in view of Article 15, Clause (1), of the Education Code for 1904, which expressly forbids the imposition of extraneous duties as a condition precedent to appointment, he will state what action, if any, the Board of Education proposes to take in those and similar cases.

THE PARLIAMENTARY SECRETARY TO THE BOARD OF EDUCATION (Sir WILLIAM ANSON, Oxford University): My attention has not been called to the letters described in the hon. Member's Question. The action which the Board of Education may take in these and similar cases must depend upon the circumstances of each case; and as yet I have no information as to these or any other cases of alleged infraction of Article 15 of the Code for 1904.

DR. MACNAMARA: If I send the hon. Baronet the original letters will he inquire further?

SIR WILLIAM ANSON: Yes, if any letters are furnished me with the information, I will inquire.

Isolated School Areas in Scotland.

*MR. HUNTER CRAIG (Lanarkshire, Govan): I beg to ask the Secretary for Scotland if he will state how he proposes in the Education Bill to deal with single small isolated schools having their school area in two separate counties and drawing scholars and rates from each parish in each county, as is the case with the present school area of the Skelmorlie School Board, comprising Skelmorlie, in the county of Ayr, and parish of Largs, and Wemyss Bay, in the county of Renfrew and parish of Inverkip.

THE LORD-ADVOCATE (Mr. SCOTT DICKSON, Glasgow, Bridgton): The hon. Member is referred to Clause 15 of the Bill.

*MR. HUNTER CRAIG: That is not an answer to my Question, which is, how does the Scottish Secretary propose by this Bill to deal with such an educational area as that of Skelmorlie and Wemyss Bay.

THE LORD-ADVOCATE: Part will be in one district and part in another as the section of the Bill prescribes, and the property will be dealt with accordingly.

MR. THOMAS SHAW (Hawick Burghs): Is this not one of the cases which might be covered by the clause which is to be brought forward on the Report stage?

MR. SCOTT DICKSON: No I do not think such cases as these require separate treatment.

Jurisdiction of Resident Magistrates.

MR. JORDAN (Fermanagh, S.): I beg to ask Mr. Attorney-General for Ireland if his attention has been called to the fact that a resident magistrate, sitting alone, at Lisbellaw, county Fermanagh, on 31st May, out of petty sessions, heard and determined a case of assault; and, if so, will he state under which Statute this resident magistrate acted; and whether, seeing that in the ordinary course such a case would require not less than two justices to decide, he proposes to take any, and, if so, what action in the matter.

THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. ATKINSON, Londonderry, N.): In this case I think the resident magistrate intended merely to hold one of the parties to bail, which he would have had power to do out of petty sessions. But having examined the order he made, I think it amounts to an adjudication on the charge preferred. This was outside his jurisdiction. The order was therefore illegal and will not be enforced.

Kerry County Court Decree Against Bridget Hovan.

MR. MURPHY (Kerry, E.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he will state what was the reason of the failure of the sheriff of the county of Kerry to collect the amount of a County Court decree obtained by the County Council of Kerry against a Mrs. Bridget Hovan of Minish, near Killarney; and if such failure arose from any difference in the law in such matters in Ireland and England.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. WYNDHAM, Dover): I have received this morning from the sheriff a report stating his reasons for not levying the decree in this case. I am consulting the Law Officers on the second query, and meantime would ask the hon. Member to postpone the Question until Monday.

Congested Districts in Kerry.

MR. MURPHY: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that owing to the absence of a representative on the Congested Districts Board the work of that Board in the county of Kerry is not effective; and if he is now prepared to add such a representative in accordance with the request of the county council and other public bodies.

MR. WYNDHAM: There is no local representative from Kerry on the Board, but the statement that the work of the Board, in consequence, is not effective, is not accurate. The Earl of Shaftesbury has made a special study of the needs and requirements of the congested areas in Kerry since his appointment in 1902, and the interests of the congested districts in the county have been ably advocated by him at all times. It is not practicable to compress within the limits of a reply to a Question a statement of the work done and the results achieved by the Board, but I shall be prepared to make such a statement when a suitable opportunity presents itself.

Constable Anderson, Royal Irish Constabulary.

MR. JOSEPH DEVLIN (Kilkenny, N.): On behalf of the hon. Member for East Mayo, I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland what evidence he had before him as to the identity of the woman examined by two medical men in Dublin, when he decided on the ground of the certificate signed by them to reinstate Constable Anderson in the Royal Irish Constabulary.

Mr. WYNDHAM: I entertained and I entertain no doubt as to the identity of the girl examined. The doctors, to whom inquiries were addressed yesterday, fully believe that she was the person concerned. I acted on a letter from Mr. Mannion, which enclosed their joint certificate.

Mr. JOHN REDMOND (Waterford): I beg to inform the right hon. Gentleman that that is not an answer at all. The right hon. Gentleman has told us he believes in the identity. The question is, what evidence had he before him as to the identity of this girl.

Mr. WYNDHAM: My answer was that I had before me a letter from Mr. Mannion, a respectable solicitor, in which he enclosed a certificate by two doctors, one a medical doctor of Trinity College, and the other a licentiate of the Royal College of Physicians. I think that was sufficient ground on which to go. It may be right or it may be wrong, but there is no reason whatever to doubt the fact, and I really think in the interests of this girl it is rather hard that it should be suggested that she is again to take special steps in order to vindicate her honour.

Mr. KILBRIDE (Kildare, S.): Will the right hon. Gentleman say whether Mr. Mannion holds any Crown appointment in the county [Cries of "Order" from the Ministerial Benches].

Mr. MACVEAGH (Down, S.): Was this gentleman solicitor for the policeman?

***Mr. SPEAKER**: Order, order!

Mr. JOSEPH DEVLIN: On behalf o the hon. Member for East Mayo, I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the evidence before the police inquiry into the case of Constable Anderson was given on oath, and whether the witnesses were subjected to cross-examination; and whether he had any sworn evidence before him when he decided to reverse the decision of that inquiry; and what steps he took to test the value of the evidence on which he arrived at the decision to reinstate Constable Anderson.

Mr. WYNDHAM: The inquiry was on oath, and the witnesses were cross-examined. The statements of their evidence, authenticated by their signatures, were before me when the decision to reinstate Anderson was arrived at. The Question does not accurately represent what took place. The finding of the Court of Inquiry was not reversed. Fresh evidence, in the shape of a joint certificate of two medical men resident in Dublin, was submitted to me and authenticated by a letter from Mr. Mannion, a solicitor of respectability, who had represented Anderson at the inquiry. This fresh evidence, of the truth and accuracy of which there is no reason whatever to doubt, threw a new light on the conduct of which Anderson was accused, and showed that it was capable of an innocent explanation. I then gave Anderson the benefit of the doubt raised by this new evidence.

Mr. JOHN REDMOND: I am afraid the right hon. Gentleman has not grasped the point of the Question. The evidence in the Court of Inquiry was evidence on oath and subject to cross-examination. He has reversed the decision of that Court upon evidence not apparently given upon oath and not subject to cross-examination. Does he consider that a desirable and proper proceeding?

Mr. WYNDHAM: The hon. Member is not seized of the facts as I am. It is within the discretion of the Crown to decide absolutely whether a person who is or is not guilty should remain in the Royal Irish Constabulary. The Crown is under no obligation to hold a Court of Inquiry in order to come to a determination, and when the Crown or I myself have before me evidence of that kind, it is quite within the discretion of the Executive to retain the services of the constable. The only point at issue is whether I was right in my discretion. If the hon. and learned Member is dissatisfied the matter can come up upon the Estimates.

Mr. JOHN REDMOND: To be quite clear upon this point are we to understand that the decision of a Court of Inquiry come to on sworn evidence is to be overridden and put on one side for evidence not taken upon oath?

*MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! That, it seems to me, is arguing the Question.

MR. JOSEPH DEVLIN: Will the right hon. Gentleman place upon the Table all the evidence upon which he acted in superseding this Court of Inquiry?

MR. WYNDHAM: No, Sir. This is a matter of discipline in a force of eight or nine thousand men. I have great confidence in the Inspector-General. I acted with him throughout. I am prepared to defend the action of the Inspector-General and myself if our conduct is impeached in this House.

MR. JOSEPH DEVLIN: Is there any precedent for the action the right hon. Gentleman has taken in this case?

*MR. SPEAKER: Order, order!

MR. MACVEAGH: Is it a fact, as announced in the Belfast papers, that this constable was reinstated at the request of two Members of this House.

[No answer was returned.]

MR. JOSEPH DEVLIN: On behalf of the hon. Member for East Mayo, I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the authorities in Dublin Castle, when they considered the report of the police inquiry and decided on the dismissal of Constable Anderson, had before them the record of the constable; what was the nature of that record, and were they influenced in their decision by it; and why was Constable Anderson removed from Pullathomas by the county inspector.

MR. WYNDHAM. Yes, Sir; the constable's statement of service and conduct accompanied the report of the Court of Inquiry and the evidence of the witnesses examined. The statement showed that the constable had served in the force for seventeen and-a-quarter years; that he had received two favourable and no unfavourable records; that his county inspector entertained a good opinion of his previous conduct, and that he considered him an efficient, useful, and energetic policeman. The same county inspector who furnished this report, which contained nothing adverse to Constable Anderson, had transferred the constable from Pullathomas to Kiltimagh, under the regulations of the service which permit county inspectors to transfer constables as they see fit, within their county, without reference to headquarters.

MR. JOSEPH DEVLIN: On behalf of the hon. Member for East Mayo, I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether his attention has been called to the statements that the dismissal of Constable Anderson was the result of Catholic bigotry and an instance of persecution of Protestants in Ireland; and whether, seeing that his dismissal was the result of police inquiry instituted on the initiation of the police authorities in Dublin, and in view of the amount of ill-feeling aroused by the statements made in connection with this case, he will consent to institute a full inquiry into all the circumstances of the case.

MR. WYNDHAM: Yes, Sir. I have seen such statements. On the other hand, the hon. Member almost seems to suggest that the constable was reinstated by me in deference to political pressure. I considered the proceedings of the Court and the medical certificate in conference with the Inspector-General. Upon that, and upon that alone, I recommended the Constable's reinstatement. In such cases, there is often, unhappily, a tendency to champion this or that view in accordance with religious or political sympathies and antipathies. In deciding whether a constable is or is not fitted to remain in the Royal Irish Constabulary, a matter absolutely within the discretion of the Crown, I disregard all such considerations. An inquiry would therefore be an inquiry into the decision at which I arrived. If the hon. Member thinks that I was wrong in recommending the constable's reinstatement he can criticise my conduct on the Estimates, when I shall be better able, if the House so desires, to go into the matter in greater detail.

MR. JOSEPH DEVLIN: May I ask the right hon. Gentleman to answer that portion of the Question in which he is asked was Constable Anderson's dismissal a result of Catholic bigotry and an instance of the persecution of Protestants in Ireland.

Mr. WYNDHAM: I think I have answered that. [Nationalist cries of "No."] I have said that I have had regard only to the evidence before me. I paid no heed to the representations made either by one side or by the other as to whether this man was unfairly or too fairly treated. They did not operate in my mind in the least.

Mr. JOSEPH DEVLIN: Was this persecution instituted at the request of any Catholic person?

*Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order? That Question does not arise. The reference in the original Question is whether the right hon. Gentleman's attention has been called to the statements that the dismissal of Constable Anderson was the result of Catholic bigotry and an instance of persecution of Protestants in Ireland.

Mr. JOSEPH DEVLIN: I want to repudiate this charge and ask the right hon. Gentleman to assist me in that repudiation. He knows the charge to be absolutely false.

*Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order!

Mr. JOHN REDMOND: The last line of the Question has not been answered. It asks "whether he will consent to institute a full inquiry into all the circumstances of the case," and, in view of the fact that the demand is made not only from the Nationalist side, but from the Unionist side also, and is supported by newspapers like the *Irish Times*, will the right hon. Gentleman grant such an inquiry into the whole case.

Mr. WYNDHAM: I think I have answered that. I cannot create a precedent in this matter. It is purely a case of discipline and one in which I am responsible to this House. I regret that imputations have been made by one side against the other, but I am no party to them and dismiss them entirely from my mind. I take the case from the disciplinary view, and on my action accept full responsibility to the House.

Mr. JOSEPH DEVLIN: But in view of the fact that this policeman was dismissed, and the evidence before the inquiry has been superseded, and also that there is a widespread demand for this fresh inquiry, will not the right hon. Gentleman assent to one?

*Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order! I think this matter has been fully dealt with.

Licence Fees at Belfast.

Mr. JOSEPH DEVLIN: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that the clerks of the peace for the city of Belfast and the county of Antrim have demanded from licensed spirit traders in the city and county a certificate on the annual renewal of their licences at petty sessions, and a fee of 2s. 6d., although the requisite certificate for such renewal, with the necessary endorsement, had been in the meantime delivered to the clerk of petty sessions without any fee; and, if so, will he issue instructions to have this practice discontinued.

Mr. WYNDHAM: No such certificate is demanded by the clerks of the peace. But by the 10th Section of the 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 68, every person obtaining a licence to sell spirit is required to register it with the clerk of the peace and to pay to him a registration fee of 2s. 6d. There is no power to ignore the provisions of the statute.

Mr. JOSEPH DEVLIN: To what purpose do these fees go?

Mr. WYNDHAM: I must ask for notice of that Question.

Evicted Tenants in North Kilkenny.

Mr. JOSEPH DEVLIN: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he can state or give a Return of the number and names of the tenants who have been evicted from their holdings in North Kilkenny since 1st May, 1879, and who have not been reinstated; how many applications for reinstatement have been received by the Estates Commissioners, and what steps are being taken with that object; and if the attention of the

Estates Commissioners has been called to the fact that 1,600 acres of untenanted land at Tullaroan, the property of Mr. Thomas Scully, of Washington, United States of America, can be purchased by the Estates Commissioners to provide holdings for some of the evicted tenants; and whether he can state what action, if any, the Estates Commissioners will take in the matter.

MR. WYNDHAM: The preparation of a Return giving the names of tenants evicted and not reinstated during the past twenty-five years would entail a vast amount of labour, and no useful object, it appears to me, would be served by such a Return. I am quite prepared, however, to give the hon. Member a Return showing the names of evicted tenants from whom application for reinstatement has been received by the Estates Commissioners. The Commissioners have not received an application for the sale of the untenanted land referred to. Should they acquire such land in the county it will be utilised, as far as possible, for the purpose of the reinstatement of evicted tenants.

MR. KILBRIDE: Will the Estates Commissioners write to Mr. Scully at Washington asking him if he will sell the property?

MR. WYNDHAM: I have more than once suggested to hon. Members that the Estates Commissioners are quite alive to the necessity of acquiring these holdings, but it must be left to their discretion to get them as cheaply as possible, and the very act of addressing an inquiry to the landlord after a Question has been asked in the House would amount to an invitation to him to put on a top price.

Irish Poor Law Inspectors' Reports.

MR. SHEEHAN (Cork County, Mid.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether, in view of the fact that the Reports of Poor Law inspectors in Ireland were furnished for the information of Parliament in Paper C. 764 of the year 1873, and that this precedent was followed in the case of the Land Bill of last session when Mr. Bailey's special Report was published, he will, in view of the greater interest now attaching to the housing of the working classes, and in view of promised legislation, reconsider his decision on this subject and issue the specially prepared Reports from his Local Government Board inspectors.

MR. WYNDHAM: There is no analogy between the Reports published in 1873 and the Reports recently made by the Inspectors. The former were prepared with a view to publication, but the recent Reports, as I have already pointed out, were intended for the private and confidential information of the Board and myself. With respect to Mr. Bailey's Report, I must refer the hon. Member to my reply to his previous Question of the 11th February†.

The New Army Proposals.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I understand that the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister has some statement to make as to the business of the House, and I will therefore put to him the necessary Question.

THE PRIME MINISTER AND FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): I have to inform the House of a small Parliamentary contretemps, for which I alone am responsible. The House is aware that on two or three occasions—the last being no later than yesterday—I indicated to them that the first business to-morrow would be a statement by my right hon. friend the Secretary for War upon the new Army proposals. But that arrangement, I am afraid, must be regarded as deleted; and I am very sorry that it should be so. Those who are aware of the extraordinary complexity of the problem, and, for instance, of the complexity of the suggestions made by the last contribution to that problem—namely, the Report of the Militia and Volunteer Commission—will not be surprised that my right hon. friend is not ready to make his statement on Thursday. What they may be legitimately surprised at is that so old a Parliamentary hand as myself should have imagined that the thing could be settled in that time. I am very sorry for the mistake, the whole blame for which rests on myself. In these circumstances we shall have to take different Supply; and I propose to put down the Vote for the Board of Trade first, the Diplomatic and Consular Vote second, and Class I. third.

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† See (4) *Debates*, cxxix, 1038.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN asked when the Army discussion would be taken?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: It will not be possible in any case to take it next Thursday, because we are pledged to take Irish Supply on that day; but in any case, having fallen into the fire once, I am reluctant to burn my fingers again by any premature statement.

Port of London Bill.

CAPTAIN NORTON: In view of the great interest taken in the Port of London Bill may I ask whether the Government still have hopes of getting that Bill through during the present session?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I had hoped that the discussion on the Scotch Education Bill would have been shorter and that the Port of London Bill would have come on this week; but I am afraid there is now no chance of its being taken this week, or next week, or, so far as I can see, for some little time to come; but I should hope the House would find it in its power to pass a Bill on which so much money has been spent and which there is so great a desire to see passed into law.

CAPTAIN NORTON: May we take it that the right hon. Gentleman still hopes to pass the Bill this session?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Yes. "Hope springs eternal in the human breast."

The Irish Land Bill.

*MR. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.): I desire to ask whether the right hon. Gentleman is aware that negotiations for the sale and purchase of land in Ireland are seriously hampered by the position of what is known as the "bonus" question, and, if so, has he any hope, eternal or otherwise, of passing the Irish Land Act Amendment Bill this session.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Yes, I think we are bound to take that Bill.

NEW MEMBER SWORN.

Vincent Paul Kennedy, esquire, for the county of Cavan (West Cavan Division).

PUBLIC PETITIONS COMMITTEE.

Eighth Report brought up, and read; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed.

NEW BILL.

TELEGRAPH CONSTRUCTION BILL.

"To amend the Telegraph Acts, 1863 to 1904, with respect to the construction and maintenance of telegraphic lines," presented by Lord Stanley; to be read a second time upon Monday next, and to be printed. [Bill 231.]

EDUCATION (SCOTLAND) BILL.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[MR. J. W. LOWTHER (Cumberland, Penrith) in the Chair.]

Clause 19.

Amendment again proposed—

"In page 8, line 30, to leave out from the beginning to the word 'commit' in line 31, and insert the words "A school board may from time to time."—(*Mr. A. Graham Murray*.)

Question again proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the clause."

MR. CALDWELL (Lanarkshire, Mid.) said that when this Amendment was under discussion on the previous night two points had been raised. One was that it was desirable to trust the school boards in the matter of the exercise of their powers for the appointment of managers, and the other was in regard to the state of educational opinion in Scotland. Well, as representatives of Scotland, many of them knew the manner in which educational opinion was attempted to be impressed upon Members of the House. He supposed that every Member for Scotland had received that day the telegram from the Educational Institute of Scotland asking him to support the clause in regard to managers as amended by the Secretary for Scotland. In addition to the telegram he had also received a letter which would go far to show how educational opinion had been and was being worked up in connection with the Bill The letter said—

> "In view of last night's discussion in the House of Commons this Association respectfully asks you, as representing a constituency from which a large number of our members are drawn, to give your hearty support to the Scotch Secretary's Amendment which makes it possible for all school boards to appoint managers."

He thought the Secretary for Scotland would appreciate the manner in which it was being attempted to influence Members of the House by representing what was the so-called opinion of Scotland. This proposal to leave the matter to the school board, instead of, as provided in the Bill as originally drafted, securing that in every parish there should be a body of managers in non-enumerated districts who would represent practically the interests of the parish, could not meet with their approval. This question of taking the management of the schools from a body representative of the locality, as arranged under the Bill, and giving it to a body to be determined solely by the school board was no doubt being put forward largely in the interests of certain educational organisations in Scotland. It was, he took it, being put forward with a view to promoting the interests of the teaching profession so as to have a body of managers not directly connected with the parish. He was bound to say that, so far as the Bill was concerned, it proceeded on fair lines considering the fact that they were taking away the parish school boards and substituting the district school boards, who were to employ a body of managers in the parish to manage the parish schools so as to secure the representation of the local opinion of the parish.

Now he came to the suggestion that they ought to trust the school boards. Well, so far as that side of the House was concerned, they always had been in favour of trusting the people, and consequently of trusting the representatives of the people. If this were a matter of a school board elected by a parish for the education of the parish, he could perfectly well understand them trusting the school board to represent the interests of education in that particular parish. But what was the position under this clause? They were dealing with a combination district representing six or eight school boards, and the people of one parish would only have one-sixth or one-eighth of the representation on the school board, and therefore, if they were to trust the school board as representing the people in managing the parish schools, they must realise that the electors in a particular parish would only have the nomination of one-sixth or one-eighth of the members of the board. They, therefore, were not trusting men elected by the parish, they were trusting a body of men which included many who were not elected by the parish, and he looked on this as separating the final link in the chain that connected local interests with the educational interests of Scotland as embodied in that Bill. In the first place, they had taken away the parish area and substituted for it the district area, and now they were taking away the control and management of the parish school from the parish as such, and giving it into the hands of a body largely composed of members outside the parish, and the effect would be that no ratepayer in the parish would feel himself to be in the slightest touch with the parish school. So far as the management of the individual school was concerned it would devolve on the combination and not upon the representatives of the parish. That, as he had said, was practically the last link which connected the parish school with the parish, and by this Amendment they would absolutely destroy all local control over the schools.

But they were going a step further, they were acting in the interests of a certain body of people who imagined that they represented the educational interest in Scotland, and who desired that the appointment of managers should be divorced from the parish. What were the duties of the managers? Those duties were now left very much in abeyance. If the Secretary for Scotland would look at the Act of 1872, Section 22, he thought he would find that the present clause might well be deleted. In his view there was practically no need for it, and he believed that the power would remain in the school board even supposing that they did not appoint the managing committee. Anyone who had any knowledge whatever of the existing state of matters in regard to the management of schools by school boards must know that practically the board had very little to do with the question of education. The education given in the school was regulated by Code and by inspection, and all the school board had to do was to appoint the teacher, fix his salary, and deal with matters of that kind. If they found that the school board had practically no power except as regarded those questions, then what was the necessity for delegating the power to managers? They were not going to delegate under Clause 29 the powers of the attendance committee. What, then, were they going to delegate? He must confess that from his point of view the question of the appointment of managers was immaterial. It did not matter whether they were to be appointed by the education authority or by the school board, or whether they were to be appointed as proposed in the Bill, all he wanted to point out was that they were separating the link which bound the people in the parish to the parish school. He thought that that was one of the greatest blots on the Bill, and in the public interest he hoped that it would not be persisted in.

*THE SECRETARY FOR SCOTLAND (Mr. A. GRAHAM MURRAY, Buteshire) said that if they were really anxious to pass this Bill—as he believed the great majority of hon. Members were—they must regret to have heard the speech just delivered. The hon. Member had read a telegram and suggested that it constituted an unfair attempt to influence the House, but he confessed he could see nothing wrong in the telegram. He protested against the hon. Member raising again a question which had already been discussed. The hon. Member having been beaten, now, in a vindictive spirit, did what he could to wreck the Bill. The course the hon. Member was taking was such as to put the Bill in great danger from expiry of time.

MR. CALDWELL: May I explain that I have not put down a single Amendment which I would have done had I the intention attributed to me. It is ungracious on the part of the Secretary for Scotland to use such remarks. It is a most important Bill, upon which a Scottish Member has every right to be heard.

*MR. A. GRAHAM MURRAY: I shall be most glad to apologise to the hon. Member if his future conduct on the Bill makes it necessary.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN (Stirling Burghs): I think the right hon. Gentleman should at least withdraw the word "vindictive."

*MR. A. GRAHAM MURRAY said he would be most happy to withdraw any word that gave pain or offence to anybody in the House.

MR. CALDWELL: That is not the way to conduct the Bill.

*MR. A. GRAHAM MURRAY said that as to the hon. Member's remark upon not putting down Amendments, he had certainly made Second Reading speeches on Committee Amendments. He did so on the very first day as a matter of fact. But let them get back to the Amendment. His only object in moving the Amendment was to get what the people of Scotland desired. There was a middle course between the proposal in the original Bill and the Amendment. They might leave the enumerated districts free, but in the non-enumerated districts they might make the appointment of managers compulsory, while leaving the education authority free to choose the managers. Probably the case was best met by the Amendment of the hon. Member for Dumbartonshire, which provided that one of the managers should be a member of the school board who had been elected for that division where the school was.

MR. THOMAS SHAW (Hawick Burghs) said the observations which the right hon.

Gentleman had just made were a complete refutation of any charge against his hon. friend who, after all, had not made a very long speech, as he spoke for only ten minutes. His hon. friend knew the Bill as well as any man in the House, and it would be a very bad day for the discussion of Scottish measures when they were deprived of the advantage of having such knowledge imported into their debates. His own opinion was that the difficulties which had arisen were due to the very drastic alterations which the Government had made in the Bill. The right hon. Gentleman had attempted to gather together the opinion of Scotland as to the amendment of the Bill, but the great mass of the Scottish people who approved of the Bill and did not propose to amend it had been dumb, and their voice had not been heard. Clearly the teaching bodies desired to be relieved of all kinds of control except that of their own body. But what was the attitude of the parish councils? A conference of representatives of ninety-five of the most important parish councils in Scotland had passed a Resolution approving of Clause 20 of the Bill, which delegated the appointment of school managers in rural parishes to the extent of two-thirds to the parish councils, and he supposed that if the parish councils had organised a number of district committees for purposes of agitation and had circularised hon. Members on the question the right hon. Gentleman would never have put down that Amendment. There was a strong feeling in Scotland against the abolition of the parish area in connection with education. He thought that the middle course suggested by the right hon. Gentleman would provide that local opinion should be represented in large and densely populated geographical areas.

*SIR CHARLES RENSHAW (Renfrewshire, W.) said he had followed the discussion on this subject with very great interest. He held that it was unnecessary to put an obligation on the new education authorities to appoint managers in either the enumerated or the non-enumerated areas. In many cases the new education authority would find it most desirable to appoint managers, and it would be desirable that the representatives of the locality for which managers were to be appointed should be members of the managing body. That would be a guarantee, and the management would be in absolute touch with the education authorities. He himself had had some experience in this matter, as he was for a long time chairman of a large rural school board, and he knew that if they elected outside managers and no members of the school board it was very difficult to get the managing work done as it should be. He therefore believed the best solution would be found in appointing managers to appoint local members of the school board and add to them local gentlemen interested in education.

MR. CROMBIE (Kincardineshire) said he believed the education authorities in his constituency were in favour of the right hon. Gentleman's Amendment. At any rate he gathered that from a deputation which waited on him recently. If the parish councils had power to appoint managers, there would be divided interests and divided authority. He wished to know how the right hon. Gentleman proposed to force the education authorities to appoint managers, how far the compulsion was to go and in what direction?

*MR. A. GRAHAM MURRAY said that now they had reached more peaceful times he would be happy to make his peace with the hon. Member for Mid-Lanark. He was sorry if he had offended the hon. Gentleman or hurt his feelings, for he was sure he would do his best in assisting them to pass the Bill. What he now proposed was to leave Clause 19 practically as it was in the Bill, and in Clause 20, which dealt with the non-enumerated districts, to make it compulsory to appoint managers, but to leave the choice of those managers to the educational authorities, subject to the one statutory condition that among those managers there must be a member or members of the educational authority who were returned for the electoral division in which the particular schools were placed. If that met the view of the Committee he would move the necessary Amendments in their proper order.

MR. MUNRO FERGUSON (Leith Burghs) said he had no objection to the compromise, although he would have preferred to see the right hon. Gentleman's former proposal adhered to. The parish school boards in the non-enumerated districts had not been so effective as many educationists thought, and he believed parochial managers would be still less effective because they would not have any really responsible work. He did not anticipate that local managers would do much good, but, on the other hand, under the present proposal they would be unable to do much harm. As he had said, he would have preferred the former proposal, as a fully representative character could have been secured if the units for election were properly arranged and the travelling expenses of representatives paid. He believed that that was the true solution of the difficulty. While regretting the change, he recognised that it had been made in the manner in which it would do the least possible harm.

Sir JOHN GORST (Cambridge University) desired to warn Scotch Members, as the result of English experience, against the great danger of allowing outside bodies to interfere in the appointment of managers. He thought the compromise would not do any harm, because it would not allow of any such outside interference. The great objection to the appointment of managers by outside bodies was, that if the board of managers was not one in which the local authority had confidence, the local authority would keep in their hands powers which ought properly to be delegated. It was far better, therefore, to trust the local authority, and to leave the matter entirely in their hands, confident that they would then delegate such of their powers as could most conveniently be delegated.

***Mr. McCRAE** (Edinburgh, E.) regretted that the words in question were to be omitted, because he agreed that the power of appointing managers should be optional. With regard to the two clauses, the appointment of managers was an entirely new thing so far as Scotland was concerned, and he believed that Clause 19 if retained would be quite inoperative. In the un-enumerated districts it might not be possible for the school board itself to undertake all the duties, so that in certain cases managers might be required. He suggested, therefore, that the power of appointing managers should be optional. If the managers were to be merely unpaid servants of the school board, with no power to initiate administrative changes or expenditure, then only a very inferior class of man would undertake the work. There was the further objection that it constituted a departure from the representative element. He understood that even in the working of the English Act the difficulty to which he referred had arisen, and managers had found that they were so subordinate to the local education authority that their power was practically *nil*. He fully acknowledged the disposition shown by the right hon. Gentleman to meet objections which were raised, and he appreciated the concessions which had been made, but he felt that the present concession was one in the wrong direction.

***Mr. A. GRAHAM MURRAY** said he was really giving the maximum of freedom of control. If the school board did not wish to appoint outside managers, what was simpler than for them to appoint their own body?

Sir ROBERT REID (Dumfries Burghs) thought the Committee might at once accept the amended proposal of the Secretary for Scotland; he entirely agreed that in substance the clause was optional though in form it was compulsory. In addition to freedom in the selection of persons to be managers, he hoped the right hon. Gentleman would keep in mind the necessity for complete freedom in regard to the range of subjects committed to the managers.

***Mr. A. GRAHAM MURRAY** said that with the exception of the appointment and dismissal of teachers that point was conceded.

***Sir J. FERGUSSON** (Manchester, N.E.) was extremely glad the Secretary for Scotland had made this concession. The provision was so elastic that a school board would virtually have the power of appointing committees of its own number to manage particular schools, or of selecting the fittest people in parishes, and that, he thought, would be a great advantage to the cause of education.

DR. MACNAMARA (Camberwell, N.) asked whether he understood correctly that in the non-enumerated districts the school boards might carry out this provision by appointing themselves as managers.

*MR. A. GRAHAM MURRAY: Yes.

DR. MACNAMARA said that the principle which had been laid down, and with which he understood the right hon. Gentleman to agree, was that in the enumerated districts the appointment of managers should be optional, but that in the counties, the areas being so large, and the distance between schools so great, the appointment of managers should be compulsory. The right hon. Gentleman now suggested that the provision should be worked by the school board appointing themselves managers. How could that bring in the control of, and the close touch with, the schools which the Committee desired? He contended that the provision did not carry out the principle of local control in any way whatever. The school board for the whole of Sutherlandshire, for instance, might constitute themselves managers of all the elementary schools in the county. He did not think the right hon. Gentleman intended to do so, but in effect he was misleading the Committee. ["No, no!"] At any rate he was misleading a number of the Committee.

*MR. A. GRAHAM MURRAY: Only the Englishmen.

DR. MACNAMARA said that so long as this country remained a United Kingdom he claimed his right, as a Member of the British Parliament, to speak on this matter. He was not alone in the position he had taken up. Many Members desired that in the county areas there should be local managers, and he had certainly understood from the right hon. Gentleman that the power to appoint managers, while optional in the enumerated districts, should be compulsory in the non-enumerated. The provision was now to be got round by the school board for the whole county constituting themselves the managers of all the elementary schools within the county. That was not carrying out the spirit of the statement made by the right hon. Gentleman at the outset of the proceedings.

*MR. A. GRAHAM MURRAY said that in making the difference between the enumerated and the non-enumerated districts there was the feeling that, whereas in the enumerated districts there should be no obligation to appoint managers, in the non-enumerated districts that duty should be laid upon the school boards. He believed that the new educational authorities would be animated by a proper public spirit, and that on the question of appointing managers they would feel that the persons appointed should be real managers who could properly discharge the duties attaching to the office. The whole question would depend upon the circumstances of each particular case. For instance, if Sutherlandshire remained undivided, and the people who were elected to serve on the school board were not able fairly to undertake the duties attaching to the management of the different schools, in his judgment it would be a wrong thing for the school board to appoint their own members as managers. If, on the other hand, they had members who in sets of three or four said they could manage the schools in particular divisions there would be nothing improper in their being appointed as managers. It was really a question which depended on the circumstances of each particular case, and he was perfectly prepared to trust to the good sense and the proper feeling of his fellow-countrymen.

MR. THOMAS SHAW thought that the extreme case of an entire school board simply turning round and resolving itself into a committee of managers would be an evasion of the Statute. On the other hand, he thought the cases which most Members had had in their minds were those in which scattered over a school board area were townships and communities which had representatives on the school board. In such cases he submitted that the school board could do no better thing than elect those members of its own body to manage the schools in the particular localities they represented, and that substantially was what was meant by the Amendment.

*MR. McCRAE said he entirely accepted the statement of the right hon. Gentleman that the provision would now be optional.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 8, line 32, after the word 'school' to insert the words 'or schools.'"—(*Mr. A. Graham Murray.*)

Amendment agreed to.

MR. BLACK (Banffshire) thought it ought to be provided that the managers should not hold office beyond the period of office of the board by which they were appointed, and he moved an Amendment to that effect.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 8, line 37, at end, to add the words 'Provided that no manager or managers shall be appointed for a period beyond the term of office of the school board making the appointment.'"—(*Mr. Black.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

*MR. A. GRAHAM MURRAY said that as a lawyer he believed the words were unnecessary, but as they certainly carried out his intention he would not object to their insertion.

Question put, and agreed to.

Clause 19, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 20.

*MR. A. GRAHAM MURRAY said the object of the Amendment he now moved was to allow schools to be grouped for the purposes of management.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 8, line 41, after the word 'charge' to insert the words 'either singly or in conjunction with other schools.'"—(*Mr. A. Graham Murray.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. DOBBIE (Ayr Burghs) asked whether there was any minimum number of managers prescribed.

*MR. A. GRAHAM MURRAY: Not in this clause.

Question put, and agreed to.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 9, line 1, after the word 'school' to insert the words 'or schools.'"—(*Mr. A. Graham Murray.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 9, line 2, to leave out from the word 'shall' to the end of the clause, and insert the words 'include a member or members of the school board representing each electoral division or burgh, as the case may be, in which any such school is situated. Such managers shall observe such rules, conditions, and restrictions as the school board shall from time to time prescribe.'"—(*Mr. A. Graham Murray.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 9, line 22, at end, to add the words 'provided that no manager or managers shall be appointed for a period beyond the term of office of the school board making the appointment.'"—(*Mr. Black.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Clause 20, as amended, agreed to.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 9, to leave out Clause 21."—(*Mr. A. Graham Murray.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 9, to leave out Clause 22."—(*Mr. A. Graham Murray.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 9, to leave out Clause 23."—(*Mr. A. Graham Murray.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Clause 24.

*MR. DOBBIE said the Amendment he had placed on the Paper was one more of draftsmanship than of substance. As the Bill stood, the clause read that the expenses of the school board in each education district "including the expenditure incurred in the performance of their duties by the managers of schools under the charge of the school board, in so far as such expenditure is approved by the school board," should be paid out of the school fund. The Amendment proposed to insert the word "lawfully" after the word "expenditure," and the effect would be that the school boards would be bound to pay all expenses lawfully incurred by the committees of management. The Bill made it clear that the managers were not to be entitled to incur any capital expenditure. It had been brought to his notice that, if the Bill passed in its present shape, the managers would not be a really responsible body. They would not be what the right hon. Gentleman wished them to be—a real live body—unless they had the right, subject, of course, to the conditions laid down by the board under a previous clause, to incur the expense necessary for the efficient conduct of business. The danger against which the Amendment would guard was the crippling of the action of the managers in the matter of incurring expense, not because it was improper or unlawful, but because, under the clause as it stood, a majority of the board might refuse to approve of the expenditure. So long as the expenditure by the managers was covered by the mandate given by the board their action should not be crippled by the risk of finding that they were individually surcharged for the expenditure.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 10, line 13, after the word 'expenditure' to insert the word 'lawfully.'"—(*Mr. Dobbie.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'lawfully' be there inserted."

*MR. A. GRAHAM MURRAY said this Amendment was thoroughly unnecessary. Who knew whether expenditure was unlawfully incurred or not? There was no definition either in statute or common law of what expenditure the managers of a school might incur. The only practical way was to trust the managers not to run up bills except for purposes which would be approved by the school board. He took it that they would not spend any money unless they knew that it would be approved. That was a workable scheme. The hon. Member's scheme was not workable, and therefore he could not accept it.

Question put, and negatived.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 10, line 19, after the word 'Act' to insert the words 'all fees received from scholars.'"—(*Mr. A. Graham Murray.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. THOMAS SHAW said he assented to the words going in because it appeared to him that the school fund which was now to be transferred to the new school board would not be complete unless provision was made for secondary education. On the other hand he thought it was extremely regrettable that in an Education Bill for Scotland there should be any reference to school fees at all. He hoped the time was not far distant when the charge for school fees would be obliterated altogether from the Statute-book in Scotland. He was glad they had now a workable area upon which he hoped they would at some early date impose the duty of presenting its bill for secondary education to the Exchequer in the same way as the school boards now presented their bills for elementary education. He thought the whole system was defective by the fact that fees were charged for secondary education in Scotland. There were no fees for elementary education, and now on account of a munificent donation there were no fees for University education. He was sure he was speaking the mind of many in Scotland when he said that their education system would not be complete until the Treasury granted this award which Scotland so justly deserved.

Question put, and agreed to.

MR. HALDANE (Haddingtonshire) moved an Amendment standing in the name of the hon. Member for the Elgin Burghs, in regard to endowments specially appropriated for the promotion of education in particular schools.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 10, line 25, at end, to add the words, 'Provided that any endowment, or part thereof, which prior to the passing of this Act has been specially appropriated under any educational endowment scheme or otherwise for the promotion of education in a particular school shall continue to be so appropriated by the school board.'"—(*Mr. Haldane.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

Mr. WALLACE (Perth): Does the word "endowment" in this Amendment cover the case we were discussing yesterday?

*Mr. A. GRAHAM MURRAY: No.

Mr. WALLACE said he was told it did, but he did not think so himself. Was it intended that the grant made from the "Common Good" of Royal burghs should be appropriated to the school fund.

*Mr. A. GRAHAM MURRAY said his hon. friend would see, as he explained yesterday, that it would do him no good even if it was.

Question put, and agreed to.

Dr. MACNAMARA had given notice that he would move the following addition to Clause 24—

"Provided that any deficiency incurred by any school board prior to the fifteenth day of May one thousand nine hundred and five in respect of annually recurring charges on account of school maintenance shall be chargeable on the parish or parishes administered by the said school board."

*Mr. A. GRAHAM MURRAY said he had been carefully considering this matter, and he thought it would be very much better that the hon. Member should not move this Amendment. He promised to bring up a clause on the subject, and to move that it be included in Part VI. containing the "transitory provisions."

The suggestion was agreed to.

Question proposed, "That Clause 24 stand part of the Bill."

Mr. DOBBIE called attention to the remarks made yesterday by the hon. Member for North Camberwell in regard to the action of Forfar School Board. The hon. Member's suggestion was that the board was financing this year in their own interest by not imposing a rate in view of the new Act coming into operation. The fact was that Forfar School Board was in the happy position of having financed so well in the past that they had a full year's grant in hand to enable them to begin the new year with. Even if they levied no rate this year they would still have a surplus, and they, therefore, decided that it was quite superfluous to impose a rate.

Dr. MACNAMARA said he must apologise if he had said anything distasteful to the Forfar School Board. What he said was that last year they had an 8d. rate, that this year they had no rate at all, and that it was likely they were building up a debt for some other body to pay.

Mr. LLOYD-GEORGE (Carnarvon Boroughs) said he was surprised to hear of a Scotch school board having a surplus. He was quite sure that could not happen south of the Tweed. He should like to ask one question. This clause dealt with education expenses. Was there no sort of limit to the amount of money that could be spent on secondary education? [Cries of "No."] In the English Bill there was a limit, but in the Scotch Bill there was no limit at all. He thought he ought to move a limit, because Scotch Members voted for a limit when the House was dealing with English and Welsh matters which they knew nothing about. Now they voted for unlimited power when they were dealing with matters which, he supposed, they did know about. He thought it was exceedingly unfair that this should be done.

Question put, and agreed to.

Clause 25.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 10, line 31, to leave out the words 'allocate and.'"—(*Mr. A. Graham Murray.*)

*MR. A. GRAHAM MURRAY said that this was only a drafting Amendment.

Amendment agreed to.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 10, line 33, to leave out from the word 'district' to end of line 43."—(*Mr. A. Graham Murray.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the clause."

*MR. A. GRAHAM MURRAY said that this Amendment was carrying out what the Committee quite well knew he proposed to do, viz., as to the pooling of the debt. The Bill, as originally drafted, provided that if there was a particular debt applying to any parochial area, that parochial area had to take over the interest of that debt although it became merged in the general area of the new and larger district. So far as he could gather the general feeling on the subject, he was inclined to think that his present Amendment was in consonance with that general feeling. It had to do with the present debt and that debt alone. He thought the feeling which prevailed was that although the pooling of the debt meant in practice that those who had been alert in their duties suffered and that those who had been supine gained, on the whole it was better that the debt should be spread over the whole area.

*MR. McCRAE said that he agreed with the Secretary for Scotland that the method now proposed as to pooling the debt was the right one.

*MR. A. GRAHAM MURRAY said his Amendment had a double effect. First of all, it took out of Sub-section 1 words as to the pooling of the debt in order to introduce his substantial Amendment which proposed that instead of dividing the debt between the various parishes according to valuation alone, it should be divided according to valuation and population.

*SIR CHARLES RENSHAW said that he was against the proposal in the new provision, because it would really make a very large addition to the burden of the rates in the rural parishes. He was quite aware that there was a general feeling in favour of symmetry and that this proposal would make it easier to carry out the financial division. But those who had studied the figures in their own counties knew, in the first instance, that the amount of outstanding debt in burghs was much larger than in the rural districts; and in the second place, that the period of unexpired loans was much larger in the burghal than in the rural districts. The rural districts since 1872 had carried out most of the provisions as to increased accommodation; and since then, in some parishes, the population had actually decreased, and the result of the proposal now made would be to throw a much heavier burden on the rural rates. For instance, at present the lowest amount paid by any parish in his county in respect of the repayment of debt and interest was ¾d. in the £ per annum, and in a few years the debt would be extinguished; while in some parishes the amount was 4·89d. or nearly 5d. per £, and it would be a considerable period of years before the debt was extinguished. If there was so great an inequality as that, was the Committee prepared to say that it was fair to spread the whole of these debts over the new area? If it was done, it would do considerable injustice to the rural parts of the country, and put a heavy burden on them in respect to which they got no corresponding advantage. For his part he should have very much preferred the original proposal in the Bill.

SIR WALTER THORBURN (Peebles and Selkirk) said that in one of the counties he represented,—Selkirk—there were two secondary schools which had incurred a considerable amount of debt. The population of the burghs was 20,000. while that of the rural districts was only 4,225. The rental of the burghs, where these schools were, was £61,349, while the rental of the rural districts was £63,638. Under the Bill, as originally framed, the rural parts were not responsible for the debt incurred for the secondary schools in the burghs; but under the Amendment proposed by the right hon. Gentleman they would have to contribute their share of the whole expense although they had got no good out of the secondary schools, and they were not likely to have in the future, because there were no railways to take the rural children to these schools. He protested most emphatically against the new proposal of the Secretary for Scotland without the counties having had an opportunity of considering the matter.

Sir ROBERT REID said he did not want to enter into any controversy as between burgh and county if it could be avoided; but he thought the proposal of the Government was perfectly fair. He represented not only burghs but other districts which would share the debt on the secondary schools. The position was that these secondary schools had been largely maintained at the charge of the burghs while the benefit of them had been largely obtained by the country districts; and it was really too bad to say, as the hon. Member for Peebles and Selkirk had said, that the rural parts ought not to bear any share of the burden of debt on the secondary schools.

Mr. BUCHANAN said that it was only on last Saturday morning that they knew the Government were going to abandon this part of their scheme and he agreed with the hon. Baronet opposite that the counties in this respect were placed at a considerable disadvantage. If the people in the counties in Scotland had known that there was any chance of the Government abandoning their position there would have been a much stronger expression of opinion from the rural districts in regard to the Amendment of the right hon. Gentleman. There could be no doubt that the proposal of the Secretary for Scotland would operate seriously against the country districts. He did not know whether, at that moment when so many microscopic changes were being made in the Bill at the hands of the right hon. Gentleman and others, from day to day and from hour to hour, it was possible for them to make any effective protest. Short of that, the right hon. Gentleman ought to allow that this was a matter which might fairly be brought up again on Report. The case ought not to be finally decided against them now; and a further opportunity of expressing an opinion on it ought to be given.

Sir WALTER THORBURN said he regarded the proposal as a gross injustice; and, as a protest, he would certainly vote against the Amendment.

Mr. JOHN STROYAN (Perthshire, W.) said he would suggest to the Secretary for Scotland that the matter be postponed until they had further information from the country in reference to it. Many excellent Amendments had been brought in by the Secretary for Scotland in connection with the Bill; but he thought that this Amendment had been rather sprung on the Committee.

Mr. CORBETT (Glasgow, Tradeston) said that very few of the Scottish Members would join in the protest against the Amendment. It was very satisfactory that the Secretary for Scotland should have been so willing to give expression to Scottish feeling in connection with this measure; and he was sorry that his right hon. friend had been exposed to so many attacks from that side of the House. He would support the proposal of his right hon. friend.

Question put.

The Committee divided:—Ayes, 54; Noes, 233. (Division List No. 153.)

AYES.

Abraham, William (Rhondda)
Ainsworth, John Stirling
Balfour, Capt. C. B. (Hornsey)
Barlow, John Emmott
Burt, Thomas
Causton, Richard Knight
Cremer, William Randal
Dalkeith, Earl of
Delany, William
Edwards, Frank
Elibank, Master of
Evans, Sir F. H. (Maidstone)
Fitzmaurice, Lord Edmond
Furness, Sir Christopher
Gilhooly, James
Gladstone, Rt. Hn. Herbert John
Gordon, Hn. J. E. (Elgin & Nairn)
Harmsworth, R. Leicester
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Hemphill, Rt. Hn. Charles H.
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Hobhouse, C. E. H. (Bristol, E.
Hope, John Deans (Fife, West)
Horniman, Frederick John
Jacoby, James Alfred
Joicey, Sir James
Kitson, Sir James
Leng, Sir John
Lough, Thomas
M'Arthur, William (Cornwall)
M'Kenna, Reginald
M'Killop, James (Stirlingshire)
M'Laren, Sir Charles Benjamin

Morgan, J. Lloyd (Carmarthen)
Morpeth, Viscount
Nussey, Thomas Willans
Rea, Russell
Renshaw, Sir Charles Bine
Rigg, Richard
Roberts, John Bryn (Eifion)
Robertson, Edmund (Dundee)
Russell, T. W.
Sinclair, John (Forfarshire)
Spencer, Rt. Hn. C. R. (Northants
Stevenson, Francis S.
Stirling-Maxwell, Sir John M.
Stroyan, John
Thomas, Abel (Carmarthen, E.)
Thomas, David Alfred (Merthyr
Tomkinson, James
Weir, James Galloway
Whiteley, George (York, W.R.)
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
Wilson, John (Glasgow)

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Sir Walter Thorburn and Mr. Buchanan.

NOES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N.E.)
Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
Ambrose, Robert
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arrol, Sir William
Asher, Alexander
Asquith, Rt. Hn. Herbt. Henry
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Aubrey-Fletcher, Rt. Hon. Sir H.
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Balcarres, Lord
Baldwin, Alfred
Balfour, Rt. Hn. A. J. (Manch'r
Balfour, Rt Hn Gerald W. (Leeds
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Bhownaggree, Sir M. M.
Bignold, Arthur
Black, Alexander William
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Boland, John
Bowles, Lt.-Col. H. F. (Middlesex
Bowles, T. Gibson (King's Lynn
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Brown, Geo. M. (Edinburgh)
Bryce, Rt. Hon. James
Burke, E. Haviland
Caldwell, James
Cameron, Robert
Campbell, Rt. Hn. J. A. (Glasgow
Campbell, John (Armagh, S.)
Campbell-Bannerman, Sir H.
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Cavendish, V. C. W. (Derbyshire
Cayzer, Sir Charles William
Chamberlain, Rt. Hon. J. (Birm.
Chamberlain, Rt. Hn. J. A (Worc.
Chapman, Edward
Charrington, Spencer
Coates, Edward Feetham
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Coghill, Douglas Harry
Cohen, Benjamin Louis
Collings, Rt. Hon. Jesse
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Corbett, A. Cameron (Glasgow)
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Craig, Robert Hunter (Lanark)
Crombie, John William
Cross, Alexander (Glasgow)
Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Cullinan, J.
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Dalziel, James Henry
Davenport, William Bromley
Denny, Colonel
Devlin, Chas. Ramsay (Galway
Devlin, Joseph (Kilkenny, N.)
Dickson, Charles Scott
Digby, John K. D. Wingfield-
Dobbie, Joseph
Donelan, Captain A.
Doogan, P. C.
Doughty, George
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers
Douglas, Charles M. (Lanark)
Duncan, J. Hastings
Dunn, Sir William
Dyke, Rt. Hn. Sir William Hart
Ellice, Capt. E. C (S. Andrw's Bghs
Elliot, Hon. A. Ralph Douglas
Emmott, Alfred
Farquharson, Dr. Robert
Fenwick, Charles
Ferguson, R. C. Munro (Leith)
Fergusson, Rt. Hn. Sir J. (Manc'r
Field, William
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
Firbank, Sir Joseph Thomas
Fisher, William Hayes
FitzGerald, Sir Robert Penrose-
Flower, Sir Ernest
Forster, Henry William
Foster, P. S. (Warwick, S.W.)
Foster, Sir Walter (Derby Co.)
Galloway, William Johnson
Gardner, Ernest
Gore, Hn. G. R. C. Ormsby-(Salop
Gorst, Rt. Hon. Sir John Eldon
Goschen, Hon. George Joachim
Goulding, Edward Alfred
Grant, Corrie
Greene, Henry D. (Shrewsbury)
Gunter, Sir Robert
Haldane, Rt. Hon. Richard B.
Hammond, John
Hardy, L. (Kent, Ashford)
Haslam, Sir Alfred S.
Haslett, Sir James Horner
Hayden, John Patrick
Hayter, Rt. Hon. Sir Arthur D.
Heath, Arthur Howard (Hanley
Heaton, John Henniker
Hoare, Sir Samuel
Hobhouse, Rt Hn H. (Somers't, E
Hogg, Lindsay
Hope, J. F. (Sheffield, Brightside
Hornby, Sir William Henry
Hunt, Rowland
Hutchinson, Dr. Charles Fredk.
Jones, William (Carnarvonshire
Joyce, Michael
Kennedy, Vincent P. (Cavan, W.
Kenyon, Hon. Geo. T. (Denbigh)
Kenyon-Slaney, Col. W. (Salop.
Kerr, John
Kilbride, Denis
Kimber, Henry
Knowles, Sir Lees
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
Law, Hugh Alex. (Donegal, W.
Lawson, Jn. G. (Yorks., N. R.)
Lee, A. H. (Hants., Fareham)
Leese, Sir Joseph F. (Accrington
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Leveson-Gower, Frederick N. S.
Lloyd-George, David
Lockwood, Lieut.-Col. A. R.
Loder, Gerald Walter Erskine
Long, Rt. Hon. W. (Bristol, S.)
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas, Reginald J. (Portsmouth
Lundon, W.
Lyell, Charles Henry
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
Macdona, John Cumming
Macnamara, Dr. Thomas J.
Maconochie, A. W.
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
M'Crae, George
M'Iver, Sir Lewis (Edinburgh W.
M'Killop, W. (Sligo, North)
Mappin, Sir Frederick Thorpe
Maxwell, W. J. H. (Dumfriessh.)
Middlemore, John Throgmorton
Milvain, Thomas
Montagu, G. (Huntingdon)
Morrell, George Herbert
Mount, William Arthur
Murnaghan, George
Murphy, John
Murray, Rt. Hon. A. G. (Bute)
Murray, Charles J. (Coventry)
Murray, Col. Wyndham (Bath)
Myers, William Henry
Nannetti, Joseph P.
Newdegate, Francis A. N.
Nolan, Col. J. P. (Galway, N.)
O'Brien, James F. X. (Cork)
O'Brien, K. (Tipperary, Mid.)
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Brien, P. J. (Tipperary, N.)
O'Connor, James (Wicklow, W.)
O'Kelly, Jas. (Roscommon, N.)
Pemberton, John S. G.
Percy, Earl
Pierpoint, Robert
Pirie, Duncan V.
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Plummer, Walter R.
Power, Patrick Joseph
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Pym, C. Guy
Randles, John S.
Rankin, Sir James
Rasch, Sir Frederic Carne
Redmond, John E. (Waterford)
Reid, Sir R. Threshie (Dumfries
Remnant, James Farquharson

Ridley, Hon.M.W.(Stalybridge
Ridley,S.Forde (Bethnal Green
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.)
Roberts, Samuel (Sheffield)
Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
Roche, John
Round, Rt. Hon. James
Royds, Clement Molyneux
Rutherford, W. W. (Liverpool)
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Sassoon, Sir Edward Albert
Seely, Charles Hilton (Lincoln)
Sharpe, William Edward T.
Shaw, Thomas (Hawick, B.)
Sheehy, David
Simeon, Sir Barrington
Smith,H.C(North'mb.Tyneside
Smith,James Parker (Lanarks.)
Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
Soames, Arthur Wellesley
Soares, Ernest J.
Spear, John Ward
Stanley,Rt. Hon. Lord (Lancs.)
Stewart, Sir Mark J. M'Taggart
Stone, Sir Benjamin
Strutt, Hon. Charles Hedley
Sullivan, Donal
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Talbot,Rt.Hn.J.G.(Oxf'd Univ.
Taylor, Austin (East Toxteth)
Tennant, Harold John
Thornton, Percy M.
Tollemache, Henry James
Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
Tritton, Charles Ernest
Tufnell, Lieut.-Col. Edward
Tuke, Sir John Batty
Wallace, Robert
Walrond, Rt.Hn.Sir WilliamH
Warde, Colonel C. E.
Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan)
Wason, Jn. Cathcart (Orkney)
Welby,Lt.-Col.A.C.E.(Taunton
Whitmore, Charles Algernon
Wills, Sir Frederick
Wilson, Henry J. (York, W.R.)
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid.)
Wilson, J.W. (Worcestersh.,N.)
Wolff, Gustav Wilhelm
Worsley-Taylor, Henry Wilson
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George
Wyndham-Quin, Col. W. H.
Young, Samuel

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Sir Alexander Acland-Hood and Viscount Valentia.

*MR. A. GRAHAM MURRAY said that now the matter had been settled by the division just taken, he should move to strike out the other words in order to insert the words upon the Paper. Everyone would recognise that this was a very important change which represented so far as it went the acceptance of an Amendment put down by the hon. Member for Renfrewshire. It was part of the whole financial arrangement of the Bill, and, therefore, it would perhaps be proper to say not only what influenced him in putting down this Amendment, but what he was doing elsewhere, because all these financial arrangements hung together. He was aware when moving the Amendment which had just been carried that in the long run it would operate against the counties. He was also face to face with the proposition of the hon. Member for Renfrewshire that there should not be parochial rating at all, but county rating. That was the first proposition which had to be considered, and he came to the conclusion that the method of the Bill was the better of the two, and the opinion was backed up by a number of representations he had received from Scotland. He doubted whether many people knew that, so far as the instructed opinion was concerned—that was to say, the opinion of those who had followed the whole of the Commissions, and who had examined this matter—the whole consensus of opinion was that the most equitable form of rating was on net rentals rather than gross rentals. Successive Commissions had been appointed by successive Governments, and not one had come to the conclusion that the gross valuation was the proper basis. The last Commission came to the conclusion that the ideal system was the net rental. There was also the fact that in Scotland they had become well accustomed to the practice of levying the school rate with the parish rate, and it would be somewhat inexpedient to change it. Here a school rate was being levied to which the people of Scotland were quite accustomed, and therefore it was better to leave it where it was, and leave the questions of net and gross rental and other questions of the sort until one Party or the other were able to take up and deal with the whole question of local taxation. These were the reasons which led him to stick to the parochial instead of the county assessment.

This led him to the next step, namely, if they had a larger area, which must be in the nature of an agglomeration of parishes, it was necessary to assess each parish for the amount required. Originally the Bill did that by valuation alone, but when the figures were got out it was perfectly evident that it would press very hardly on the rural as against the urban districts, for the simple and sufficient reason that the rural valuation bore a larger proportion to the rural population than did the urban to the urban population. There were more people to an estate of £100 valuation in the urban district than there were in the country. This question did not affect the enumerated districts at all because his Amendment cut them out. In this matter his philosopher and guide was the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition, who some years ago adopted this principle when distributing a grant. He then suggested that the grant should be distributed according to valuation and population, and he (Mr. A. Graham Murray) submitted that what was good in distributing a benefit was also good in distributing a burden. The same result would be attained if he took the view of the hon. Baronet behind him, who proposed that the deficiency to be apportioned to the various parishes should not be apportioned according to valuation alone but should be divided into two, and one half apportioned according to valuation and the other according to population. It was practically that proposal which this Amendment made before the Committee. No doubt it was very difficult, in taking in the whole arrangements of the Bill, for hon. Members to disassociate themselves from their constituents, but the Member in charge of the Bill had necessarily to try and take a wider view. If the last Amendment bore against the county, this bore against the burgh, but there was another Amendment put down upon the Paper which, if carried, would permit the burghs to retain the substantial sum of £100,000 out of the equivalent grant. Hitherto the burgh and county had been separate and now they were going to bind the two together, and if this had been according to valuation alone the county would be very heavily handicapped.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 11, to leave out lines 1 to 6, both inclusive, and insert the words 'in the case of an enumerated district according to their respective valuations in the valuation roll last available, and in all other cases one-half according to their respective populations as ascertained at the last preceding census, and one-half according to their respective valuations in the valuation roll last available; provided that in the case of portions of parishes the populations shall be taken as may be agreed upon between the school board and the parish council, or failing agreement as may be determined by the Secretary for Scotland.' "—(*Mr. A. Graham Murray.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the clause."

Mr. THOMAS SHAW said the Committee would agree with the right hon. Gentleman that the present Amendment proposed a very important change. It was so important that he considered it quite out of place in an Education Bill. The present measure was not a Rating Bill, or one intended to change the incidence of taxation, and he deeply regretted that the right hon. Gentleman should have introduced this most contentious matter into what was practically a non-contentious Bill. He had endeavoured to ascertain from the right hon. Gentleman's speech the origin of his Amendment, and he gathered that certain proposals brought forward by the hon. Member for Renfrewshire had made the subject a matter for grave consideration. That being so, he wanted to ascertain whence the hon. Baronet got his idea. The representation of the county council of Renfrewshire upon the subject of the imposition of rates was as follows—

"That the total amount necessary to meet the instalment of the previous loans contracted by existing school board should be chargeable against the whole education district, and that the school rate should be imposed as a rate on all owners and occupiers equally, on the valuation as appearing in the valuation roll."

The county council of Renfrewshire had thus recommended that the time-honoured system of Scotland should be adhered to, but their representative in Parliament had brought in an Amendment which might shortly be described as an Amendment in favour of the landed interest.

The next point he had endeavoured to find out was the ground on which the Secretary for Scotland had been induced to give the proposal his favour. The right hon. Gentleman said that they were face to face with a proposal for county rating, and that he preferred not to have county rating. That was perfectly true, but it had nothing whatever to do with a proposal of this kind, which was really for differential and preferential rating in certain localities. Further, there was, doubtless, a good deal to be said in favour of the net rental as against the gross rental, but that again had nothing whatever to do with the present proposal. The right hon. Gentleman also urged that the school rate should be left where it was, and that the whole question of rating should remain untouched. He agreed with the right hon. Gentleman, and that was just the reason why he opposed the Amendment. The whole question of rating ought to be left over, but instead of that the right hon. Gentleman had chosen to introduce this disturbing and confusing element into the Bill. It was said that there was advantage to the burgh and detriment to the country district. When burghs and towns and country districts were being linked together in school board areas no such cause of jealousy or friction between urban and rural populations ought to be introduced. This proposal would introduce a perpetual division in the matter of local rating, and produce the maximum of confusion and irritation. By use and wont the burghs had contributed from time to time large sums for the benefit of the burghs themselves. Under a Resolution agreed to yesterday it had been decided that all burgh contributions and burgh endowments applicable to the subject should go into the common fund for the benefit of the enlarged area. County Members all supported that proposal in order to get the benefit from the burghs. But to-day, backed by the force of the Government, after obtaining the benefit of the endowment from the towns for the landed interest, they were endeavouring to secure a perpetual relief from taxation, which, on the same principle as that under which they shared in the endowment, they ought to bear. There was not the slightest justification for such a revolution in taxation in favour of the landed interest.

He objected altogether to the theory that the country would be harmed and the towns benefited under this Bill; such a proposition introduced jealousies which ought not to be allowed to exist for one moment. Some of the best provisions in the Bill were those which enabled school boards to bring up promising pupils to the towns from the remote districts at the expense of the general school fund. But if the country districts were to contribute on the basis now proposed he thought it was very likely that the school boards would say that they must take care of their own promising children. No Royal Commission had ever reported in favour of such a proposal. There were in Scotland large areas over which there existed the system which might be described in Tennyson's words as that of "allowing the man to be less and less and the beast to be more and more." In deer forest districts a large rental was derived practically at the price of making a large area into a solitude. The interest of the country was that the population should be equally spread instead of being congested in certain districts. Under this proposal, however, it would be to the advantage of the landed interest to drive the people more and more into the towns, because by so doing they would impose the rates to a greater degree upon the towns, and thus the heaviest educational burden would fall upon the most congested districts, namely, the towns, which were already so heavily rated.

*Mr. A. GRAHAM MURRAY pointed out that the effect of the Amendment would, in almost every case, be to lower the town rating and to increase the country rating.

Mr. THOMAS SHAW did not think that that was a legitimate or useful consideration to bring in. The object of the Bill was to give the whole country central secondary and technical educational facilities. The country districts would derive large benefit from that, and they would also get the special benefit, defrayed to a large extent by the town rating, of having their promising children transported to the towns. It was really too bad, in such a matter, to create jealousies which would last as long as the rates were imposed, and which would do no good to anybody. The proposal was solely for the benefit of the landed interest; it would do much educational harm, and it would tend to make school boards unwilling to benefit outlying districts by bringing their promising children to the towns. The parochial area had been abolished for many purposes in this Bill, and he failed to see why it should be kept up for the purpose of establishing this inequitable incidence of rating.

*Sir CHARLES RENSHAW agreed that the present proposal was a very important one. The resolution of the Renfrew County Council to which the hon. Member had referred was undoubtedly come to upon the consideration of certain aspects of the case, but it was not correct to say that it was a resolution in favour of the present system. It was a resolution in favour of county rating on the county basis and not on the parochial basis. If it had been possible to secure that in the Bill it would have given a uniform rate throughout the new educational area, and that would have been a great advantage. A strong objection to the parochial system of rating in connection with this Bill was that as various parishes would be grouped together in an educational district, the rate would vary in different parishes in the same group. Some parishes had varying systems of taxation; all had an optional system of deductions, and the rates varied so much that in one parish there would be a 3d. rate, in another a 4d. rate, and in another a 6d. rate, although these parishes would be in the same district. Such a condition of things would be prejudicial to the economical administration of the fund, and it was from that point of view that the county of Renfrew desired to see adopted the system of county rating rather than the system of parish rating. He reminded the hon. Member for the Border Burghs, who had objected to this matter being dealt with on the ground that the present Bill was not a Rating Bill, that in 1892, when the Local Taxation (Scotland) Act was passed, the grants were distributed on the basis of population and valuation; that was to say, on the very principle which the Secretary for Scotland now proposed to apply to the distribution of the burden over parishes grouped together for educational purposes.

The system established under the Bill must necessarily be a new system, because new areas were being created. As long as the parish system was adhered to, under which a certain amount of money was raised to be spent in the parish, that was one thing; but a totally different state of matters would be set up when a number of parishes were grouped together. The hon. Member had made statements of a very general character, but he had not attempted to substantiate by figures the assertion that the original system was a fair system. The total amount of the contribution by the burghs from the "Common Good" to educational funds—to which the hon. Member had referred—was a little under £6,000 a year, whereas the total amount raised from the rates for education was about £1,250,000, or, outside the enumerated districts, about £750,000. That appeared to meet the remark with regard to the generosity of the burghs. There was great force in the argument of the Secretary for Scotland as to the necessity for finding some more equitable basis than that of valuation alone upon which to distribute the burden between the grouped parishes. In Renfrewshire the average valuation per head of the population in a burgh was about £5, whereas in the upper district of the county it was £8 10s., and in the lower and more rural area it was £9. He did not believe that the new system would create any such rankling feeling of unfair treatment as the hon. Member suggested. It might be worked up to a certain extent for political purposes, but it would not be supported by those who were authorities on the rating question, because they would see that the proposal was a slight effort in the direction of equalising the burden on a fairer basis than that of mere valuation. It would be altogether unfair for the population in the rural districts of Renfrewshire to have to pay a rate of about 9d. as against a rate of 5d. in the burghs.

Mr. THOMAS SHAW did not think per head of population was the proper basis for reckoning in this matter. Education had been a burden upon the heritors for a great many years, but as legislation had developed they had gradually edged out of it and this was the last step in the process.

*Sir CHARLES RENSHAW said that the burden of the rates still fell very heavily upon the heritor, and whereas it was formerly voluntary it was now obligatory. A further instance of how the matter would work was afforded by the county of Forfar. The relative percentage of school children in the burghal and landward parts respectively was fifty-seven and forty-three; but the relative percentage of cost on the basis of valuation alone would be twenty-nine on the burghal and seventy-one on the landward parts; while on the basis of one-half by valuation and one-half by population, the percentage would be forty-two and a half on the burghal and fifty-seven and a half on the landward parts.

MR. BLACK asked whether the figures given by the hon. Baronet were in reference to the education rate only or to the whole of the municipal rate.

*SIR CHARLES RENSHAW said he was speaking of the basis upon which the education rate would be distributed as between various parishes under the apportionment valuation. Unless the proposed basis were adopted the effect of the changes would be to cause the rural districts to resent the burdens placed upon them as being altogether disproportionate to the benefits they would derive. According to the educational returns the average rate at present was 2¾d. in the £ higher in the burghal districts than in the rural districts, so that if the rate were equalised as proposed it would mean the imposition of an additional 1d. or 1½d. upon the rural districts, and that would enormously add to the burden they already had to bear.

*MR. McCRAE said if he could imagine an opponent of the Bill looking about for an obstructive Amendment he could not conceive one more suitable for the purpose than the one moved by the Secretary for Scotland. It was quite foreign to the object of the Bill, and he should have asked the Secretary for Scotland, if he had been in his place, to give the Committee a reference to any authority on rating, Royal Commission or otherwise, which would support him in making the proposal in the Amendment. He had quite a Platonic interest in this so far as his constituents were concerned. This did not apply to the enumerated districts, and therefore his interest in the question was entirely connected with his interest in having a sound principle of rating. This was a most extraordinary proposal, and he could not think that the Secretary for Scotland had really gone into the matter with any great care. He was afraid the right hon. Gentleman had simply adopted the suggestion of the hon. Member for Renfrewshire without really looking where this was going to lead him. The Secretary for Scotland started with the assumption that they could get no responsible rating authority to say that they should rate on the gross valuation. No such proposal was in the Bill. The education rate was to be nine-tenths of the gross valuation, so that the right hon. Gentleman's argument there was quite superfluous. It had really nothing to do with the case, and the right hon Gentleman forgot, when denouncing gross rating, that in Scotland all municipal burghs rated on gross valuation. That was really throwing dust in the eyes of the Committee, and it had nothing whatever to do with the question before them. The great object of the Commissions which had reported on the question of rating in the past had been to have a uniform system of rating. Now they had in this Bill, which was not a Rating Bill, a proposal to introduce a totally new system so far as rating was concerned. He would ask the Secretary for Scotland or the Lord Advocate to give any authority for such a revolutionary proposal. A Royal Commission had recently reported on the subject of taxation, but the Secretary for Scotland was going behind the Commission in attempting to deal with the question of rating on a side issue in this Bill.

The right hon. Gentleman had put forward the plea that the rural districts required special treatment. They must remember that the education rate was divided equally between the owner and the occupier. They must also remember that the rural districts had special treatment so far as local taxation was concerned, and that if they were in a burgh they were only rated on a fourth of their rental. More than that, they got a dole under the Agricultural Rating Act to, as the promoters of the Act said, equalise any anomaly involving injustice. If this were given it would only be another dole in the same direction, and it would be bound to come out of somebody's pockets. The Secretary for Scotland was attempting in this proposal to alter the basis of assessment. The only argument on which great stress was laid was that stated by the hon. Member for Renfrewshire that this must be a very good principle because it was the principle adopted by the Government in giving certain grants to local authorities. The

Secretary for Scotland and the hon. Member for Renfrewshire were either talking with their tongue in their cheek when they gave such an illustration or else they had not looked very closely into the matter. The reason why that principle was adopted in the distribution of those grants-in-aid was that it was Imperial money which had been raised from the individual taxpayer, and, on the plea that personalty should contribute to local taxation, it was given to the local authorities as having come from that particular source and not from rental.

What the Committee should bear in mind was this. So far as he was aware there was no such system at the present time of taking population into account in levying any assessment. The example of this principle being adopted in connection with grants-in-aid did not help the Secretary for Scotland at all in the matter now under discussion. He knew that the right hon. Gentleman understood this question perfectly well, and he was astonished at his having brought it forward at the present time. It was entirely in opposition to the principle which he supported the Secretary for Scotland in adopting, namely, that the debt should be pooled and that there should be equality of treatment. He ventured to say that if this principle were adopted it would give rise to great friction and inequality between the different districts, and make the question of education not the main issue at all. It would give rise to great resentment. The last and he thought the weakest reason the Secretary for Scotland gave for the proposal was that he was going so far to redress the balance by the fact that he was not going to take £100,000 of the equivalent grant which he had proposed in the Bill to take from the burghs. The burghs and the counties at present received £150,000 a year from that source, and if the Secretary for Scotland was only going to take £50,000 he could not at all see how that was going to redress the balance with regard to this proposal. He hoped the Committee would not pass the Amendment. If they did it would be a blot on the Bill. He really hoped that the Secretary for Scotland, after full consideration of the matter, would withdraw this Amendment, because if they were to touch the question of rating, which was a very difficult question, let them do it not by a side wind but on those principles which ought to guide them in levying assessments. He did think that the right hon. Gentleman was setting at defiance the sound principles which ought to guide them in levying assessments.

*MR. A. GRAHAM MURRAY said he was very anxious that the Committee should not have any misconception about this clause. He thought the view put forward by his hon. and learned friend the Member for the Border Burghs, backed up by the hon. Member for Edinburgh, really put an entirely wrong complexion on what was being done. First of all, the general purport of the speech of the hon. and learned Member for the Border Burghs, to any person who did not understand the subject, would tend to the belief that the Amendment was in some way or other to disturb an existing system. It was doing nothing of the sort. The hon. Member asked why they could not leave things alone. He did not know that he used that expression, but what he said practically amounted to that. They could not leave things alone for this simple reason, that they were face to face with a problem which they must solve, and which had never been solved before, because they never had precisely the same conditions. They were aggregating together a set of areas which were separate for rating purposes, and from these areas conjoint expenditure had to be collected; at the end of the year a certain amount had to be met, which was commonly called the deficiency in the school fund. This could not be raised by the ordinary rate, because there was no common rate over the whole area, no rating authority to rate the new school board area as such. They might take the parochial rate, and then levy a sum of money over the area conglomerate of the rating authorities of A, B, C, and D, and go separately to each authority. Necessarily, they must face the question how much should be asked from each. Obviously there must be a division in some way. Should it be according to proportion, one to the other, on the basis of valuation or population, or should the division be half in proportion to valuation, and half in proportion to population? If he could, he would make the financial arrangements such that the rating of the past should not be disturbed; but that could not be done. If the Amendment were passed the rating of the future, so far as the individual was concerned, would be far nearer to the rating of the past than it would be if the Bill remained as it stood, in which case it would be much further away from the rating of the past. There would be more inequality, not less, if the Amendment were rejected. That was the only thing that the individual practical Scotsman looked to. As to the sentimental side, the hon. Member said that it would cause resentment. Where was the resentment to come in? He did not want to take sides in this matter, but surely the resentment could not come in the case of the burghs, for as far as the burgh ratepayer was concerned—and he had looked into the case in great detail—in almost every every case the burgh ratepayer would find that the school rate was lower. He would not resent that. And although there would be a little resentment on the part of the non-burgh ratepayer in finding that his rate went up, his resentment would have been greater if the Amendment had not been passed, because then he would have had to pay a still greater rate.

*Mr. McCRAE said he thought this Amendment had been proposed for the benefit of the whole of the ratepayers.

*Mr. A. GRAHAM MURRAY said that that was just what he had been saying. What he wanted the Committee clearly to understand was that he was not disturbing anything. The hon. and learned Member for the Border Burghs was quite mistaken when he said that he was bringing in a thorny problem of rating. He would much sooner not bring in rating at all; but he could not take the existing system and he was bound to bring forward a system which would be equitable and cause the least disturbance to the present state of things. Therefore he proposed to stick to his Amendment.

Mr. EDMUND ROBERTSON (Dundee) said that whatever the merits of the right hon. Gentleman's Amendment might be, he had introduced into this discussion an enormously difficult question. He was in the enumerated districts and his constituents would not be affected by the right hon. Gentleman's proposal at all. Therefore, he could take an impartial view of the question and approach it without any feeling of jealousy as between burgh and county and without any feeling of resentment of any kind. He wanted to put one or two Questions in further elucidation of the right hon. Gentleman's proposal. The right hon. Gentleman had referred to certain inquiries that had been made. He supposed that these inquiries were public and that the results had been made public.

*Mr. A. GRAHAM MURRAY was understood to say that the inquiries had not been made *coram publico*. What he meant was that, speaking roughly, the burgh rates were always higher than the rural rates, except in a few cases where a particular rural district was suffering under a load of a very large debt for a particular school.

Mr. EDMUND ROBERTSON said he had presumed that there had been some public inquiry. As to the first portion of the Amendment, he agreed with the hon. Baronet opposite for two reasons. First, because, on the whole, he thought it was right that the locality, having incurred the debt, should continue, notwithstanding this Bill, to be responsible for the debt; and, second, because he could not help thinking that the two Amendments, now dissevered, were originally one, and that the first was a *quid pro quo* for the other. Now, the last speech of the Secretary for Scotland was really an admission that this was a complete novelty in the law of rating in Scotland. Was there any precedent for what the right hon. Gentleman proposed? He took it from the right hon. Gentleman's last frank statement that there was no precedent.

*Mr. A. GRAHAM MURRAY said that there could not be, because the same circumstances had never arisen.

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON said then this proposal was an unprecedented novelty in the distribution of public burdens, and the justification for taking that course was that the problem itself was new. But the fact that the problem was new did not justify a new allocation of burdens unless that commended itself to the judgment of the Committee. Why should half of the burden be divided according to population and the other half according to valuation.

*MR. A. GRAHAM MURRAY said that that was the only way to do it. He contended that if it was equitable to bestow a benefit in that way, it was equally equitable to impose a burden. The author of the whole matter was the right hon. Gentleman who sat beside the hon. Member.

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON said that because his right hon. friend the Leader of the Opposition proposed that a grant should be distributed, not according to valuation alone, or population alone, but partly on one and partly on the other, that was no reason why the same proposal should be made as regarded public burdens. That would go to the root of nearly the whole of our financial system. Were they to accept this, that public money distributed from the Imperial centre might be divided exactly in the same fashion as the public burdens were. Grants ought to be distributed according to the needs of the locality which was measured by the population. Burdens were imposed according to ability to pay. He did not think the right hon. Gentleman would gain much by his new proposal. At present they were dealing with the question whether the words in the Bill should remain in the Bill. He invited the attention of the right hon. Gentleman to the destroying effect on his own proposal. He never knew of a Minister, except the Prime Minister himself, who was prepared to throw over his own proposals with such readiness. The Amendment he would support would be to leave out of the Amendment the words "according to their respective valuations in the valuation roll last available."

SIR CHARLES RENSHAW said that when he was last speaking he quoted figures as to the burghs in his own constituency in regard to the average valuation per head of the population. He should have said that in Paisley it was £5 per head, in Greenock £6 per head, and in the smaller burghs £4 per head.

*SIR ANDREW AGNEW (Edinburgh, S.) said that the hon. Member for East Edinburgh had alleged that the Amendment dealt with a matter foreign to the Bill. He did not agree. The Bill when originally introduced dealt unfairly with the ratepayers in the landward parts of the country, and the Amendment was an attempt to remedy that inequality. It had been pointed out that a rate spread over the whole area would produce considerably less per head in the burghs than in the counties. He presumed that the proportion of children according to population was the same in the burghs as in the country districts. What would be the result? It would be that two sets of people in the same district would be paying two different prices for the same article. This would obviously be unfair. Then it was suggested that the contributions out of the "Common Good," to be paid by the burghs, could be accepted as some sort of a set-off for this inequality; but, as his hon. friend had pointed out, the total amount of that fund was only £6,000, which was considerably less than the amount of the rates they were discussing. It should also be remembered that the tendency of population now was in the direction of the towns; and that the country districts were provided with all the schools they required, or, probably, they would require in the future; whereas the towns were continually growing. Therefore, all schools that would have to be built in the future would have to be built in the towns, and to the building of these schools the country districts would contribute. These were matters the Committee ought to remember. He did not know whether the Amendment entirely redressed the inequality which appeared in the Bill as originally drafted; but, at any rate, it would considerably reduce that inequality; and he would, therefore, vote for it.

*Mr. JOHN DEWAR (Inverness) said he wished to draw the attention of the Secretary for Scotland to one feature of this matter which had, up to the present, escaped notice. He was rather favourably impressed with the proposal when he saw it first; but after looking into the figures, and the results it would have in many parts of Scotland, he was inclined to think it would cause injustice in some very poor districts. In the Highlands particularly the very poor had been confined to certain districts which were in a very congested condition, and the larger areas given up to the purposes of sport. He was anxious to direct the attention of the Committee not so much to the relative position of county districts as against burghs as to the difference which existed between parishes in the same educational district. Looking at the valuation per head of the population, they found some interesting comparisons. In one educational district in Inverness-shire it was only £4 per head in one parish whereas in another parish in the same district the valuation was £17 per head. One was a congested district, and was in receipt of benefits under the Congested Districts Act; the other was a district of deer forests inhabited by very rich men. If the rate were put on the valuation, the result would be that the rich men would bear a very much larger share, and would let the poorer districts off more easily as ought to be done. To show the incredible poverty of some parts of the Highlands of Scotland there were many districts in the West of Scotland where the valuation was only £1 per head. Those districts were, however, included in one area, and would not be injuriously affected. But the inequality he drew attention to was true of the whole Northern counties of Scotland. In Perthshire, for instance, one district contained a parish the valuation of which was £5 per head, while another parish in the same district had a valuation of £18 per head. One was a very poor parish; the other was inhabited by men who could well afford to pay their share. Another district in Perthshire contained a parish with a valuation of £7 per head, while another parish in the same district had a valuation of £20 per head. That was true of many districts all over the North of Scotland; and in those cases the proposal of the Secretary for Scotland would act most unfairly. He merely wished to draw the attention of the Secretary for Scotland to that feature of the matter, because he knew that the right hon. Gentleman did not wish that any injustice should be done. In those circumstances, he would suggest to the right hon. Gentleman to postpone the clause until its effect could be ascertained.

Sir MARK STEWART (Kirkcudbrightshire) said that there were great difficulties connected with this matter, which he thought had been met in a very fair and courageous manner. The Bill, as originally drafted, would not have been fair. There were great changes going on in the counties and burghs; but he considered that any difficulty that might arise would be met by the Amendment.

Sir ROBERT REID said it was to be regretted that the Secretary for Scotland should have announced, in the most extremely positive terms, his determination to adhere to his Amendment without waiting to consider the arguments against it. The position was this. Certain deliberate proposals were made in the Bill to which no sort of widespread opposition was offered that he knew of. Then the Secretary for Scotland put down an Amendment to his own Bill, and proceeded to argue with great warmth against his original proposals. He was seized with a kind of holy zeal; repudiated his own proposals, and insisted on those other proposals. The right hon. Gentleman would admit that it was a matter of very grave importance. The Amendment was not a light matter; and the principle involved was a very serious one. He wished to ask, in the first place, whether justice as between burghs and counties required this Amendment to be made. The right hon. Gentleman had not informed the Committee as to that; although he admitted that so far as the matter lay between burghs and counties, it favoured the counties. The right hon. Gentleman had not given any figures; but it was not an easy matter, and probably the right hon. Gentleman had not had time.

*MR. A. GRAHAM MURRAY said that if the hon. Gentleman asked him about any particular county or burgh he could answer him at once; but no general answer was possible. The matter did not depend on valuation and population alone; it also depended on the existing school rate in a particular place. The hon. Gentleman the Member for Inverness gave an illustration. The hon. Gentleman was comparatively right, but he was really almost wrong. He referred to a district the rate in which would be represented by 1s. 1¾d. That was not the exact rate, because for purposes of comparison he did not take the exact rate, but the rate which would be the produce per £1 of the rateable value. The hon. Gentleman then referred to another district the rate in which would be 7¾d.; but the rate for the whole district would be only 8¾d., which would be an advantage to the poorer district.

*MR. JOHN DEWAR said that the reduction should be greater still.

SIR ROBERT REID said he doubted whether English Members would appreciate the subtlety of the right hon. Gentleman's statement. He said that his hon. friend was comparatively right, but that he was really almost wrong. He understood the nicety of the right hon. Gentleman's remarks; but it might not be generally intelligible to those who had not had a legal training. There were no figures before the Committee to show the degree of advantage the counties would obtain under this Amendment as compared with the burghs. The right hon. Gentleman admitted that the advantage was transferred to the counties, but he said it was balanced by other considerations. No attempt, however, had been made to appraise any of those considerations. They did not know the bearing of the Amendment in that respect; and that was very unsatisfactory in dealing with a matter of pounds, shillings, and pence, especially as people in the country who would be able to supply arguments, had not had any notice of it. The Committee did not know the bearing of the figures or how the counter-balancing of the different equivalents would work out. That was not an unfair observation to make to the right hon. Gentleman. The people of Scotland should be given an opportunity of enlightening the Committee; but the right hon. Gentleman had done nothing in that direction. Rating was not a novel problem at all but an old one, but this principle of rating by valuation and population was entirely new. He had faith in the wisdom of our ancestors, and believed that if there had been anything in it this system would have been adopted long before the right hon. Gentleman hit upon it. It was true that valuation differed considerably in the burghs and in the counties; it was also true that valuation was enormously greater on one part of the population than on another in the same burgh. In the East End of London valuation was very low, but the population was more dense, and the result, if this principle were introduced, would be that the burden would fall very heavily on those who lived in the overcrowded and poorer districts. If they departed from the principle of payment according to ability they at once descended to a poll tax in rating, and that principle had been discarded long ago because it fell upon the poor and not upon the rich. The effect of this, to the extent to which it operated, must necessarily be not only to induce people to alter their course of conduct, but to deplete the rural districts, because the effect of its universal application would be that when people employed in the country districts became chargeable to the poor rate they would be told by the farmers and others, "We do not want you here, you must go to the burgh," and there would be a shifting of people into the burghs to save the rates. Such places as deer forests, upon which there was a large valuation, would get off free, while the congested districts inhabited by crofters would be very heavily taxed.

*SIR J. STIRLING-MAXWELL (Glasgow, College) said the Secretary for Scotland had pointed out that what was called a shooting parish would bear a larger proportion of the expense. The hon. Member opposite should remember that it would receive less benefit than a crofting parish because a shooting parish contained very few children to educate.

And there was this consideration to bear in mind, that in the parish the hon. Gentleman alluded to, many children at the present time would receive no education whatever unless the proprietor of the parish met the school board halfway. He did not regret that a shooting parish would bear a larger proportion of the expense than other parishes.

Mr. McKENNA (Monmouthshire, N.) said he intervened in this debate only because it touched the question of rating, which did not affect Scotland alone. The right hon. Gentleman the Secretary for Scotland had based his argument in favour of this proposal first of all on an old precedent created by the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition when distributing a grant. The right hon. Gentleman said if it was equitable to divide a benefit on the principle of valuation and population, it was also equitable to divide a burden in the same way. Had he considered the matter a little further the right hon. Gentleman would have seen that the reason why the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition adopted this principle on that occasion, was the very reason why this proposal should not be made now. For the purposes of dividing a benefit, valuation and population was a valid guide, because congested and overcrowded districts were generally poor with a very low rateable value, and therefore it was, when the question of relief was concerned, the principle of valuation and population was applied. But when it came to imposing a burden, the burden should be imposed heavily on the rich districts and lightly on the poor, and the argument in favour of valuation and population would not apply. When asked for a precedent for this proposal, the Secretary for Scotland said it would be impossible to show a precedent because this condition of things had never arisen before. That might or might not be so so far as Scotland was concerned, but it was the normal condition of the local taxation of this country. It was the problem which faced our Poor Law unions every year, and although the problem was being dealt with every day in this country, it had never been suggested that the burden should be distributed on a valuation and population basis. If the right hon. Gentleman looked into the Report of the Commission, he would not find a single instance of such a proposal as that which he had made to the House, and if this proposal had been made in the Bill itself and Members had had an opportunity of considering it for a longer period, it would have raised such a storm of protest that it would have had to be withdrawn. He should vote against it.

Sir WALTER THORBURN said if the figures he had quoted on the previous Amendment had any meaning at all, a very great injustice would be done unless this Amendment were carried, because, as he showed them, his constituency, which had a population of 4,200, had a larger amount of valuation than two of the burghs represented by the hon. Member for the Border Burghs, which had a population of nearly 20,000 inhabitants. He did not wonder that those who would derive a benefit from its not passing should be desirous that this proposal should be defeated, but he, at all events, desired to see justice done. Although, as the hon. Member for the Border Burghs had said, this was not a Rating Bill, it was nevertheless a Bill that would considerably raise the rates, and the urban populations would get much greater advantages under the Bill than the rural populations, because there were five times as many children in the burghs as in the country districts. Inasmuch as the proposal would in many cases relieve tenants who could ill afford to pay any increased rate, he thought it was one that ought to be supported.

Mr. ASQUITH (Fifeshire, E.) said that, having listened to the discussion with a perfectly open mind, he desired to state the reasons which had driven him to the conclusion that the Amendment proposed by the right hon. Gentleman ought to be opposed. On questions of this kind there were two possible standpoints—that of abstract justice and that of the interests of one's own constituents—and he had noticed in the discussion that the consideration of abstract justice had been somewhat tinged by a colouring drawn from the manner in which the matter would affect various constituencies. The only persons who could be strictly impartial were the representatives of the enumerated districts, and so far as they had contributed to the debate they had been unanimously in favour of the proposal of the right hon. Gentleman.

*SIR J. STIRLING-MAXWELL dissented.

MR. ASQUITH said it was true the right hon. Baronet spoke as a representative of an enumerated district, but he thought his heart was rather in the Highlands. County Members in the strict sense, representing the rural districts, were naturally in favour of the right hon. Gentleman's proposal, while the interests of the burgh Members was rather the other way. Under these circumstances he had been thinking how he should stand in the matter as representing East Fife. He was not certain how the figures worked out, but in that district burgh and rural communities were intermixed with an amount of impartiality, both in intelligence and in comfort, that was not to be paralleled in any part of Scotland. Therefore, so far as it was possible for anyone to be who did not represent an enumerated district, he thought he was in a position to approach the consideration of the matter with an impartial mind, from the point of view not only of justice but also of policy.

*MR. A. GRAHAM MURRAY said the division, both in the right hon. Gentleman's constituency and in his own, was almost equal.

MR. ASQUITH said that in that case both the right hon. Gentleman and himself could look at the matter apart altogether from any consideration of how it affected their constituents. It was agreed that so far as rating was concerned this was an entirely novel precedent, which was not dreamt of by the framers of the Bill in the course of their long deliberations on the subject, and which was not in the least degree supported by the precedent cited by the right hon. Gentleman of the basis on which grants were distributed. Being a member of the Liberal Party, he did not say it was any objection to a proposal that it was novel or had not been dreamt of before, but it did necessitate, especially in so well-worn a subject as that of rating, that it should be approached with a certain amount of suspicion. It was idle for the right hon. Gentleman to say that it was not a rating question. It was perfectly true that what the Committee were primarily considering was how the gross burden was to be apportioned between the different constituent members of the newly created areas, but the rating must depend upon how the apportionment was made, and the apportionment must necessarily lead to consequential changes in the incidence of the rating. He had not heard any sufficient argument to justify this entirely unprecedented change in the principles of the law of rating.

His next objection was still stronger. On the ground of policy he considered that this matter was pre-eminently one which ought not to be introduced into a Bill of the kind now before the Committee—a non-contentious measure not dealing primarily with rating at all—until the opinion of Scotland had been clearly ascertained. He had received more representations in relation to this Bill, and more arguments upon its various clauses, than had been the case in regard to any other Scotch measure which he could remember, and yet not one of them had any reference to this point. Scotland was satisfied with the system as it stood, and they had no idea that this revolutionary proposal was going to be made. As to the equity of the case, he agreed with his hon. friend behind him that population was not a fair criterion in this matter. A comparative congestion of population might be an indication not of wealth, but of poverty. They could not possibly argue from the fact that there was a larger number of human beings aggregated over a particular area than over a corresponding area, that the one community was better fitted to bear the burden than the other. On all these grounds, though he did not desire to impute to the right hon. Gentleman anything else than an honest attempt to deal equitably with a very difficult problem, he should oppose the Amendment.

*MR. MACONOCHIE (Aberdeenshire, E.) said he should support the Amendment, which, he understood, placed the burghs in no worse position than they were at present, and the counties in the position of not having their rates unduly raised. He hoped they would be able to take a division as early as possible otherwise he was afraid that they would not get as far with the Bill as they were expecting.

MR. EUGENE WASON (Clackmannan and Kinross) said that, like his right hon. friend the Member for East Fife, he had received a large number of communications in regard to this Bill, not one of which had any reference to this Amendment. He supported the Government most cordially in regard to their last Amendment, because he thought that this pooling of the debt was a right and proper thing to do. As to the present Amendment, he had not the remotest idea what its effects would be. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman would be able to give them some information as to how the Division he represented would be affected by this Amendment. If he knew exactly how it was going to work he should support it. This was the wrong time and place to endeavour to introduce this absolutely novel application of the principles of rating. He thought the Secretary for Scotland would do well to postpone the Amendment for the moment in order that the constituencies might be consulted as to its effect.

*CAPTAIN BALFOUR (Middlesex, Hornsey) said he was very much surprised to hear the hon. Member opposite state that this was a proposal which had never before been heard of in Scotland. He should have thought that anyone familiar with local government in Scotland would have known that the principle of this Amendment was not novel in Scotland, where it had frequently been adopted in regard to the erection of hospitals. When several districts combined for the erection of a common hospital they often did so upon the basis of this very principle which was now being proposed by the Secretary for Scotland. They were generally supposed to be business men in Scotland who knew how to manage local affairs. Agreements upon this principle were made between different districts in Scotland because it was found to be a fair and beneficial arrangement to all concerned.

*MR. McCRAE asked if the right hon. Gentleman could give him the figures as to the result which the working out of the plan of this Amendment would be likely to produce.

*MR. A. GRAHAM MURRAY said he was not prepared to give specific figures, but the general result of the Bill as the clause stood would be that the burgh rate would come down, and in the counties the rate would rise, and by the Amendment the result would be the same, but not to such a great extent. He did not think that he could usefully add anything to what he had said before upon this question, but he would like to point out that he had not introduced this proposal in order to launch his barque on some unknown sea of rating. What he had to do was to face a new problem which was not of his own creation, but which had been forced upon him by the form which the Bill had taken. He had got to apportion this burden somehow, and he had done it by the Amendment in a way that would make less disturbance from the existing state of matters than any other method which had been suggested. That was a part of his argument for this Amendment which the right hon. Gentleman the Member for East Fife failed to notice at all. He was under the impression that he had the honour of having the right hon. Gentleman as one of his auditors when he replied to this point before, and therefore he concluded that the right hon. Gentleman had ignored that point because he did not see any particular answer to it. Though there would be little difference in Fife, there would be more difference in the constituent units there. What they wished to do in making a new arrangement of this kind was to have as little disturbance as possible of the existing state of things. The ordinary ratepayer did not think of theories of taxation. What he thought of was the question—What is the school rate I have to pay? Under the arrangement proposed in this Amendment there would be less difference between the rate he would have to pay in future and the rate he paid at present than if they stuck to the proposal in the Bill. There would be no injustice under the proposal made on the Amendment, and it would cause less disturbance of the existing state of things. It was quite true that the county councils had met since. Among the many deputations which had waited on him was one from the County Councils' Association after the Amendment was put on the Paper, and they warmly supported the Amendment.

MR. CALDWELL said the Secretary for Scotland had looked upon this matter with the view of keeping to the existing state of things. He asked the Committee to recollect that a new area was to be created from the first. It was to be composed of eight or ten distinct parishes. Upon what principle was the school rate to be levied in that new area? They would necessarily levy the rate according to valuation so that every part of the area would bear its *quota* according to the extent of the valuation. What was the proposal, not in the Amendment but in the Bill? The proposal in the Bill was that before they began to subdivide the amount throughout the different local authorities they should first of all determine the amount which each of these parishes ought to bear. What was the amount which each parish ought to bear? Obviously valuation would be the principle upon which the assessment would be levied if the area were taken as one area alone. Why did this matter of subdivision come in here at all? It was simply owing to the fact that there were six or eight different parishes combined in the new area. It was proposed that these parishes should collect within their area the school rate in the same way as they were doing at present. In Scotland they had the anomaly that certain parishes had a classification—that was to say, certain deductions in some parishes and certain deductions in others. It would be seen, therefore, that if they were to assess the area as a whole everyone would be assessed equally according to his valuation. The Secretary for Scotland said, "Look at the existing state of things." That had nothing to do with the matter. The Government were creating a new area altogether for taxation purposes.

*MR. WEIR (Ross and Cromarty) said he was sorry the Secretary for Scotland had made the proposal in the Amendment now before the Committee. He had done his best to help the right hon. Gentleman to get the Bill through by keeping his mouth shut hitherto, but there was a time when one could no longer be silent. He could not believe that the right hon. Gentleman in his heart desired to have the whole of the Highland population cleared out. If that was his policy he could only say that he had been badly advised. The right hon. Gentleman should go up to Ross-shire and Inverness-shire, and see the vast tracts of land from which the people had been cleared out to make room for deer forests and sheep farms. He was sorry to find the right hon. Gentleman by his Amendment assisting the landlords in clearing the Highland people still further out of their native glens. The proposal of the right hon. Gntleman was a premium on depopulation. The Amendment of the right hon. Gentleman was applauded by the hon. Member for Kirkcudbrightshire, who said it did not affect the South; but it affected very seriously the North. The owners of deer forests, sheep farms, and salmon fisheries ought to bear the burden, and not the poor fishermen and crofters who had been crushed down to the edge of the sea. He had never heard of the Highland landlords bearing the whole education rate; their policy had been to keep down the rates as much as possible, and if the Amendment was carried they would do their utmost to clear the people out in order that they might escape their share of the burden for the education of the people. The Amendment would put an unjust burden on the poorest of the poor in the Highland crofting counties whose conditions of life were such as he had never witnessed in any part of the British Empire except India. He was much disappointed that the right hon. Gentleman should have adopted this course. He hoped the Secretary for Scotland would consider this matter in a spirit of generosity and justice to these poor people. The right hon. Gentleman must know that the people were quite unable to pay any further rates. They were too heavily burdened already.

*Mr. A. GRAHAM MURRAY said that the effect of the words would be to lower the rates in the very districts of which the hon. Member was speaking.

*Mr. WEIR said he listened very carefully to the right hon. Gentleman, and he distinctly understood him to state that the country districts would be more heavily burdened than at present, and that the taxation in the burghs would be lighter.

*Mr. A. GRAHAM MURRAY said it was quite the other way. Under the Bill as drafted the burden would be heavier in the counties than in the burghs, but the Amendment would operate in quite the other way.

*Mr. WEIR said he contended that the burden should be imposed on the landlords and the landlords only. An hon. Gentleman opposite suggested that hospitals are in some districts provided by the landlord; but that was purely voluntary. They might find a landlord who would not give a cent to a hospital, or another landlord who was so precious hard up that he would be unable to give anything, having lost his all at Ascot or Monte Carlo. The effect of the Bill would bear very seriously on the Highland districts; and he hoped the right hon. Gentleman would find some way out of the difficulty, and impose the whole of the education rate on the landlords, the owners of deer forests and salmon fisheries in the Highland crofting counties.

Mr. DALZIEL (Kirkcaldy Burghs) said he wished to ask whether it would be possible to move a further Amendment in the event of the present Amendment being accepted.

*The CHAIRMAN: It depends very much on what the Amendment is. It would not be possible to move to re-insert words which had been struck out. The words now proposed to be inserted, however, will be open to amendment.

Mr. DALZIEL said there would, no doubt, be other opportunities of speaking on the question. He only wished to say that the Amendment would bear more hardly on his constituency than, perhaps, on any other; and, therefore, he wished to protest against it. The Amendment had been brought forward so suddenly that it had been impossible for Members to consult their constituents. The Bill had been practically accepted on all sides as a non-contentious measure, which, however, would require a great deal of consideration. Now a question totally foreign to the Bill was introduced. There was no more troublesome question than the question of rating. It was settled in a certain way as the Bill was originally drafted, and there was no protest against it from any part of Scotland. Now the right hon. Gentleman, at the very last moment, dragged in this question, and wished to establish a precedent for the future. He thought the right hon. Gentleman would regret the responsibility of making the Bill a contentious measure. Hundreds of thousands of pounds had been spent in inquiries into the rating question; but there was not even a Minority Report in favour of the right hon. Gentleman's suggestion. He regretted that the right hon. Gentleman had made this important departure. It would not make it easier for him to get his Bill through; the whole weight of opinion in Scotland, so far as could be judged from the speeches in this Committee, were against it, and this was a matter which ought to affect Scotland alone, and for that reason he should vote against the Amendment.

Sir JAMES JOICEY (Durham, Chester-le-Street) said this Amendment introduced a principle which he thought was very important and which should not be settled without some discussion. It proposed to make a complete change in the method of assessing rates in Scotland. He was always told by his Scottish friends that what Scotch people did to-day England and Wales were expected to do to-morrow; and he could not help thinking that, if this principle were admitted in this Bill, it was quite possible they would shortly see it put into an English Bill. He agreed that the Amendment proposed to relieve the rating in country districts and put it upon burghs, because if they attempted to put the whole of the rating upon valuation as it had always been the custom to do, of course the same principle would be carried out in Scotland as existed in England at the present time; but they could not overlook the fact that already the agricultural interest had a special advantage in regard to rating, and he did think English Members should hesitate before they accepted the principle of the Amendment in the Scotch Bill. What was its effect with regard to Scotland? Supposing there was a large deer forest, of course if the rates were upon valuation alone the valuation of the deer forests would be extremely high; but, if half were put upon population, the actual rating of the deer forests would be reduced. He could not see any justice whatever in putting this principle in the Bill, and he thought the Secretary for Scotland in making such a vital change in the method of apportionment of the rates ought to have given more notice to the House so that the question could have been more fully considered. He protested against the principle being introduced, and he should vote against it.

Question put.

The Committee divided:—Ayes, 118; Noes, 169. (Division List No. 154.)

AYES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N.E.)
Abraham, William (Rhondda)
Ainsworth, John Stirling
Asher, Alexander
Ashton, Thomas Gair
Asquith,Rt.HonHerbertHenry
Atherley-Jones, L.
Barlow, John Emmott
Bignold, Arthur
Black, Alexander William
Boland, John
Bolton, Thomas Dolling
Brown, George M. (Edinburgh)
Bryce, Rt. Hon. James
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Burt, Thomas
Caldwell, James
Cameron, Robert
Campbell, John (Armagh, S.)
Campbell-Bannerman, Sir H.
Cawley, Frederick
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Corbett, A. Cameron (Glasgow)
Craig, Robert Hunter (Lanark)
Cremer, William Randal
Crombie, John William
Cross, Alexander (Glasgow)
Cullinan, J.
Davies, Alfred (Carmarthen)
Delany, William
Devlin, Chas. Ramsay (Galway
Devlin, Joseph (Kilkenny, N.)
Dobbie, Joseph
Donelan, Captain A.
Doogan, P. C.
Douglas, Charles M. (Lanark)
Duncan, J. Hastings
Dunn, Sir William
Edwards, Frank
Elibank, Master of
Ellice,CaptE.C(S.Andrw'sBghs
Eve, Harry Trelawney
Farquharson, Dr. Robert
Fenwick, Charles
Ferguson, R. C. Munro (Leith)
Field, William
Foster, Sir Walter (Derby Co.)
Gladstone,Rt.Hn.HerbertJohn
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Grey, Rt. Hon. Sir E.(Berwick)
Haldane, Rt. Hon. Richard B.
Hammond, John
Harmsworth, R. Leicester
Hayden, John Patrick
Hemphill, Rt. Hon. Charles H.
Hobhouse, C. E. H. (Bristol,E.)
Hope, John Deans (Fife, West)
Horniman, Frederick John
Joicey, Sir James
Jones William (Carnarvonshire
Joyce, Michael
Kennedy,Vincent P.(Cavan,W.
Kilbride, Denis
Labouchere, Henry
Law, Hugh Alex.(Donegal, W.)
Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cornwall)
Leamy, Edmund
Leigh, Sir Joseph
Leng, Sir John
Lloyd-George, David
Lough, Thomas
Lundon, W.
Macnamara, Dr. Thomas J.
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
M'Kenna, Reginald
M'Killop, W. (Sligo, North)
Morgan, J. Lloyd (Carmarthen)
Murnaghan, George
Murphy, John
Nannetti, Joseph P.
Nolan,Col. John P. (Galway,N.
O'Brien, James F. X. (Cork)
O'Brien,Kendal(Tipperary,Mid
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Brien, P. J. (Tipperary, N.)
O'Connor,James (Wicklow,W.)
O'Malley, William
O'Shee, James John
Partington, Oswald
Pirie, Duncan V.
Power, Patrick Joseph
Reddy, M.
Redmond, John E.(Waterford)
Reid.Sir R. Threshie (Dumfries
Rigg, Richard
Roberts, John Bryn (Eifion)
Runciman, Walter
Russell, T. W.
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Schwann, Charles E.
Shaw, Thomas (Hawick B.)
Sheehy, David
Sinclair, John (Forfarshire)
Soares, Ernest J.
Spencer,Rt.Hn.C.R(Northants
Sullivan, Donal
Thomas,Abel (Carmarthen, E.)
Thomas,DavidAlfred (Merthyr)
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Walton,John Lawson (Leeds,S.
Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan)
Wason, Jn. Cathcart (Orkney)
Weir, James Galloway
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
Wilson, Henry J. (York,W.R.)
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid.)
Wilson. John (Falkirk)
Young, Samuel

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Mr. M'Crae and Mr. Dalziel.

NOES.

Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arrol, Sir William
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Aubrey-Fletcher,Rt.Hon.SirH.
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour, Rt.Hon.A.J. (Manch'r
Balfour, Capt. C. B. (Hornsey)
Balfour,Rt HnGeraldW.(Leeds
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Bhownaggree, Sir M. M.
Bigwood, James
Blundell, Colonel Henry

Boscawen, Arthur Griffith
Brassey, Albert
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Brotherton, Edward Allen
Bull, William James
Butcher, John George
Campbell, Rt. HnJ.A.(Glasgow)
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Cavendish, V.C.W.(Derbyshire
Cayzer, Sir Charles William
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Cecil, Lord Hugh (Greenwich)
Chamberlain, Rt.Hn.J.A(Worc
Chamberlayne, T. (S'thampton
Chapman, Edward
Charrington, Spencer
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Coghill, Douglas Harry
Collings, Rt. Hon. Jesse
Cook, Sir Frederick Lucas
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Dalkeith, Earl of
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Davenport, William Bromley
Davies, Sir HoratioD.(Chatham
Denny, Colonel
Dickson, Charles Scott
Digby, John K. D. Wingfield-
Dorington, Rt. Hon.SirJohnE.
Doughty, George
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers
Elliot, Hon. A. Ralph Douglas
Fergusson, Rt. Hn. Sir J.(Manc'r
Fielden, Edward Brocklehurst
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
Fisher, William Hayes
FitzGerald, Sir Robert Penrose-
Forster, Henry William
Foster, P. S. (Warwick, S.W.)
Galloway, William Johnson
Gardner, Ernest
Gordon, Hn.J.E.(Elgin&Nairn)
Gore, HnG.R. C.Ormsby-(Salop
Gorst, Rt. Hon. Sir John Eldon
Goschen, Hon. George Joachim
Hardy, L. (Kent, Ashford)
Harris, F. Leverton (Tynem'th
Haslam, Sir Alfred S.
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Heath, ArthurHoward(Hanley)
Heath, James (Staffords., N.W.
Henderson, Sir A.(Stafford, W.
Hermon-Hodge, Sir Robert T.
Hogg, Lindsay
Hope, J.F.(Sheffield, Brightside
Hornby, Sir William Henry
Hozier, Hn. James Henry Cecil
Hunt, Rowland
Jebb, Sir Richard Claverhouse
Jeffreys, Rt. Hon. Arthur Fred.
Kenyon-Slaney, Col. W.(Salop
Kerr, John
King, Sir Henry Seymour
Knowles, Sir Lees
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow.
Lawson, Jn. G. (Yorks., N. R.)
Lee, A. H. (Hants., Fareham)
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Leveson-Gower, Frederick N.S.
Lockwood, Lieut.-Col. A. R.
Loder, Gerald Walter Erskine
Long, Rt. Hon. W. (Bristol, S.)
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas, ReginaldJ.(Portsmouth)
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
Macdona, John Cumming
Maconochie, A. W.
M'Arthur, Charles (Liverpool)
M'Iver, Sir Lewis(Edinburgh, W
M'Killop, James (Stirlingshire)
Maxwell, W. J. H. (Dumfriessh.
Middlemore, JohnThrogmorton
Milner, Rt. Hon. SirFrederickG.
Montagu, Hon. J. Scott(Hants.)
Morgan, DavidJ.(Walthamstow
Morpeth, Viscount
Morrell, George Herbert
Morton, Arthur H. Aylmer
Mount, William Arthur
Mowbray, Sir Robert Gray C.
Muntz, Sir Philip A.
Murray, Rt. Hon. A. G. (Bute)
Murray, Col. Wyndham (Bath)
Myers, William Henry
Parker, Sir Gilbert
Peel, Hn. Wm. Robert Wellesley
Pemberton, John S. G.
Percy, Earl
Pierpoint, Robert
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Plummer, Walter R.
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Quilter, Sir Cuthbert
Randles, John S.
Rankin, Sir James
Ratcliff, R. F.
Renshaw, Sir Charles Bine
Renwick, George
Ridley, S.Forde(Bethnal Green
Ritchie, Rt Hon. Chas. Thomson
Roberts, Samuel (Sheffield)
Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
Round, Rt. Hon. James
Royds, Clement Molyneux
Rutherford, John (Lancashire)
Rutherford, W. W. (Liverpool)
Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford
Seely, Charles Hilton (Lincoln)
Sharpe, William Edward T.
Skewes-Cox, Thomas
Sloan, Thomas Henry
Smith, H.C.(North'mbTyneside
Smith, James Parker(Lanarks.)
Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
Spear, John Ward
Stanley, Hn. Arthur (Ormskirk
Stanley, Rt. Hon. Lord (Lancs.
Stewart, Sir Mark J. M'Taggart
Stirling-Maxwell, Sir John M.
Stock, James Henry
Stone, Sir Benjamin
Stroyan, John
Strutt, Hon. Charles Hedley
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Talbot, RtHn.J.G.(Oxf'd Univ.
Taylor, Austin (East Toxteth)
Thorburn, Sir Walter
Tritton, Charles Ernest
Tufnell, Lieut-Col. Edward
Tuke, Sir John Batty
Walrond, Rt.Hn.Sir WilliamH.
Warde, Colonel C. E.
Webb, Colonel William George
Welby, Lt.-Col.A.C.E.(Taunton
Welby, Sir Charles G. E. (Notts
Whitmore, Charles Algernon
Wilson, John (Glasgow)
Wolff, Gustav Wilhelm
Worsley-Taylor, Henry Wilson
Wortley, Rt. Hn. C. B. Stuart
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Sir Alexander Acland - Hood and Viscount Valentia.

And, it being after half-past Seven of the clock, the Chairman left the Chair to make his Report to the House.

Committee report Progess; to sit again this evening.

EVENING SITTING.

LEITH CORPORATION TRAMWAYS ORDER CONFIRMATION BILL (BY ORDER.)

Motion to refer to Joint Committee.

MR. KERR (Preston) formally moved, under Section 9 of the Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899, that the Leith Corporation Tramways Order Confirmation Bill be referred to a Joint Committee of Lords and Commons.

SIR LEWIS McIVER (Edinburgh, W.) said as his hon. friend who had moved this Motion, being pecuniarily interested in this matter, could neither speak nor take part in the division upon this Question, the duty of explaining the reason for this Motion being made devolved upon him. The simplest course would perhaps be to state the facts upon which the

Motion was made. The system of tramways running between Edinburgh and Leith had been worked for some time by the Edinburgh Tramways Company, who leased the lines from the Edinburgh Corporation. The Tramways Company were under a Parliamentary obligation to run an omnibus in connection with their tramway between two points, a point in Edinburgh to a point in Leith. The Leith Corporation had recently embarked on a system of electric trams, and the Order was now before the House for confirmation. When the local inquiry was held the Edinburgh Tramways Company applied to be heard on the ground that they thought they would be damnified by certain provisions of the Bill, one of their greatest objections being that the new tramways would compete with the line of omnibuses which they were compelled to run under the statute. Being compelled to run these omnibuses by Parliament, they thought they ought to be protected against unfair competition. The speed at which the electric trams would run would be twice that which the omnibuses could attain, and the journey would be made in half the time, and the result, in the opinion of the Edinburgh Tramways Company, would be that the already bad business done by the omnibuses would be rendered far worse. The Edinburgh Tramways Company were not anxious in any way to oppose the preamble of this Bill. They merely wished to be heard, in order that they might be released from their Parliamentary obligations to run these omnibuses, which, in the face of electric tramways, had become obsolete. They contended that the Parliamentary agreement under which they ran this line entitled them to a hearing, but being refused a *locus* by the Commissioners this application was made to this House. That was the real ground for this Motion. In the House of Commons the question of *locus* was officially disposed of by the Court of Referees; in the House of Lords it was disposed of by five members of the Committee, but in all cases it was treated as a formal question and adjudicated on. In this case the Chairman of the Commission merely said he did not think they were entitled to a *locus*. The only possible objection to granting this Motion was that it might inaugurate a system of appeals from the Scottish local tribunal. If he thought such a thing was ever likely to be the case he should have hesitated to have supported this Petition, but so far from that being the case no appeal could arise on the facts. He could not conceive a clearer case of where persons had a right to be heard and he submitted that as Parliament compelled them to run these omnibuses they had a *primâ facie* case for a *locus standi*. That was the sole reason why this Petition had been brought. There was no other procedure of which he was aware which would have enabled them to obtain an authoritative decision on the question, and therefore they were compelled to come to the House in this way. He begged to second.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Leith Corporation Tramways Order Confirmation Bill be referred to a Joint Committee of Lords and Commons."—(*Mr. Kerr.*)

MR. MUNRO FERGUSON (Leith Burghs) said this petition raised a point which was quite new in respect to the Act, and of considerable importance. He would venture to submit four reasons against this Motion. First, the Motion was against the letter and spirit of the 1899 Act; secondly, it threatened public rights under the Act by elimination, an essential provision, by encouraging appeals; thirdly, it was wholly unnecessary as regarded Leith; and fourthly, it would impose on Parliament a burden which the Act of 1899 sought to remove, and it would lower the *status* of local inquiries if appeals were allowed as regarded *locus standi*. The question of general interest under this Bill was a national question. The Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act of 1899 was not a very ambitious Act, but it did impose on the Commissioners holding local inquiries the duty of determining a *locus*. The Act said that the Commissioners should hear and determine any question of *locus standi*, and in this case the question of the *locus standi* was heard at considerable length, and it was stated that all the formalities were not gone through, at all events, the Chairman expressed the opinion that he did not see the lessees had any *locus* *standi* because of the omnibuses. If the city of Edinburgh, the lessors, were satisfied their lessees should be satisfied also. It certainly seemed rather hard that because a decision was given in a way which did not commend itself to everybody that the Corporation of Leith should be put to the expense and Parliament to the trouble of having another inquiry here. The Petition on which this Amendment was based demanded an amendment of the Act of 1899, because if such a plea as was in contemplation under this Petition was successful it would set a precedent, and there would be any number of appeals. It was difficult enough now to get Members to attend these local inquiries owing to the procedure adopted, but it would be infinitely more difficult to get Members to attend them in the future if they knew that appeals would be allowed on such matters as *locus standi.* The object of the original Act was to promote efficiency and economy and to relieve Parliament of a burden. All those objects would be largely defeated if this Motion were to be adopted by the House. The local question, which had been resurrected from the local inquiry, had been very well described by the hon. Baronet opposite, and he need not deal with that. The Corporation of Edinburgh, from whom the company leased those tramways, were quite content, and if the company thought they had a grievance that was a matter entirely between them and their lessor, the corporation. What Leith complained of was that by a side issue this tramway company had tried to get rid of their obligation to run these omnibuses without attempting to come to a fair agreement with the corporation. The cost of meeting this Petition alone was considerable, but he thought it would be well spent if it hindered the creation of, in his opinion, an exceedingly vicious precedent.

Mr. PARKER SMITH (Lanarkshire, Partick) felt that it would not be out of place if those who represented the Court of Referees interested in Scotch Bills said a word upon this question. He approached its consideration from a point of view entirely independent of any local circumstance. The principle of this Petition was to admit the principle of a rehearing before this House. The scheme of the Legislation Procedure Act of 1899 was in the first place to have a hearing in Scotland. But it was not the intention of the Act to be finally satisfied with that hearing. The hon. Gentleman had complained of the evil effect that would be produced from a double hearing, but, after all, if there was a double hearing it only put them in the position under which they were before the Act of 1899 was passed. The position taken up by hon. Members on the occasion of a Bill coming up on its merits was that, as a matter of right, a petitioner had the same right to be heard before a Joint Committee as he had to be heard before the House. The House did not take that view, but expressed the opinion that a case ought to be made on the merits before application to be heard in this House was granted. But it would be going a step beyond anything that had even been done if the House were to decide in a case, not where a man had been heard, and his Petition rejected, upon the merits but where the Petition had been set aside altogether and denied a *locus*, that he should be denied the opportunity of coming and asking this House for a *locus*. It was perfectly well known that the House of Commons did consider competition an adequate ground for giving a *locus*. They had cases before them continually, some where the competition was so small that the question was whether the competition was sufficient to give a petitioner a *locus*, and others in which people petitioned on the ground of competition, and the competition was so strong that their Petition was not contested. In all these cases they had to consider how serious the competition was, and if the competition was of a mere imaginary or trifling nature then the hearing was not granted. So far as he could judge from the facts brought before the House, there was a substantial case of competition, and one which would justify the petitioners in coming to this House for a *locus*. It would be a very unsatisfactory result if this Petition was rejected, as a feeling would get abroad that people did not get a fair hearing even before this tribunal. The House should be very careful that those who had rights which they could maintain against anything but an Act of

Parliament, should be heard when anything took place which affected those rights. He thought the weight of probable advantage would be most distinctly in favour of allowing the petitioners an opportunity of being heard.

SIR ROBERT REID (Dumfries Burghs) did not consider that the case was of such a character as to justify a rehearing. He thought the sense of the House would be to refuse a rehearing except in very exceptional cases. The question they had now to consider was whether this was an exceptional case. Was it so exceptional that they ought to interfere? The proposal was that when a tramway Bill was being authorised which everybody desired, the matter should be reheard simply because somebody wished to get rid of a contractual obligation to the Leith Corporation. The Leith Corporation itself did not want to get rid of this obligation. Because the *locus standi* had been adjudged against the tramways the House was being asked that every one of these concerns, for which he cared nothing, should be allowed a rehearing because somebody wanted to get rid of their obligation to run an omnibus service after having failed to get rid of that obligation with the persons with whom they were bound to run that service. He gave the Government every credit for having passed the Bill dealing with private Bill legislation in Scotland, and he hoped they would not allow the main object of that Bill to be frustrated by permitting a rehearing in a case of this kind.

*MR. WORSLEY-TAYLOR (Lancashire, Blackpool) thought there was a *primâ facie* claim to a *locus standi*, though he did not suggest that the petitioners, if allowed to be heard, would persuade the Committee that their case was right. The 9th Section of the Scotch Act provided that a Motion might be made that a Bill might be referred to a Joint Committee which might determine any question of *locus standi*. If that Committee decided that they were entitled to *locus*, then they would be heard; but if they came to an opposite decision then the petitioners would not be heard. The hon. Member for Leith had put this matter upon the broad ground that there ought to be no appeals in cases of this kind, otherwise they would not be able to get Members to serve in Scotland.

MR. MUNRO FERGUSON explained that what he said was that it would aggravate the difficulty of getting Members to serve if their authority was diminished, because their authority under the Act of 1899 in regard to local inquiries enabled them to decide the point of *locus standi*.

*MR. WORSLEY-TAYLOR said that under Section 9 a Motion might be made to refer to a Joint Committee, who also were to decide questions of *locus standi*, and he failed to see how that authority would be diminished. How could the authority of a Committee of this House be diminished by the fact that there was a right of appeal to a Committee of the other House? They did not find hon. Members objecting because their decisions upon various questions were subject to review in another place. He thought this was one of those cases which showed very strongly that the provision that there should only be a right of appeal by leave of the House was a very unfortunate one. For many years the House had relegated these questions of *locus standi* to the Court of Referees. Now the House was forced to discuss a question which in an ordinary Bill would be taken away and would be decided by the Court of Referees, which afforded every opportunity for the discussion of details and the studying of the maps which were so essential in matters of this kind, and with every possibility of dealing with them in a satisfactory way. Under the present procedure they were obliged to decide this matter in the House without any of those facilities. It had been suggested that in this case there were no *primâ facie* grounds of *locus* but according to the practice of that Court he thought this was such a case as would give the petitioners a right to be heard. Briefly the circumstances were these: The petitioners were bound to run a certain omnibus service upon a definite route settled by Act of Parliament. So long as matters continued as at present they had no ground of complaint. But this Bill sought to introduce a new set of circumstances, and the question now arose whether they should or should not now be allowed to state their case. They contended that they were now running that service at a loss. One provision of this Bill was that the Corporation of Leith with the rates at their back might run omnibus services. That meant that the corporation might run, with the aid of the rates, another omnibus service in competition with these people, who were under a statutory obligation to continue to run a service upon which they were now losing money. Now if the corporation elected to run a service in competition it was perfectly clear that they were in a position to practically ruin them. Under this Bill the corporation might build new tramways, which he was told were to be run in competition with the new service. If that were so, then what would happen would be that the Corporation of Leith, with the rates at their back, might put down trams also in direct competition with them.

MR. MUNRO FERGUSON: The hon. Member is quite misinformed upon that point.

*MR. WORSLEY-TAYLOR said this Bill practically meant that the corporation could run any service they liked for the limitation in the Bill did not seem a very real one. They might run an electric service, and although that service might not run along the same streets as this omnibus service, it might still be a very effective form of competition, because it might be quicker though more circuitous, and, as they would have the rates at their back they might charge half the fares charged by the petitioners. He agreed that the petition was not altogether an artistic one, and did not state in terms the word "competition," but competition was at the root of this Petition, and was a necessary implication from its statements, and the result of his experience was that if this were a matter for decision by the Court of Referees he ventured to say that the application for *locus* ought to be granted. He hoped, therefore, that the Petitioners would be allowed to state their case again for a hearing.

MR. DALZIEL (Kirkcaldy Burghs) said there was one thing which had been made quite clear by this Motion, and that was that the question raised by it was a much broader one than appeared on the face of it. When the Private Procedure Bill for Scotland was passed the main idea before the House was that only on very rare occasions would there be an appeal to the House of Commons. There was no doubt that if they were to reconsider the decisions of the Commissioners in Scotland in the House of Commons with regard to *locus standi* the Bill introduced by the right hon. Gentleman dealing with this kind of legislation would no longer serve its purpose. They had a peculiar set of circumstances to consider in regard to this Bill. The Motion was moved by the hon. Member opposite, who was one of the principal parties concerned in this particular matter, and who was one of the principal shareholders in the tramways they were now considering. He doubted the wisdom of the hon. Member opposite, who was a member of the Court of Referees, coming before the House of Commons and stating what that Court would do under certain circumstances. He did not think that it was any part of the House of Commons to sit in judgment upon decisions which had been arrived at in Scotland. The House had not the maps before it, nor had hon. Members the advantage of hearing counsel on both sides, and that was the whole point. The Commissioners in Scotland had had the evidence before them and they had carefully weighed that evidence. They had carefully considered whether a case had been made out for a *locus standi* and they had come to the conclusion that a case had not been made out. It seemed to him that, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, and unless some stronger reasons were given, he had no alternative but to support the action of the Commissioners upon this question. Edinburgh was not opposed to the Bill, and therefore they had to look at the merits of the measure itself and the precedent that would be set up if they took the course which had been suggested by the hon. Member opposite. There were many persons in Scotland who regretted that the Private Procedure Bill was passed, and once the House of Commons sanctioned an appeal on such a small matter as this they would have a large number of applications for a similar privilege, and the whole machinery of the Private Bill Procedure Act would be useless, for they would be discussing over again in the House the very questions which that Bill was passed to avoid. He did not think that a case had been made out for passing a vote of censure on the action of the Commissioners in Scotland in regard to this matter. The Act stated that the Commissioners could decide the question of *locus standi.* [An HON. MEMBER: Subject to rehearing.] But that provision was contained in another part of the Bill. It was very doubtful whether it was ever contemplated that there should be an appeal upon a question of *locus standi.* By passing this Bill they would be simply censuring their own representatives in Scotland, and the effect would be that they would not be able to get men to go to Edinburgh to give evidence and consider these questions, if their decisions were going to be reconsidered, and probably reversed, in the House of Commons. By such a course the Commissioners would lose their dignity, for they would be threatened all the time they were considering these cases with appeals from their decisions. He submitted that a case had not been made out for this Motion.

*THE SECRETARY FOR SCOTLAND (MR. A. GRAHAM MURRAY, Buteshire) said that he was rather unwilling to take part in this debate, but in his position as the Minister responsible for these Orders he did not think it would be right if he did not tell the House how this matter struck him. He could not say that the case was an easy one to decide, and certainly he should not attempt to direct the House in the matter. He did not wish to dogmatise in this matter, but, on the other hand, it would not be fair to all the parties concerned if he did not state his views. He did not think it was necessary for him to go into the history of this clause or to discuss how it came to be inserted in the Bill. The original Bill gave a right of appeal. The clause in the Act stated that—

> "If before the expiration of seven days a Petition be presented it shall be lawful for any Member to give notice that he intends to move, and if such Motion is carried, then the question shall be referred to the Joint Committee to hear and determine any question of *locus standi.*"

The House would see that there was an appeal provided for in certain cases, but the Act did not give an indication as to what those cases were. He thought the view of the House was that unless a clear case was made out—something equivalent to a perversion of justice—the House was not anxious to rehear a case. He was bound to say that he thought the *locus standi* in this case was wrongly refused. In view of all the circumstances of the case, in his judgment the preferable course would be to give the party who had been refused a *locus* an opportunity of showing before a Joint Committee that it had been wrongly refused. If he had no *locus,* he would be turned out at once. If, on the other hand, he had a *locus,* it was obvious that he would have suffered an injustice if he had not had an opportunity of putting his case before the Commission. In his opinion, it was not a case for the Government to interfere, but as an individual he should support the rehearing of a case for *locus standi.*

Question put.

The House divided:—Ayes, 103; Noes, 83. (Division List No. 155.)

AYES.

Acland-Hood, Capt. Sir Alex. F.
Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arrol, Sir William
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Aubrey-Fletcher, Rt. Hon. Sir H.
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour, Rt Hn. Gerald W. (Leeds
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Bhownaggree, Sir M.M.
Bignold, Arthur
Bigwood, James
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Boscawen, Arthur Griffith
Brassey, Albert
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Cavendish, V.C.W.(Derbyshire
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Chapman, Edward
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Collings, Rt. Hon. Jesse
Cook, Sir Frederick Lucas
Corbett, A. Cameron (Glasgow)
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Cross, Alexander (Glasgow)
Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Dalkeith, Earl of
Denny, Colonel
Dewar, John A. (Inverness-sh.
Dickson, Charles Scott
Doughty, George
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers
Elliot, Hon. A. Ralph Douglas
Fielden, Edward Brocklehurst
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
Forster, Henry William
Foster, Philip S. (Warwick, S. W.
Gardner, Ernest
Gordon, Hn. J. E. (Elgin & Nairn)
Haslett, Sir James Horner
Hay, Hon. Claude George

Heath, Arthur Howard (Hanley
Henderson, Sir A. (Stafford, W.)
Hermon-Hodge, Sir Robert T.
Hope, J.F. (Sheffield, Brightside
Hope, John Deans (Fife, West)
Hunt, Rowland
Hutton, John (Yorks, N.R.)
Jebb, Sir Richard Claverhouse
Kenyon-Slaney, Col. W. (Salop.
King, Sir Henry Seymour
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
Lawson, John Grant (Yorks, N.R
Lee, Arthur H. (Hants., Fareham
Leveson-Gower, Frederick N.S.
Lockwood, Lieut.-Col. A. R.
Loder, Gerald Walter Erskine
Long, Rt. Hn. Walter (Bristol, S)
Lowther, Rt Hn. J W (Cum. Penr.
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Macdona, John Cumming
M'Arthur, Charles (Liverpool)
M'Killop, James (Stirlingshire)
Maxwell, W.J.H (Dumfriesshire
Middlemore, John Throgmorton
Milvain, Thomas
Morgan, David J. (Walthamstow
Mount, William Arthur
Murray, Rt Hn. A. Graham (Bute
Myers, William Henry
Percy, Earl
Plummer, Walter R.
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Randles, John S.
Renshaw, Sir Charles Bine
Renwick, George
Roberts, Samuel (Sheffield)
Russell, T. W.
Rutherford, W. W. (Liverpool)
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Skewes-Cox, Thomas
Smith, H.C. (North'mb. Tyneside
Smith, James Parker (Lanarks.)
Spear, John Ward
Stanley, Hon. Arthur (Ormskirk
Stanley, Rt. Hon. Lord (Lancs.)
Stirling-Maxwell, Sir John M.
Stroyan, John
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Thorburn, Sir Walter
Tollemache, Henry James
Tuke, Sir John Batty
Valentia, Viscount
Walrond, Rt. Hn. Sir William H.
Warde, Colonel C. E.
Webb, Colonel William George
Welby, Lt.-Col. A. C. E. (Taunton
Wilson-Todd, Sir W.H. (Yorks.)

TELLERS FOR THE AYES — Sir Lewis M'Iver and Mr. Worsley-Taylor.

NOES.

Asher, Alexander
Barlow, John Emmott
Bayley, Thomas (Derbyshire)
Bell, Richard
Black, Alexander William
Boland, John
Brown, George M. (Edinburgh)
Bryce, Rt. Hon. James
Burt, Thomas
Caldwell, James
Cameron, Robert
Campbell, John (Armagh, S.)
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Craig, Robert Hunter (Lanark)
Cremer, William Randal
Crombie, John William
Cullinan, J.
Davies, Alfred (Carmarthen)
Delany, William
Devlin, Charles Ramsay (Galway
Devlin, Joseph (Kilkenny, N.)
Dobbie, Joseph
Donelan, Captain A.
Doogan, P. C.
Edwards, Frank
Eve, Harry Trelawney
Farquharson, Dr. Robert
Fenwick, Charles
Foster, Sir Walter (Derby Co.)
Gilhooly, James
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Gorst, Rt. Hon. Sir John Eldon
Hammond, John
Harmsworth, R. Leicester
Hayden, John Patrick
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Horniman, Frederick John
Jeffreys, Rt. Hon. Arthur Fred.
Jones, William (Carnarvonshire
Joyce, Michael
Kilbride, Denis
Law, Hugh Alex. (Donegal, W.)
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Leamy, Edmund
Leese, Sir Joseph F. (Accrington
Leigh, Sir Joseph
Leng, Sir John
Lundon, W.
Macnamara, Dr. Thomas J.
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
M'Crae, George
M'Killop, W. (Sligo, North)
Morgan, J. Lloyd (Carmarthen
Morley, Rt. Hon. John (Montrose
Murnaghan, George
Murphy, John
Nannetti, Joseph P.
O'Brien, Kendal (Tipperary Mid
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Connor, James (Wicklow, W.)
O'Malley, William
O'Shee, James John
Partington, Oswald
Pirie, Duncan V.
Power, Patrick Joseph
Reddy, M.
Redmond, John E. (Waterford
Reid, Sir R. Threshie (Dumfries
Rigg, Richard
Roberts, John Bryn (Eifion)
Samuel, S. M. (Whitechapel)
Seely, Maj. J. E. B. (Isle of Wight
Sheehy, David
Sinclair, John (Forfarshire)
Slack, John Bamford
Spencer, Rt. Hn. C.R. (Northants
Sullivan, Donal
Tennant, Harold John
Thomas, David Alfred (Merthyr)
Warner, Thomas Courtenay T.
Wason, John Cathcart (Orkney)
Weir, James Galloway
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
Wilson, Henry J. (York. W.R.)
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid.)
Wilson, John (Falkirk)
Woodhouse, Sir J.T. (Hudd'rsf'd
Young, Samuel

TELLERS FOR THE NOES— Mr. Munro Ferguson and Mr. Dalziel.

Ordered, That a Message be sent to the Lords to communicate this Resolution, and desire their concurrence.

EDUCATION (SCOTLAND) BILL.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[Mr. J. W. LOWTHER (Cumberland, Penrith) in the Chair.]

Clause 25.

Amendment again proposed—

"In lieu of the words omitted in page 11, line 1, at commencement, to insert the words 'In the case of an enumerated district according to their respective valuations in the valuation roll last available, and in all other cases one-half according to their respective populations as ascertained at the last preceding census, and one-half according to their respective valuations in the valuation roll last available; provided that in the case of portions of parishes the populations shall be taken as may be agreed upon between the school board and the parish council, or failing agreement as may be determined by the Secretary for Scotland.'"—(*Mr. A. Graham Murray.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

DR. MACNAMARA (Camberwell, N.) moved to amend the Secretary for Scotland's Amendment to Clause 25, by substituting one-fourth for one-half as the rate in respect of population. Broadly, he submitted that the effect of the right hon. Gentleman's Amendment would be to put heavier rates on the densely-peopled parts and lower rates on the sparsely-peopled parts, or in other words, to mitigate the incidence of the rate upon landed property. He thought they ought to stick to the old method of levying the rate upon the rateable value. The effect of this proposal made by the Government would be, in his opinion, to make the rate heavier in the rural areas, although he agreed that they would get the benefit of a better system of administration. Because he could not get any satisfactory statistical information as to what this great revolution meant in regard to the incidence of taxation in Scotland, he was bound to oppose this Amendment. He begged to move.

Amendment proposed to the proposed Amendment—

"To leave out the first words 'one-half,' and insert the words 'one-fourth.'"—(*Dr. Macnamara.*)

Question proposed, "That the words 'one-half' stand part of the proposed Amendment."

***MR. McCRAE** (Edinburgh, E.) pressed the Secretary for Scotland to give the *data* upon which he had made up his mind that the method of assessment he proposed was a fair one. He thought they ought to know exactly which counties were to be benefited by this proposal, and what would be the result of it. It was only fair that the Secretary for Scotland, in making this proposal, should place before the House the information, which he no doubt possessed, upon which he made this proposal. The right hon. Gentleman had told them that he was not able to give them definite figures, but surely he must have had some kind of statistical information to convince him that this was an improvement upon the method of rating now in force. He respectfully asked the Secretary for Scotland to give the House that information, so that they might be in a position to decide what was a fair proportion to take between population and valuation.

***THE SECRETARY FOR SCOTLAND** (Mr. A. GRAHAM MURRAY, Buteshire) said he could only repeat that the effect of the Amendment would be to mitigate the extent to which rural districts would suffer and burghs gain under the method of assessment upon valuation alone. When they put together a number of districts, say A, B, C, D, and E, the result, of course, was that the rate became an average rate. Roughly speaking, he thought it would be found that the high rate was the burgh rate and the low one the rural rate.

***MR. McCRAE** said the right hon. Gentleman appeared to have misunderstood the position. His point was not as to what would be the effect of this proposal as compared with the existing method, but he wanted to know its effect as compared with the assessment of the new rate on the old basis of valuation under the Bill. That point had been entirely ignored by the right hon. Gentleman. They wanted to know the result of the change taking assessment and valuation and comparing it with the process which for the first time to-day they were being asked to pass into law.

MR. BRYCE (Aberdeen, S.) said the Secretary for Scotland had argued this case as if this new principle, now being introduced for the first time, was going to be confined to the present Bill. Once they introduced this principle it might be made a precedent hereafter, and therefore they were bound to scrutinise it very closely and consider what its effect would be if applied more generally. Therefore he thought the demand that there should be some further *data* given to the House before they adopted this somewhat novel departure was a reasonable one.

MR. WHITLEY (Halifax) said as this question did not involve any difficult Scotch pronunciation he might, as an English Member, be justified in intervening in the discussion. He had had brought to his notice some very great injustices which were due to inequalities in rateable value. He had followed this discussion with very great interest, and he merely wished to put to the Secretary for Scotland a hypothetical case which he thought would give the House some guidance in the matter. Putting aside the question as between town and country, supposing you had two parishes in a certain district of equal valuation, each valued at £10,000, one with a population of 100 and the other 500. In the one case deer forest or sport might be keeping the population at a minimum, while in the other the owner might be encouraging as many people as possible to live upon the land. Would it be the case under the present proposal of the Government that the parish which encouraged the use and development of the land and a larger number of inhabitants would be mulcted in favour of the parish with equal rateable value, but with a smaller population? Obviously, without considering the mere rights and wrongs between one policy and another, this proposal did affect a great principle of public policy, and this House ought not to adopt a system of rating which encouraged a single owner to discourage the cultivation of the land, and which penalised the individual who encouraged the development of population and the cultivation of the soil in agricultural districts. That would be the obvious effect of the proposal put forward by the Government, and unless the Secretary for Scotland could convince him that that was not the case he should certainly oppose this proposal.

*SIR CHARLES RENSHAW (Renfrew, W.) said that, with the permission of the Committee, he would take an actual case in each one of the four districts of a county. In number 1 (Dundee) district of the county of Forfar the valuation was £338,671 and the product of a penny rate on the assessable rental was £352 10s. The population was 23,736. The valuation of the burghal area was £145,122 and of the landward area £193,549, so that if the assessment were levied on that basis the amount raised in the former would be £151 0s. 11½d., and in the latter £201 9s. 0½d. If the assessment were calculated on the basis of population, the burghal area would contribute £187 7s. 9d., and the landward area £165 2s. 3d. In number 2 (Forfar) district the population was 27,322 and the total valuation was £323,537, giving a product on a penny rate of £336 10s., of which on the basis of valuation the burghal area would contribute £115 14s. 10½d., and the landward area £220 15s. 1½d., while on the basis of population the contribution of the former would be £190 16s. 3d. and of the latter £145 13s. 9d. In number 3 (Brechin) district the population was 33,851 and the total valuation was £390,952, giving a product of £407, of which on the basis of valuation the burghal area would contribute £178 2s. 11d. and the landward area £228 17s. 1d., while on the basis of population the former would contribute £256 12s. and the latter £150 8s. In number 4 (Montrose) district the population was 36,508 and the total valuation was £359,212, giving a product of £373 10s., of which the burghal area on the basis of valuation would contribute £237 3s. 10d. and the landward area would contribute £136 6s. 2d., while on the basis of population the former would contribute £283 18s. and the latter £89 12s. The proportion in the last mentioned case, if divided half and half, would be that the burghal area would raise £521 1s. 10d. and the landward area £225 18s. 2d. That was the only case out of the four in Forfarshire in which owing to the peculiar proportion of the burghal and the landward districts the proposal would work in that way. In the other three districts it would work in the direction of equalisation. His right hon. friend was perfectly right in saying that unless something of this kind were put in the Bill, in those counties which were largely burghal and rural in their character they would put an enormous additional charge on the rural population, while they would relieve the burghs to a very considerable extent. The result of that would be a rankling feeling of injury on the part of the rural population. He appealed to the Committee to allow the matter to be dealt with in the way suggested.

*MR. A. GRAHAM MURRAY said he was going to make an appeal to the Committee of another kind. It was perfectly clear that if they went on discussing this clause they would make no progress with the Bill. He could assure the Committee that he did not put the clause down with any Macchiavellian intentions, but simply to do what he best could to try and conciliate the various interests that he thought were affected by the Bill. He wanted to make the Committee this offer. If they would allow the clause to pass, he would give them the promise to recommit the Bill on Report in respect of this clause. It would be perfectly understood that, in allowing the clause to pass now, hon. Members were not committing themselves at all to the principle of the clause. By that time they would have had ample opportunity of looking into the figures, and, for himself, he would say frankly that if he found that the clause was provocative of injustice instead of justice he should reconsider the situation. At present he did not think that it was. In regard to what fell from the right hon. Member for Aberdeen he would say that he did not think, when they came to consider it, that this was a case of insidiously introducing the thin end of the wedge because he did not see what else could be applied in Scotland except the particular condition they were here dealing with. They were here dealing with the incidence of the school rate in respect of the new district where the rating area was an agglomeration of districts. They could not introduce the question of population in an ordinary question of rating. The distinction which he drew at the beginning when he said that this was not a question of rating, but a question of apportionment, was not on the face of it a mere juggling with words. What was proposed was not introducing a new principle at all, but simply making less disturbance than would otherwise be the case. He hoped the Committee would fall in with the suggestion he had made, because it seemed that it would give hon. Members as much opportunity for discussion as they would get now, and they would then be able to deal with the subject in the light of any figures they might choose to get.

*MR. McCRAE thought the right hon. Gentleman had made a very fair suggestion if he accompanied it with a promise to lay before the Committee tables bringing out the very valuable results similar to those presented by the hon. Member for Renfrew. Perhaps even a better course would be to postpone the clause.

MR. CATHCART WASON (Orkney and Shetland) said he had unbounded admiration for the manner in which the Secretary for Scotland had conducted the Bill. The right hon. Gentleman had given every possible opportunity for submitting the Bill to the constituencies and finding out their opinions upon it. This was not a matter which should be decided now. The hon. Member for Renfrewshire had given the figures in regard to a particular constituency, but they could not follow them, and they could not tell whether they might be taken as representing the situation in other constituencies. The hon. Member had the figures at his finger ends, and on the strength of what he had said he expected them to hurriedly swallow this intricate clause in the Bill. He urged that they should be allowed time to ascertain what the opinions of their constituents were in regard to the proposal.

SIR CHARLES RENSHAW said the County Councils' Association for the whole of Scotland at a recent meeting in Edinburgh had by a unanimous resolution expressed satisfaction with the proposal.

MR. CATHCART WASON said all the counties were not represented in the association. The county councils all through Scotland were not particularly popular bodies, and very often they did not at all represent the opinion of the the counties. He did not doubt the good faith of the right hon. Gentleman in making the offer he had made, but it did not amount to anything, and he thought it would be very much better to stick to the proposal in the Bill as originally introduced. If the right hon. Gentleman found it unworkable he could bring in an amending clause later on.

SIR ROBERT REID said that in his opinion the proposal of the Secretary for Scotland gave a fair basis for dealing with this matter. He would prefer that the clause should be postponed. He did not know whether the Secretary for Scotland had so strong a view that he would decline to accept that suggestion.

*Mr. A. GRAHAM MURRAY said he was afraid the suggestion was not in order. So far as he was concerned it would be absolutely the same. The acceptance of his own offer would give hon. Members more time to consider the question.

Sir ROBERT REID thought there was force in what the right hon. Gentleman said. The point was to get an opportunity not only for themselves, but for those whom they represented, to consider what was acknowledged to be a novel and important proposition. He hoped the Secretary for Scotland would try to place in the hands of hon. Members as early as possible the best statistical and other information he could furnish so as to enable them to form an opinion as to how this would work. He wished to know how the new proposal would operate not only in the burghs and counties generally, but also in the congested districts.

*Mr. A. GRAHAM MURRAY said he would furnish such information as he had. So far as he was concerned it would be a Return of the values in the areas.

Mr. DALZIEL thought the suggestion of the right hon. Gentleman was, on the whole, a good one. At the same time he believed it would greatly assist the right hon. Gentleman if hon. Members were allowed to express their views in regard to the proposal now.

Dr. MACNAMARA said he should withdraw the Amendment on the understanding that in accepting the offer of the right hon. Gentleman they did so without prejudice in respect to the proposal in the clause, and that they should be able to discuss it afterwards.

*Mr. A. GRAHAM MURRAY: The hon. Member is not committed to anything in the clause.

Dr. MACNAMARA asked leave to withdraw the Amendment.

*Mr. JOHN DEWAR asked whether between that time and the Report stage it would be possible to exempt the crofting counties from the operation of the clause.

*Mr. A. GRAHAM MURRAY: I will consider the whole matter.

Amendment to the proposed Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Proposed words inserted.

Clause 25, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 26.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 11, lines 23 and 24, to leave out the words 'allocating and.'"—(*Mr. A. Graham Murray.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Clause 26, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 27.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 11, line 35, to leave out the words 'annual value for that year,' and insert the words 'valuation as in the valuation roll last available.'"—(*Mr. A. Graham Murray.*)

*Mr. A. GRAHAM MURRAY said this was a mere drafting Amendment.

Amendment agreed to.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 11, to leave out lines 37 and 38."—(*Mr. A. Graham Murray.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Clause 27, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 28.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 11, line 41, to leave out from the word 'powers' to end of clause."—(*Mr. A. Graham Murray.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Clause 28, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 29.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 12, line 5, to leave out from the word 'school,' to the second word 'the' in line 11."—(*Mr. A. Graham Murray.*)

*MR. A. GRAHAM MURRAY said he moved this as a drafting Amendment.

Amendment agreed to.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 12, line 14, to leave out from the word 'powers,' to the word 'to' in line 20."—(*Mr. A. Graham Murray.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 12, line 20, after the word 'committee,' to insert the words 'or committees.'"—(*Mr. A. Graham Murray.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Amendment proposed.

"In page 12, line 21, after the word 'committee,' to insert the words 'or committees.'"—(*Mr. A. Graham Murray.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 12, line 28, to leave out from the word 'powers,' to the word 'shall' in line 29."—(*Mr. A. Graham Murray.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 12, line 31, to leave out from beginning of line to end of clause, and insert the words 'upon the school attendance committee, or committees.'"—(*Mr. A. Graham Murray.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Clause 29, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 30.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 12, line 36, after the word 'shall,' to insert the words 'from, and after the date of that Act.'"—(*Mr. Bryce.*)

MR. BRYCE said that this clause was a very valuable one, and his Amendment was designed to make its provisions retrospective. There could be no hardship in that, and it would be a considerable convenience and advantage to school boards.

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

*MR. A. GRAHAM MURRAY said he accepted the Amendment.

Question put, and agreed to.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 12, line 40, after the word 'playground,' to insert the words 'or recreation field.'"—(*Mr. Parker Smith.*)

MR. PARKER SMITH (Lanarkshire, Partick) said that in these days when they wished to give as much attention as possible to the physical training of children recreation fields ought to be provided as well as small playgrounds at the school, and the cost be spread over a considerable number of years.

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

*MR. A. GRAHAM MURRAY said he accepted the Amendment.

Question put, and agreed to.

Clause 30, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 31.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 13, line 4, after the second word 'out' to insert the words 'or in combining with one or more school boards to carry out.'" (*Mr. A. Graham Murray.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 13, line 7, after the word 'managers' to insert, 'books or apparatus, or.'"—(*Mr. Crombie.*)

MR. CROMBIE said that no need had been more strongly expressed in Scotland than the need for books in the schools.

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

*MR. A. GRAHAM MURRAY said he did not see his way to accept this Amendment. There was a possibility of getting books, but through another Department. That was to say, the expense of providing the children with books might be a reasonable Poor Law expense. It seemed to him that there really was a limit to the propriety of providing books free. He could not see why the child should be provided with books free any more than he should be provided free with clothing, which was even more necessary than books, to enable him to go to school. Hon. Members should not forget that, as a matter of fact, there was really no obligation whatever on the State to provide free education in Scotland. There was simply a Treasury contribution, known as the free grant, which freed parents from the school fees which they formerly had to pay; and the school boards were given power to put on a rate. To give the school board power to provide the children with books out of the rates would not be only an additional burden upon the general ratepayers, but would still more lessen the responsibilty of the parent to provide for his child. That was a really far higher question then making a case for the supply of books, for it was easy to say that a child could not be taught without books. He did not think it was at all necessary to go beyond the State aid which had already been given. The line must be drawn somewhere, and he was inclined to draw it here, and not put a further burden on the ratepayers.

MR. THOMAS SHAW said he was sorry to hear that the right hon. Gentleman could not accept the Amendment. He knew that there was a widespread and strongly expressed feeling among the school boards that education could not be made efficient unless books and apparatus were provided for the children. In many cases there was a small reference library provided in the schools for the children. He wholly dissented from the idea that this was to be dealt with as part of the Poor Law expense of the country. It was nothing of the sort. He objected to the school boards being pauperised by this charge being placed on the Poor Law.

SIR JOHN GORST said it was refreshing to find some educational matter in which England was in advance of Scotland. The English school boards for a very long time had had the power of providing books and apparatus for scholars, and had largely exercised that power to the great advantage of education. He was sorry that Scotland was to be in so benighted a condition that the school boards were not to be allowed to provide these first necessities of education. He should have thought that the Secretary for Scotland might have objected to the Amendment on the ground that it was unnecessary, because the general powers given to the school boards in Scotland to provide education for the children would involve, as a matter of course, the provision of books and apparatus necessary for education, and that the greater must include the less. He earnestly hoped that the Secretary for Scotland would reconsider his decision. The great advantage of allowing the school boards to provide books and apparatus was, that they could give the very best apparatus and the very best books. He was quite astonished to hear the right hon. Gentleman say that in providing books for the children it would pauperise the parents.

MR. HALDANE said he thought the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary for Scotland would see that there was strong sense, not merely on the part of the Scotch Members, but of the Committee generally, that the Amendment should be accepted. It was their duty to take care that the education given was efficient. It could not be efficient unless the means were provided. He knew that there was a class of parents who grudged that the children should be taught in school, and would rather keep them at home to earn money. That was the very evil which had got to be met, and it could not be met if such parents were compelled to buy books for their children. As to the addition to the rates caused by free books, that was a very small matter indeed. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman would recognise that there was a strong feeling in the Committee on all sides in favour of the Amendment, and that he would not insist in drawing an abstract distinction between one kind of education and another.

SIR J. FERGUSSON said he should not have thought that one so well informed as the right hon. Member for Haddingtonshire believed that in Scotland there was any large number of parents who wished to keep their children from school in order to earn money. In his experience money had never been grudged by parents for the education of their children, and there was no desire on their part to escape from that duty. If they went on in this way relieving parents from the duty of educating their children, where would they stop? It was not reasonable to ask that parents should not pay the cost of the books.

MR. TENNANT (Berwickshire) said it was suggested that his right hon. friend stated that parents in Scotland grudged sending their children to school when they might be earning money at home. That was not what his right hon. friend said. He said that he thought there were cases where the parents did not wish a child sent to school when he might remain at home and earn something. Was this a question of principle or not? His hon. friend said that it was merely an isolated item in the Bill. Was it not, however, really a case of a principle which they desired to foster more than at present? He believed that if the Committee did not allow this charge to fall on the rates they would be grudging the education which they claimed to be setting up, and would be really deluding themselves. They would be depriving a most deserving class of parents from the power of educating their children. He hoped the Secretary for Scotland would give way.

*MR. A. GRAHAM MURRAY said he did not regard with favour the idea of putting the cost of the books on the rates as a uniform practice, and where parents were able to supply their children with them. He, however, appreciated the view that there were cases where the efficiency of a school could not be secured without making some such arrangement; and he would endeavour to insert some words empowering the school boards to give books where they were needed. Further if the Board schools were to be given books at the public expense the voluntary schools should be given a similar advantage. He did not know how that could be managed; but he would reconsider the matter and bring up a clause on Report.

SIR ROBERT REID said he hoped the right hon. Gentleman would also consider the desirability of providing a little library in each school at an insignificant outlay.

*Mr. A. GRAHAM MURRAY said he would look into that.

MR. BRYCE said he wished to make a further suggestion. In the technical department of the schools it would be absolutely necessary to provide apparatus which could not be provided by the children themselves. He hoped that the clause which the right hon. Gentleman would introduce would cover that.

MR. PARKER SMITH said he was glad his right hon friend was going to consider the question. He trusted that the Committee would not spoil the ship for a ha'porth of tar. If money were not to be allowed to be spent on books and apparatus it would have a most injurious effect.

MR. BOLAND (Kerry, S.) said he was also glad that the right hon. Gentleman had agreed to reconsider the matter, and that the voluntary schools would participate in the advantage.

MR. CROMBIE said as the right hon. Gentleman had practically yielded, he would withdraw the Amendment. He understood the right hon Gentleman would deal with the matter very seriously.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

*MR. WEIR said he wished to move in Clause 31, page 13, line 7, after "instruction," to insert "including the teaching of Gaelic." He could not for a moment imagine that the right hon. Gentleman would refuse to accept the Amendment. He had seen little children in schools in the Highlands who only knew Gaelic; yet they were plunged at once into English. Was it intended to crush out the Gaelic language in the Highlands? A boy or a girl had a very much better chance in life if he or she knew two languages instead of one. Therefore, every facility should be given in the Highlands for teaching the children Gaelic. The Secretary for Scotland had arranged for the training of Gaelic-speaking teachers, and why, therefore, should not the right hon. Gentleman accept his Amendment, which would not be compulsory on the school boards. He was most anxious to assist the Government in passing the Bill, and he hoped the right hon. Gentleman would accept the Amendment.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 13, line 7, after the word 'instruction,' to insert the words 'including the teaching of Gaelic.'"—(*Mr. Weir.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. AINSWORTH (Argyllshire) said he desired to support the Amendment. The matter was one in which the greatest interest was taken by all classes in the Highlands. Only the other day a deputation representing Highland Societies in London was received by the right hon. Gentleman on the subject, and was introduced by the Marquess of Tullibardine. As his hon. friend had stated, it was a distinct advantage to children to know two languages; and it was absolutely necessary if children in the Highlands were to be properly taught the English language that the teachers should themselves know Gaelic. In the ordinary way, teachers who had no knowledge of Gaelic were sent to Highland schools. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman would be able to give the matter his best attention. The right hon· Gentleman was a Gaelic scholar himself; and he, certainly, was a distinguished example of the advantage of knowing Gaelic in early youth.

*MR. JOHN DEWAR said he wished to support the Amendment. He might say at once that he was not so much interested in the Gaelic language as he was in the teaching of the children who only knew Gaelic. At the last census, there were in Scotland 28,000 persons who knew Gaelic only, and 202,000 persons who spoke Gaelic and English, and no doubt most of them spoke Gaelic more freely and fluently than they did English. He was very anxious that children knowing Gaelic only should be taught by teachers who knew both languages. The right hon. Gentleman might say it was a Departmental matter; but the Department had not dealt with it. The great majority of teachers in the Highlands did not know Gaelic, and, therefore, they carried on the education of the children with very great difficulty. He had read of an instance where an inspector visited a school, and hearing the children reading in English asked them what they were reading about. There was no answer; and he asked the schoolmaster for an explanation, and the schoolmaster replied that the children did not understand what the inspector said. Asked if they understand what they read, the schoolmaster said—"Not a word of it." Education could not be carried on successfully under such circumstances. He knew the difficulty of keeping Gaelic-speaking teachers in the Gaelic districts, because when they were offered better emoluments they naturally went away. What was wanted was a better supply of Gaelic-speaking teachers; and that could not be got unless they encouraged the teaching of Gaelic in the schools. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman would accept the Amendment.

*MR. A. GRAHAM MURRAY said he could not accept the Amendment, not because he was not in sympathy with the objects of the hon. Member, but because it was unnecessary. He agreed with what had been said by the hon. Member who had just spoken. The real necessity was to have a sufficiency of Gaelic-speaking teachers, so that Gaelic speaking-children could be properly instructed. The Amendment would not achieve that at all. What would really do something in the desired direction was an Amendment which he proposed to add to Clause 39 and which was as follows—

"In aid of any scheme for the training of teachers instituted or approved by the Department as calculated to provide a supply of teachers with qualifications adapted to the special requirements of any part of Scotland."

He put that down specially in order to assist the training of Gaelic teachers. Instruction in Gaelic was already sanctioned. No doubt Gaelic was a very proper subject to be studied; but there were other subjects just as suitable, such as arithmetic or geography. If Gaelic were to be specially selected, then they would be landed in the terrible question as to the comparative claims of ancient and modern languages. If French were put in, they would be told that they ought to include Latin; and if Latin were put in, there would be a claim for French. Then would arise the question as to whether Gaelic, Latin, or French should be first; and he had no doubt that the hon. Member for Ross would tell him that as Gaelic was spoken in the Garden of Eden it ought to be first. It would be quite out of place to specially mention any particular branch of study when they had included all branches of proper study. The Amendment he had put down to Clause 39 would carry out the promise he gave the deputation the other day.

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON said he entirely agreed with the Secretary for Scotland. The words in the Bill undoubtedly would include the teaching of Gaelic, and, therefore, the Amendment was unnecessary. He understood that an unnecessary Amendment was out of order, and, accordingly, they had been wasting time over an Amendment which was not in order. He would appeal to the hon. Gentleman not to divide on the question.

MR. WILLIAM JONES (Carnarvonshire, Arfon) said it was not exactly a question of comparison between Gaelic and Latin or French. The true nature of education was to teach children to think; and that could not be done except through their mother tongue. That was recognised in Germany, Wales, and Ireland. All that was wanted was that children who did not know English should be taught through their mother tongue. That was the basis of education; and he hoped facilities would be afforded in the desired direction.

MR. WEIR said he did not expect to be lectured from the Front Opposition Bench on a question which he had very much at heart. He was obliged to the Secretary for Scotland for the Amendment to Clause 39; and as the right hon. Gentleman had provided for the training of Gaelic teachers, who would be able to instruct the children, he would not press his Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

MR. PARKER SMITH asked if the right hon. Gentleman would have the Bill reprinted with the Amendments.

*MR. A. GRAHAM MURRAY said that would be done.

Committee report Progress; to sit again upon Monday next.

COMPANIES (MEDICAL AND DENTAL).

Return ordered, "Showing the number and names of Companies registered under The Companies Act, 1862, in England and Wales, Scotland, and Ireland for the specific purposes of carrying on Medical and Dental Practices."—(*Sir John Tuke.*)

Adjourned at four minutes after
Twelve o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Thursday, 16*th June*, 1904.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

The LORD CHANCELLOR acquainted the House, That the Clerk of the Parliaments had laid upon the Table the Certificates from the Examiners that the further Standing Orders applicable to the following Bills have been complied with:— London County Council (Tramways and Improvements); London County Council (Money).

Also the Certificates that no Standing Orders are applicable to the following Bills: — Education Board Provisional Order (Swansea); Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 14); Local Government Provisional Order (No. 15).

The same were ordered to lie on the Table.

Canal Rates and Charges (Regents Canal) Order Confirmation Bill [H.L.]. Report from the Select Committee, That the Committee had not proceeded with the consideration of the Bill, the opposition thereto having been withdrawn; read, and ordered to lie on the Table. The orders made on the 7th of June and Thursday last discharged, and Bill committed to a Committee of the Whole House.

Scarisbrick Estate (Amendment) Bill [H.L.]; Lord Tredegar's Supplemental Estate Bill [H.L.]; De Trafford Estate Bill [H.L.]. Committed.

Chesterfield Gas and Water Board Bill [H.L.]. Commons Amendments considered, and agreed to.

Surrey Commercial Dock Bill. Read 2_a, and committed.

Carlisle Corporation Bill. Read 2^a, and committed. The Committee to be proposed by the Committee of Selection.

Lytham Improvement Bill. Read 2_a, and committed.

Radcliffe Tramways and Improvement Bill; London United Tramways Bill; Middlesbrough, Stockton-on-Tees, and Thornaby Tramways Bill; Thames River Steamboat Service Bill. Read 2^a, and committed. The Committees to be proposed by the Committee of Selection.

Skipton Water and Improvement Bill. Read 2^a.

Tottenham Improvement Bill. Read 2^a, and committed.

Strabane, Raphoe, and Convoy Railway Bill. Read 2^a, and committed. The Committee to be proposed by the Committee of Selection.

London County Council (Tramways and Improvements) Bill; London County Council (Money) Bill; North-Western Electricity and Power Gas Bill. Read 2^a.

Midland Railway Bill. Read 3^a, with the Amendments, and passed, and returned to the Commons.

Marylebone Chapels (St. James, Westmoreland Street) Bill [H.L.]; South Staffordshire Mines Drainage Bill [H.L.]. Returned from the Commons agreed to.

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 1) Bill. Returned from the Commons with the Amendments agreed to.

Dundee, Broughty Ferry, and District Tramways Order Confirmation Bill (No. 104); Leith Burgh Order Confirmation Bill (No. 105); Motherwell and Bellshill Railway (Abandonment) Order Confirmation Bill (No. 106). Brought from the Commons; read 1^a; to be printed; and (pursuant to the Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland, Act, 1899) deemed to have been read 2^a (The Lord Kintore (*E. Kintore*)), and reported from the Committee.

Gas Orders Confirmation (No. 1) Bill [H.L.]. Report from the Committee of Selection, That the Earl of Wharncliffe, the Lord Sherborne, and the Lord Stewart of Garlies (*E. Galloway*), be proposed to the House as Members of the Select Committee on the said Bill in the place of the Marquess of Winchester, the Earl of Dartmouth, and the Lord Digby; read, and agreed to.

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 5) Bill; Local Government Provisional Orders (Gas) Bill; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 6) Bill;

An Asterisk (*) at the commencement of a Speech indicates revision by the Member.

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 7) Bill; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 8) Bill; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 12) Bill. Read 2ª (according to order), and committed to a Committee of the Whole House.

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 14) Bill; Local Government Provisional Order (No. 15) Bill. Read 2ª (according to order).

Commons Regulation (Merrow) Provisional Order Bill; Commons Regulation (Oxshott) Provisional Order Bill; Land Drainage Provisional Order Bill. Read 2ª (according to order), and committed to a Committee of the Whole House on Monday the 27th instant.

Education Board Provisional Order (Swansea) Bill. Read 2ª (according to order).

Local Government Provisional Order (No. 4) Bill. Read 1ª; to be printed; and referred to the Examiners. (No. 103.)

PETITIONS.

RE-VACCINATION BILL [H.L.].

Petition in favour of; of the Incorporated Society of Medical Officers of Health; read, and ordered to lie on the Table.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

CHINA, No. 4 (1904).

Map to accompany despatch from His Majesty's Minister at Peking, inclosing a Report by Mr. George J. Kidston on a journey in Mongolia ("China, No. 3 (1904)").

TRADE REPORTS—I. (ANNUAL SERIES).

No. 3185. United States (California, Nevada, Utah, and Arizona).

II. (MISCELLANEOUS SERIES).

No 613. Germany (Projected Rhine-Neckar-Danube Ship Canal).

LOCAL TAXATION ACCOUNT (SCOTLAND) ACT, 1898.

Return showing the total payments into and out of the Local Taxation (Scotland) Account for the financial year 1903–4.

PUBLIC RECORDS.

Sixty-fifth Annual Report of the Deputy-Keeper of the Public Records.

BOARD OF EDUCATION.

Regulations for secondary schools (from 1st August, 1904, to 31st July, 1905).

Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie on the Table.

PUBLIC RECORDS (OFFICE OF HIS MAJESTY'S WOODS, FORESTS, AND LAND REVENUES).

Schedule containing a list and particulars of classes of documents in the Office of His Majesty's Woods, Forests, and Land Revenues, which are not considered of sufficient public value to justify their preservation in the Public Record Office. Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table.

LEITH CORPORATION TRAMWAYS ORDER CONFIRMATION BILL.

Message from the Commons that they have come to the following Resolution, to which they desire the concurrence of this House, viz.: That the Leith Corporation Tramways Order Confirmation Bill be referred to a Joint Committee of Lords and Commons. The said Message to be taken into consideration To-morrow.

RE-VACCINATION BILL [H.L.].

[SECOND READING.]

Order of the day for the Second Reading read.

*THE DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND: My Lords, I do not think I need detain your Lordships very long on the present occasion. I need not, I think, adduce any arguments in favour of vaccination in the abstract. The last time your Lordships' attention was called to the subject it was, I believe, with some difficulty that the House was persuaded to pass a

Government Bill because of the conscientious objector clause, and because there was no provision for re-vaccination. And I believe I am right in saying that the noble Lord, Lord Lister, whose authority on the subject we shall all recognise, was so strongly in favour of a re-vaccination clause that he wished that the Bill could be rejected in order that it might be brought forward with such a clause in it. My noble friend Lord Harris, who at that time was in charge of the measure, gave an undertaking that the Government would consider seriously the possibility of introducing a Re-vaccination Bill in the following session. That would have been in the session of 1899; it was partly in consequence of that promise that the House was induced to pass the Government's Bill. I have no doubt that the pledge to consider the matter has been faithfully adhered to by His Majesty's Government, but the consideration came to nothing, and from that time to this the Government have found themselves unable to deal with this question.

I therefore make no apology to your Lordship for bringing the matter once more before you. Let me say at once that there is nothing in this Bill that touches the conscience clause in any respect. I do not desire on the present occasion to express any opinion whatever with regard to the expediency of recognising the conscientious objector or the reverse, but I think we shall have recognised that so long as people are allowed to take a conscientious objection to vaccination of infants, it would be impossible to deprive them of the same liberty in the case of the re-vaccination of children at a later age. Therefore, so far as the conscientious objector is concerned, the Bill which I am bringing forward to-day does not interfere with him. I believe there has been, at any rate in the past, some considerable misunderstanding with regard to the necessity for re-vaccination. It is the opinion of many people that when once a child has been successfully vaccinated in infancy it is practically protected throughout the whole of its life; and there is also an opinion that, if at a later stage of its existence it is vaccinated and the operation does not what is commonly called "take," that is a sign that the patient is immune to the infection of smallpox, and may be considered perfectly safe. Further experience has shown that that is not the case.

The effect of vaccination in infancy wears out in course of time, and no vaccination can be considered really protective unless the patient suffers from it; in other words, unless the operation is what is technically called successful. This matter is particularly interesting at the present moment because of a report which has lately been presented to the Local Government Board by Dr. Lowe in regard to the effect of re-vaccination and other steps to combat smallpox which are taken in Germany. In Germany, unlike England, they attach comparatively small importance to isolation. They rely upon the practical immunity of the people in consequence of a thorough system of vaccination and re-vaccination, and the statistics which Dr. Lowe presents are very remarkable. The deaths in Germany from smallpox have only been at the rate of twelve or thirteen persons per million of the population in the last twelve years, while in England the deaths have been over 207 per million, or more than fifteen times as many.

But the benefit does not end there. It is not only because of the protection which vaccination and re-vaccination afford to the people that I argue for this Bill. One of the greatest improvements which has been made in the practice of vaccination has been the preparation of calf lymph and the addition to that lymph of glycerine. No doubt many of your Lordships will remember the days when vaccination was commonly carried on from arm to arm, and that very disquieting stories were often told of serious diseases being contracted in this manner. Now, with the use of calf lymph that is impossible, and, further than that, by the addition of glycerine all bacilli are destroyed, and therefore no possible harm can come from vaccination by glycerinated lymph, while the virus of cowpox itself is not diminished in the least. But this preparation of glycerinated calf lymph is a somewhat slow process, and the difficulty at the present time is this, that owing to the constant recurrence of more or less serious epidemics in this country it is extremely difficult to keep up a steady supply of this lymph. Either very large amounts of lymph must be prepared which are never used, and so much waste both of time and money is involved, or else when the demand becomes very great on the outbreak of an epidemic, there is no lymph to hand at the very moment when it is most required. If, however, as in Germany, epidemics were unknown and the whole population were vaccinated and re-vaccinated, the demand for this lymph would be steady and the whole of the difficulties of its preparation would be removed.

Then, my Lords, there is another point which I cannot help thinking is of increasing importance every day, and that is the necessity for isolation hospitals. The Local Government Board are pressing—and very wisely pressing—all local authorities to provide smallpox isolation hospitals in their various districts, and a very large expense is thrown upon the rates for buildings for which a site is very difficult to find, and which perhaps may not be used at all for a great number of years. In Germany there are very few isolation hospitals. The regulations for their erection at great distances from other buildings are disregarded. They are constantly in close proximity to hospitals and other places, and whenever there are no smallpox patients to occupy the hospitals persons suffering from other maladies are housed in them. In England exactly the reverse is the case. Let me call your Lordships' attention for one moment to the regulations of the Local Government Board. They insist, first, that the isolation hospital is not to be within a quarter of a mile of any hospital, workhouse, asylum, or other similar establishment, or of a population of 200 persons; that it is not to be within half a mile of a population of 600, and that it is not to be used for other than smallpox cases.

These are conditions which in many cases it is extremely difficult to carry out, and I daresay many of your Lordships have had my experience as a landowner that when an attempt is made by a district, under pressure from the Local Government Board, to provide a smallpox hospital, everybody cries out that they will not have it near them—a very natural objection. But the result is that the district council are pulled different ways, first by the Local Government Board in pressing them to find a site, and then by the people in their district opposing any site they select, and the ratepayers are burdened with the great expenditure incurred in the erection of the buildings. If thorough vaccination and re-vaccination could be carried out the greater part, if not the whole, of this expense would be abolished. The country would be so protected that smallpox epidemics would, as in Germany, be practically unknown, and those rare cases which would be taken to hospital would not be a danger to the population because the population would be already properly protected by vaccination.

The Bill that I am asking your Lordships to be good enough to read a second time to-day proposes to re-vaccinate all children within six months after they attain the age of twelve years. The reasons for selecting this age are several. In the first place, the protective effect of infantile vaccination is supposed to be very rapidly lessened in consequence of the very rapid growth and development of tissue. All these processes go on more slowly at a later age, and therefore a child of twelve, who may be supposed to be beginning to lose the protection which vaccination in infancy has conferred upon it, may be hoped, if re-vaccinated at twelve years of age, to be protected until, say, middle life. School children can, of course, be more easily dealt with than others, because it is not difficult to get access to them. There is one very important circumstance which points to the desirability of re-vaccinating school children, and it is this. It is not entirely the ordinary prejudice against vaccination which prevents re-vaccination. If vaccination is successful it very often incapacitates a man from work for several days. That is a very serious question for the bread-winner, and I am certain it deters many who would otherwise be glad to avail themselves of the opportunity of undergoing the operation. We must also remember that a good many people exaggerate the effects of vaccination, and believe it will incapacitate them longer than it actually does.

All this interference with labour does not hold good in the case of children, and it is, therefore, advisable to take them at the age set out in the Bill. One may hope that parents will object less to having their children vaccinated at twelve years of age than at an earlier age. Personally I do not believe in the danger of vaccination to infants if properly carried out, but those who do will feel more confidence in submitting an older child to the process. The Bill places parents and others having charge of children in the position of being responsible for having them re-vaccinated, and local bodies are required to send to the authorities a list of the children chargeable to them on their attaining the age of twelve years. I do not think I need say more in explanation of this Bill, beyond remarking that if your Lordships will be good enough to give it a Second Reading I am sure it will be an important step towards conferring a great boon on the population.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª."—(*The Duke of Northumberland.*)

*THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (The Marquess of LANSDOWNE): My Lords, I should like to say a very few words as to the attitude which His Majesty's Government desire to adopt towards the Bill, the Second Reading of which has just been moved by the noble Duke. We are certainly in no sense hostile to the principle of the Bill, and by the principle of the Bill I mean, of course, that re-vaccination is in itself a desirable thing. The evidence on that point seems to me to be absolutely conclusive. The noble Duke quoted the high authority of Lord Lister, an authority the weight of which is recognised throughout this country, and nowhere more than in your Lordships' House. He also gave us a very interesting piece of information lately acquired by the Local Government Board with regard to the results of re-vaccination in Germany. I do not know whether I exactly followed the figures which the noble Duke gave, but those which are supplied to me go to show that in Germany, where re-vaccination is compulsory, during twelve years there were only 607 deaths from smallpox in a population of fifty-six millions, whereas in this country during the same period, in a population of only thirty-two millions, there were 6,700 deaths from smallpox. These are, I must say, very startling and suggestive figures.

There is also in favour of re-vaccination the authority of the Royal Commission, but the noble Duke will, of course, remember that the Royal Commission stopped short of recommending compulsory re-vaccination. They thought it undesirable to have resort to that measure on account of the great practical difficulty of enforcing re-vaccination, owing to the movement of the population, and also because they conceived, and I cannot help thinking rightly conceived, that compulsory re-vaccination would add to the volume of hostility to vaccination which the Bill had to encounter in this country. That view prevailed with His Majesty's Government, and we have therefore until now merely done all that was in our power to encourage and facilitate re-vaccination. Re-vaccination is now performed free of all cost by public officials, and those officials are instructed whenever there is an epidemic of smallpox to spare no pains to make generally known the fact that re-vaccination is open to all those who desire to be re-vaccinated.

I cannot help thinking that in this respect the Local Government Board have been wise in attempting to lead rather than to drive the people of the country towards re-vaccination, and certainly the great success which has attended the Act of 1898 points to that conclusion. I am told that whereas in 1898 the proportion of successful vaccination to births was 54 per cent., in 1901 the proportion had risen to no less than 67 per cent.—a very marked increase. For these reasons His Majesty's Government have not thought it desirable to attempt legislation in favour of compulsory re-vaccination, and it would obviously in any case be impossible for us to contemplate the passing of such a measure through Parliament during the present session. All, therefore, that we can say with regard to this Bill is that inasmuch as we are in favour of re-vaccination we certainly do not desire to oppose its Second Reading, but that we must be clearly understood as not in any way committing ourselves to the details of the measure, or contemplating that it shall become law during the present session of Parliament.

LORD NEWTON: My Lords, the noble Marquess has given us the views of His Majesty's Government upon this Bill, but, with all due respect to him, I do not think he has sufficiently explained the omission of the Government to provide that Re-vaccination Bill which was distinctly promised in 1898. That most iniquitous clause establishing the existence of the conscientious objector was only passed upon the distinct understanding that the Government would subsequently bring in a Re-vaccination Bill. From that day to this, with the exception of one occasion on which I myself unsuccessfully endeavoured to abolish the conscientious objector, we have heard nothing more of re-vaccination, and I submit that the noble Marquess's explanation is not altogether a satisfactory one. The noble Marquess has congratulated the Local Government Board upon their success in not attempting the task of compulsory re-vaccination, and he has made the assertion, which I have heard made before by responsible Ministers, that the success of the Act of 1898 is in large measure due to the clause which established the conscientious objector. I contend for my own part that the success which has attended that Act, so far from being due to that particular clause, has been in spite of it. The conscientious objector has, amongst other things, bred the passive obstructor. It was a most unfortunate departure in legislation, and I deeply regret to hear there is no intention on the part of His Majesty's Government of dealing with this difficulty. With regard to the Bill which has been introduced by the noble Duke, I confess I look upon it as little better than a practical joke on the part of my noble friend. If a Bill of this kind is to be introduced, the Government ought to be responsible for it, and everybody knows there is not the remotest possibility of a Bill of this character, introduced at this period of the session, passing into law.

THE EARL OF TANKERVILLE: My Lords, I have never before had the opportunity of addressing your Lordships' House, but I should like to say a few words on the subject of this Bill. I think there are points which have not been taken notice of, not only by noble Lords present, but by many who have spoken and written on this subject throughout the country. I have been reading Dr. Lowe's Report, and I see that Germany does not depend upon vaccination and re-vaccination, inasmuch as in the isolation houses all the nurses are re-vaccinated whenever a case of smallpox comes in. In regard to the question of the policy of a Re-vaccination Bill, I think that has been traversed already in the Bill of 1898—I mean in regard to the point of such a Bill tampering with the divine right of liberty of man. I know that vaccinators say that people must be protected, but if vaccination is such a protection, why such fear everywhere? It seems to me that the very point which is brought forward in support of re-vaccination is what has been shown in Germany, if the evidence is really properly sifted, to be quite a fallacious opinion. I would ask the Government if it would not be possible to have a Committee whose Chairman should be one accustomed to deal with and sift evidence, so that all this evidence might be scientifically looked into and the points at issue regarded from some other point of view than the merely argumentative point of view from which they have been looked at hitherto.

As regards the question of vaccination, I do not know whether it is in order to say that it seems to me absolutely contrary to universal law that injecting animal poison into human flesh should produce health. Dr. Jenner was a man who was not able to get a diploma. His ideas were received by the public, but in his own family he did not vaccinate; and 108 years after that time we are still believing in this fallacy. You say you can produce statistics to prove there are certain results from vaccination; but I would say that these effects are not necessarily the result of vaccination, but rather of mental laws, the result of belief in vaccination and the confidence which that belief produces. This is the real cause not of the immunity of Germany, but of the decrease of smallpox in Germany. I think even Dr. Lowe's Report shows that, and, after all, Dr. Lowe is a vaccinator and would naturally be biassed on the side of vaccination.

On Question, Bill read 2^a accordingly, and committed to a Committee of the Whole House.

OPEN SPACES BILL [H.L.].

House in Committee (according to order).

Clause 1 agreed to.

Clause 2:—

LORD BURGHCLERE asked the noble Earl in charge of the Bill (Lord Onslow) whether this was a Consolidation Bill only, or whether the Amendments to be introduced altered any of the original enactments. He would be glad to receive an assurance that it was purely a Consolidation Bill, and that there was no intention by the Amendments to alter any of the existing enactments with regard to open spaces.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF AGRICULTURE AND FISHERIES (The Earl of ONSLOW): My Lords, I think that if there was any such intention as the noble Lord suggests the title of the Bill would be incorrect, because it distinctly states that the object of the Bill is "to consolidate enactments relating to open spaces." Of course, it is a difficult for a layman to give an unqualified assurance, but the Law Officers assure me that none of the Amendments standing in my name alter the law in any respect, but merely consolidate it.

LORD MONKSWELL called attention to the Memorandum attached to the Bill, in which it was stated that—

> "The object of the present Bill is to consolidate these enactments without making any alteration of the law except such as seems necessary for removing inconsistencies."

He would like to know the nature of those alterations of the law, and what the inconsistencies were that were to be removed. It was quite possible that inconsistencies might be removed in a direction which might be considered unwise.

THE EARL OF ONSLOW: If the noble Lord will look at the Memorandum, he will see it stated that the enactments relating to open spaces which were framed primarily with reference to London, but which have been subsequently extended with modifications to the rest of the country, are in a very confused condition. The object of the Bill is to assimilate these measures, to reconcile them and not to alter them.

LORD BURGHCLERE: Yes, but in assimilating enactments framed with reference to London and enactments framed for the rest of the country there may be considerable alteration in the law.

THE EARL OF ONSLOW: If noble Lords will point to any Amendment upon which there is any doubt, I will postpone it till the Report stage, and consider in the meantime whether or not it makes any alteration in the law.

LORD MONKSWELL said it was not only a question of any alteration in the law which might be made by the Amendments. The provisions in the Bill itself might be objectionable. But perhaps that point could be considered in the Standing Committee.

Clause 2 agreed to.

Clauses 3 to 14 agreed to.

Clause 15:—

THE EARL OF ONSLOW explained that the councils of municipal boroughs and districts were mentioned in Clause 1, which defined the bodies that should be local authorities for the purposes of the Act, and it was considered that there ought also to be a reference to councils of municipal boroughs and districts in Clause 15, which dealt with by-laws.

Amendment moved—

> "In page 9, line 27, after the word 'A,' to insert the words 'municipal borough.'"—(*The Earl of Onslow.*)

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

Clause 15, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 16 agreed to.

Clause 17.

The Earl of ONSLOW moved to delete the words "in the case of the Common Council of the City of London out of the metage of grain duty or otherwise" from this clause, which made provision for the expenses of local authorities. He said that by an oversight it had not been observed that the Common Council had no metage of grain duty out of which to pay the expenses.

Amendment moved—

"In page 10, to leave out lines 12 and 13."—(*The Earl of Onslow.*)

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

Clause 17, as amended, agreed to.

The Earl of ONSLOW moved the insertion of a new clause after Clause 17. He explained that the power to borrow under the existing Acts was not quite clear, but the Local Government Board had held that there was such a power, and the clause he proposed to insert would remove all doubts in the matter.

Amendment moved—

"After Clause 17, to insert, as a new clause, 'A local authority may borrow for the purposes of this Act in the case of a county council as for the purposes of the Local Government Act, 1888; in the case of a metropolitan borough council as for the purposes of the Metropolis Management Acts, 1855 to 1893; in the case of a municipal borough or urban or rural district council as for the purposes of the Public Health Acts; and in the case of a parish council as for the purposes of the Local Government Act, 1894.'"—(*The Earl of Onslow.*)

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

Remaining clauses agreed to.

Bill recommitted to the Standing Committee; and to be printed as amended. (No. 102.)

MARRIED WOMEN'S PROPERTY ACT (1882) AMENDMENT BILL [H.L.].

NAVAL AND MILITARY MEDALS BILL [H.L.].

House in Committee (according to order). Bills reported without Amendment; and re-committed to the Standing Committee.

SEAMEN'S AND SOLDIERS' FALSE CHARACTERS BILL [H.L.].

Read 3ª (according to order), and passed, and sent to the Commons.

House adjourned at a quarter past Five o'clock, till To-morrow, half-past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Thursday, 16th June, 1904.

The House met at Two of the Clock.

THE CHAIRMAN OF WAYS AND MEANS.

The Clerk at the Table informed the House of the unavoidable absence of the Chairman of Ways and Means.

UNOPPOSED PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

Kirkby-in-Ashfield Urban District Gas Bill. Lords Amendments considered, and agreed to.

New River Company Bill [Lords]. Read the third time and passed, with Amendments.

Matlock and District Gas Bill [Lords]. Reported, with Amendments; Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed.

PETITIONS.

LICENSING BILL.

Petitions against; from Abersychan (two); Adlington; Ashton-under-Lyne; Attleborough: Bagslate; Bailgate; Barrow-in-Furness (two); Bearpark; Bedale; Bewdley; Birmingham (four); Blackburn (two); Bovey Tracey; Bridgend (two); Bridge of Allan; Brinscall; Brockdish; Burnbank; Burscough Bridge; Chawnhill; Chorley (two); Coppull; Crown Hill; Croydon; Cullingworth; Denholme; Diss (three); Dringhouses; Dursley; East Heywood; Euxton; Fowey; Glamorgan; Green

Mount; Griffithstown; Hambleton; Handsworth; Hapton; Harlesden; Harrow (thirty-eight); Hartlepool (two); Hendon; Hereford (two); Hove; Howden-on-Tyne; Hurlford; Kington; Kinnerton; Lanark; Langley Moor; Lanishen (two); Littletown; Lockwood (two); Lumley Thicks; Luton; Maghull; Melverton; Mevagissey; Milnrow; Monkwearmouth; North Wales; New Pitsligo; Ormskirk; Paddington; Penarth (three); Pen Mill; Perth (North West); Plymouth; Polgooth; Porthcawl; Preston; Ramsbottom; Rigton; Rochdale (four); Rowrah; Scalford; Sherburn; Shincliffe; Silvertown; Skelmersdale (two); Skipton (sixteen); Small Heath; Snape; St. Austell; St. Mary's; Sunniside: Tiverton-on-Avon; Tottenham (two); Tow Law; Town Green; Walbottle; Walker-on-Tyne; Waterfall; West Bromwich; West Moor; West Rainton; Wetherby; Wheelton; Whitchurch; Whittington Moor; Whittle le Woods; Whitworth; Willesden; Willington Quay; Withnell Fold; Withnell Mill; and York (two); to lie upon the Table.

LICENSING BILL.

Petition from Folkestone, for alteration; to lie upon the Table.

PARLIAMENTARY FRANCHISE.

Petition from National British Women's Temperance Association, for extension to women; to lie upon the Table.

PORT OF LONDON BILL.

Petition from Industrial Freedom League and others, against; to lie upon the Table.

RE-VACCINATION BILL.

Petition from Derby, against; to lie upon the Table.

VALUATION BILL.

Petition from Windsor, against; to lie upon the Table.

VALUATION BILL.

Petitions for alteration; from Alcester; Droitwich; Hendon; Kensington; Lewes; Llanelly; Luton; Mutford and Lothingland; and Swansea; to lie upon the Table.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

PUBLIC RECORDS.

Copy presented, of Sixty-fifth Annual Report of the Deputy-Keeper of the Public Records [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

NAVY (DESTROYERS).

Return presented, relative thereto [Ordered 1st June; *Mr. Kearley*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 212.]

BOARD OF EDUCATION.

Copy presented, of Regulations for Secondary Schools (from 1st August, 1904, to 31st July, 1905) [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS SECURITIES.

Order [28th March] for a Return relative to Government Departments Securities read, and discharged; and, instead thereof:—

Return ordered, "of the amounts of British Government Securities held by the several Government Departments and other Public Offices on the 31st day of March, 1904, specifying whether held in England or Ireland (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 160, of Session 1903):—

£2½ per Cent. Consols.	£2¾ per Cents. (1905).	£2½ per Cents.	£2¾ per Cent. War Loan.	Other Securities.	
				Annuities for terms of years.	Exchequer Bonds and Treasury Bills.

—(*Mr. Victor Cavendish.*)

NAVAL EXPENDITURE AND MERCANTILE MARINE (GREAT BRITAIN, ETC.).

Return ordered, "showing aggregate Naval Expenditure on seagoing force; aggregate revenue; aggregate tonnage of Mercantile Marine; annual clearances of shipping in the foreign trade; annual clearances of shipping in the coasting trade; annual value of imports by sea, including bullion and specie; and annual value of exports by sea, including bullion and specie, of various countries, exclusive of China and South American Republics, but including British self-governing Colonies, for the year 1903 (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 284, of Session 1903)."—(*Sir John Colomb.*)

CONVENT NATIONAL SCHOOLS (IRELAND).

Return ordered, "in respect of the years 1901, 1902, and 1903, of the names of all Convent Schools in Ireland; average Attendance at each School; and amount of State-aid paid to each School annually."—(*Mr. Sloan.*)

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

Canning Statue Enclosure in Parliament Square.

MR. WHITMORE (Chelsea): To ask the hon. Member for Chorley, as representing the First Commissioner of Works, whether he will consider the desirability of opening to the public the enclosure round Canning's statue in Parliament Square, and of laying it out so that it should correspond in appearance and utility with the plot of garden which adjoins it on the South.

(*Answered by Lord Balcarres.*) I have to inform my hon. friend that this matter will receive consideration.

Horse Trough and Fountain for Westminster.

DR. FARQUHARSON (Aberdeenshire, W.): To ask the President of the Local Government Board whether he can use his influence with the Council of Westminster to induce them to accept an offer by Major Wingfield of an artistic fountain and trough, which is much needed in the interests of thirsty pedestrians and horses.

(*Answered by Mr. Walter Long.*) I have made inquiry on this subject, and am informed that the Westminster City Council have considered Major Wingfield's offer, but have not seen their way to accepting it. The matter is entirely in the discretion of the council, and I could not undertake to interfere with regard to it.

Outdoor Relief.

SIR WALTER FOSTER (Derbyshire, Ilkeston): To ask the President of the Local Government Board whether boards of guardians have printed or written scales of relief which provide for outrelief in money and bread according to the number of children needing relief; and, if so, whether the Local Government Board will either direct their inspectors to advise, or issue a circular advising, an allowance of milk in the case of young out-relieved children needing milk, and also to nursing mothers in receipt of out-relief.

(*Answered by Mr. Walter Long.*) I believe that some boards of guardians have scales of relief of the kind referred to. I think boards of guardians may be trusted to use their discretion as to the granting of allowances of milk in the cases mentioned in the latter part of the Question; but I will bring the matter under the notice of the inspectors.

Repayment of Outdoor Relief in the Atcham Union.

SIR WALTER FOSTER: To ask the President of the Local Government Board whether rules of administration are or have been recently in force in the Atcham Union providing that when relief is administered to an able-bodied labouring man who is himself ill, and the illness is not contagious, the board require that some of the children shall come to the workhouse during the sickness, and if the man is earning good wages and the sickness does not continue for a long period, the family not being large, the repayment of the whole or part of the relief is required; that where the wife or children of an able-bodied man in work are ill, relief is refused, except in very serious cases, such as when the family is suffering from a contagious or infectious disease or where many of the family are ill at the same time, or where the man has had a good deal of previous sickness in the family and is unable to procure the necessary means for their recovery; that no outdoor relief is granted to able-bodied widows with children, except in sickness; if the woman's character is good an offer is made to her to send such a number of her children to the workhouse for training as will leave her only such as she will be enabled to provide for as well as for herself; and, if so, will he state whether these rules have the sanction of the Local Government Board.

(*Answered by Mr. Walter Long.*) I have received a copy of a report made in 1890 by the late chairman of the Atcham Board of Guardians, in which is included a document drawn up by the clerk in 1871 relating to the precedents and rules in the proceedings of the guardians in the administration of relief from 1836 to 1871. This document, which embodies principles as to the administration of relief to the effect mentioned in the Question, gives as I understand the practice of the guardians up to 1871, but forms no part of any official rules. I am informed that the precedents on which these principles are founded are not in any way binding on the administration of the guardians. I gather that these principles are acted upon and referred to by the guardians though they are to a certain extent modified in practice. No sanction on the part of the Local Government Board has been given to them.

Public Health Bill.

SIR CARNE RASCH (Essex, Chelmsford): To ask the President of the Local Government Board whether the Public Health Bill, as promised in the King's Speech, will be introduced this session; and if it will include legislation as to the discharge of crude sewage in or near shell fisheries, as recommended by the Royal Commission.

(*Answered by Mr. Walter Long.*) I should be glad to introduce the Bill if I saw a prospect of its making progress, but I cannot undertake to say beforehand what will be the matters dealt with by the measure.

Return of Hours of Railway Servants.

MR. BELL (Derby): To ask the President of the Board of Trade if he can state when the Return of the hours of duty worked by railway men for October last will be issued.

(*Answered by Mr. Gerald Balfour.*) Many of these Returns, called for in April last, are still outstanding and it is not possible at present to say when the complete Return can be issued, but no time will be lost in its preparation.

Accident on Tenterden and Headcorn Railway Line.

MR. BELL: To ask the President of the Board of Trade if he has received a Report of an accident which occurred on the new line being constructed between Tenterden and Headcorn on the 8th inst., when one man named Frederick Thistleton was killed and two others named Moorly and Stephenson were injured; and, if he will cause an inquiry to be held into the cause of such accident.

(*Answered by Mr. Gerald Balfour.*) This sad accident has been reported to the Board of Trade by the contractors in pursuance of the Notice of Accidents Act, and I propose to order a formal investigation under the Act.

MR. BELL: To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department if his attention has been called to an inquest that was held at St. Michael's on the 8th instant, on the body of Frederick Thistleton, who was killed on the new line being constructed between Tenterden and Headcorn, and to the fact that the inquest was held within a few hours of the accident, and without the attendance of any of the injured men, or time for any of the deceased's relatives to attend; and, if so, whether he will ascertain the reason for this hasty inquiry in the absence of the evidence of the injured men.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Akers-Douglas*). I have communicated with the coroner with regard to the case mentioned in the Question, and have ascertained that the accident occurred at 10 a.m., that in the exercise of his discretion the coroner thought it desirable to hold the inquest at once, and that it was opened at 8.30 p.m. the same day. Evidence as to the cause of death was taken carefully and at considerable length, and an adjournment for further evidence was considered unnecessary because it had been ascertained that the injured men could only confirm the evidence already before the Court, and that the relatives could give no fresh information. The coroner assures me that the inquiry, which lasted more than two hours, was in no sense a hasty one, and that there would have been no justification for an adjournment.

Inadequate Accommodation at Peebles Railway Station.

THE MASTER OF ELIBANK (Edinburgh, Midlothian): To ask the President of the Board of Trade whether his attention has been called to the detriment which is caused to the development of Peebles and district by the deficiency of station accommodation in that town on the North British system, and to the fact that the repeated representations of the local authorities to the railway company have been ignored; and whether he will make inquiries into the circumstances, with a view to this state of affairs being remedied.

(*Answered by Mr. Gerald Balfour.*) My attention has not been called to the matters referred to. If the hon. Member will furnish me with details showing the ground of complaint I shall be happy to communicate with the company thereon, but the Board of Trade have no powers which would enable them to compel the company to improve the accommodation provided at a station already in use.

Postal Facilities at the College, St. Mary's, Knockbeg, Queen's County.

MR. HAMMOND (Carlow): To ask the Postmaster-General if he is aware that the College, St. Mary's, Knockbeg, Queen's County, about two-and-a-half miles from Carlow Town, has but one postal delivery in the day, and that letters therefrom have to be sent for postage to Carlow Town by private messenger; and, if so, whether, seeing that this is an important public institution in a fairly populous district, he will arrange for a second daily postal delivery, and for providing and erecting a postal pillar at the road gate of this college.

(*Answered by Lord Stanley.*) My attention has not previously been called to this service, but I am having inquiry made in the matter and I will communicate the result to the hon. Member.

Duties of Foreign Officers in Macedonian Gendarmerie.

MR. MOON (St. Pancras, N.): To ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether he has any official information showing that Hilmi Pasha has issued a circular to the authorities in the three vilayets, informing them that the foreign officers in the *gendarmerie* must confine themselves strictly to the technical instruction of the corps, and must not receive complaints from the population or otherwise interfere in the domain of the civil authorities.

(*Answered by Earl Percy.*) No complaint has been received on the subject from the British Staff Officer, but inquiry is being made by His Majesty's Government.

Compensation Allowances to Customs Officers.

MR. ERNEST GRAY (West Ham, N.): To ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether, in view of the fact that the second class examining officers of Customs who entered the service in 1883, and whose case is now under the consideration of the Board of Customs, suffered retardation of promotion, the Lords of the Treasury will date the proposed compensation allowances from the completion of twenty years service.

(*Answered by Mr. Victor Cavendish.*) The matter is under consideration, but no further statement can be made at present.

Jarvis Charity Scheme.

SIR JAMES RANKIN (Herefordshire, Leominster): To ask the hon. Member for the Tunbridge Division, as representing the Charity Commissioners, whether a scheme affecting the Jarvis Charity, in the county of Hereford, has been made, and is to come into operation on Monday, 20th June; and, if so, whether he will arrange to delay the date for this scheme coming into operation until the persons affected by it, and resident in the parishes of Staunton-on-Wye, Tetton, and Bredwardine, have the opportunity of expressing their views upon it.

(*Answered by Mr. Griffith Boscawen.*) The Jarvis Charity is regulated by a scheme of the Court of Chancery of the 2nd August, 1852, as amended by a scheme of the Charity Commissioners of the 16th August, 1870. No further scheme has been made for the Charity, but the Commissioners have prepared an Order under The Board of Education Act, 1899, to determine the part of the endowment of the Charity which is held for or ought to be applied to educational purposes. The draft of the proposed Order was submitted to the Trustees of the Charity, and one of the Assistant Commissioners visited Staunton-on-Wye, and conferred with them upon the subject. In the result the Commissioners have modified the proposed Order, and the revised draft has been submitted to the Board of Education for their observations. The Commissioners will not object to delay the sealing of the proposed Order for a reasonable period.

Issues under the Imperial Defence Act.

MR. RUNCIMAN (Dewsbury): To ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer what amounts were issued by the Treasury to the War Office under the Imperial Defence Act during each of the years in which that Act was in operation.

(*Answered by Mr. Austen Chamberlain.*) The hon. Member will find the amounts shown fully in the (Final) Account of the Imperial Defence Act (Part II.), House of Commons Paper, No. 42, of 1897.

Train Service from Killarney to Tralee or Killorglin.

MR. MURPHY (Kerry, E.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he can cause the Department of Agriculture to make representations to the Great Southern and Western Railway Company to run an evening train from Killarney to Tralee or Killorglin at 6 o'clock p.m. on Saturday evenings in the interest of the trade of Killarney.

(*Answered by Mr. Wyndham.*) If definite representations be made to the new Department by aggrieved traders, indicating that reasonable facilities are not afforded by the railway company for the receiving, forwarding, and delivering of traffic from Killarney to Tralee or Killorglin, the Department will make inquiry into the matter.

Acquisition of Land by Belfast Water Commissioners—Award of Arbitrator.

MR. SAMUEL YOUNG (Cavan, E.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that under the Belfast Water Act of 1899 the Belfast City and District Water Commissioners in the process of acquiring many thousand acres of land in the Woodburn district, near Carrickfergus, appointed an arbitrator in March, 1902, to hear the claims of landlords and tenants; that till the present no draft award has been published although the arbitrator has been frequently appealed to on the subject; and whether, seeing that a number of tenants on these lands are living in a state of uncertainty, he can take any steps to compel the arbitrator to submit his draft award at once.

(*Answered by Mr. Wyndham.*) The arbitrator has divided his draft award into sections. The first section was lodged in the Office of the Commissioner of Public Works on the 18th January last, and the third section on the 11th instant. The second section is in the hands of the printers, and it is anticipated that it will be lodged in the course of a few days. The claims dealt with have been very numerous, and the arbitrator states that it was not possible to complete the award earlier. A considerable number of objections have been received and the arbitrator reports that, by arrangement between the solicitors and counsel for the various claimants and the legal advisers of the Belfast Water Commissioners, the hearing of these claims will not be commenced until after the long vacation has begun.

Drainage of Lough Leagh—Report of Engineer.

Mr. CHARLES CRAIG (Antrim, S.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if the report of the engineer appointed to survey and advise upon the drainage of Lough Neagh has reached him yet; and, if so, when and in what manner he will make it public.

(*Answered by Mr Wyndham.*) The Report was communicated to-day to the Treasury and myself. The question whether it should be published, and, if so, the form the publication should take will be considered.

Population of the Transvaal—Details.

Mr. JOHN ELLIS (Nottinghamshire, Rushcliffe.): To ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he will give the following particulars respecting the population of the Transvaal: the number of white persons of each sex and of Dutch and English race respectively above and below sixteen years of age in Pretoria and the rest of the Transvaal (excepting Johannesburg and the mining district immediately adjacent); the like figures for Johannesburg and the mining district immediately adjacent; and the like figures for coloured persons in Pretoria and the Transval, and Johannesburg and the mining district respectively.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Lyttelton.*) I have not as yet received the Census Returns which would enable me to reply to this Question.

Unskilled White Labour on the Rand

Mr. HERBERT SAMUEL (Yorkshire, Cleveland): To ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he is yet able to state the number of workmen of British and of other European nationality who are employed in the crushing mills on the Rand and in other departments of the gold-mining industry, in forms of unskilled labour which, before the war, were usually performed by Kaffir labourers.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Lyttelton.*) Lord Milner has furnished me with a statement showing that the number of whites employed in the Witwatersrand Gold Mines on unskilled labour, which prior to the war was performed by Kaffirs, is 998; of these, 405 are British, 551 Boers, and 42 aliens.

Safeguarding of White Labour in the Transvaal.

Mr. JOHN BURNS (Battersea): To ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies if he will state what steps he intends to take to enforce his pledge that white labour should not be supplanted by Chinese in the Transvaal, in view of the fact that the report of the State Mining Engineer for the year 1902–3 shows that upwards of 3,000 white men are employed on the mines in the Witwatersrand area whose occupations are not safeguarded under the Labour Importation Ordinance.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Lyttelton.*) The hon. Member has not taken account of the fact that the white labour is not only protected by the schedule of prohibited occupations, but also by the definition of unskilled labour as "such labour as is usually performed in mines in the Witwatersrand district by persons belonging to the aboriginal races or tribes of Africa south of the Equator," which excludes the Chinese labourer from any but such labour.

British-Indian Traders in the Transvaal

Mr. RUNCIMAN: To ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies what was the decision of the Transvaal Supreme Court in a case recently brought by certain British-Indian subjects against the Government of the Transvaal for refusing to grant them a right to trade; and what action the Government of the Transvaal proposes, take in the matter.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Lyttelton.*) 1. The decision was that the plaintiff, to whom a renewal of his licences to trade outside a location had been refused, in accordance with the interpretation of the law by the High Court of the late Republic, was, on payment of the licence moneys, entitled to receive such licences. The Court reversed the decision of the late High Court, and held that the law does not apply to trading but only to residence. 2. I am not yet in a position to make any statement in reply to the latter part of the hon. Member's Question. I am in communication with Lord Milner on the subject.

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE.

His Majesty's Gunboats at Evictions.

MR. GILHOOLY (Cork County, W.): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether he is aware that some years ago the Government refused the use of His Majesty's gunboats for carrying out evictions in the Island of Skye; and whether that rule will be also adhered to in Ireland.

THE CIVIL LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY (Mr. ARTHUR LEE, Hampshire, Fareham): There is no record at the Admiralty of the circumstances referred to. If the hon. Member will be good enough to inform me of the date on which this happened I will cause further inquiry to be made.

MR. GILHOOLY: Will gunboats be used to carry out evictions in Ireland?

The New Rifle.

CAPTAIN NORTON (Newington, W.): I beg to ask the Financial Secretary to the War Office if he can state the number of new pattern and converted rifles respectively for which orders have been placed up to 1905, destined for home and for India; also the shooting value of the converted rifle as compared with the new one; and the troops to whom the converted rifle will be issued.

THE FINANCIAL SECRETARY TO THE WAR OFFICE (Mr. BROMLEY DAVENPORT, Cheshire, Macclesfield): Of the total orders placed, 71,574 are for India and 185,940 for home. The shooting value of the two rifles is identical, and for issue, discrimination between the two is unnecessary, though, as a matter of convenience, both patterns will not be issued to the same unit.

CAPTAIN NORTON: Are all the old rifles being converted?

MR. BROMLEY DAVENPORT was understood to reply in the affirmative.

CAPTAIN NORTON: And what troops will they be issued to?

MR. BROMLEY DAVENPORT: That I think is immaterial, the shooting value of the rifles being identical.

Militia Field Artillery.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether, since January last, any steps have been taken towards raising the two additional brigades of Militia Field Artillery for which Treasury sanction had then been given, on account of the results attained by the brigade already raised.

MR. BROMLEY DAVENPORT: These two additional brigades were provided for in this year's Estimates, but it has been found impossible to proceed further in the raising of them, owing to want of barrack accommodation.

Transvaal Convention with Portugal.

MR. WHITLEY (Halifax): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether there exists a Convention, the terms of which have not yet been published, made by Lord Milner with the Portuguese authorities before the conclusion of the South African War, relating to import duties and railway rates on goods entering the Transvaal *viâ* Delagoa Bay; and, if so, will he lay a copy of the Convention upon the Table of the House, along with a comparative statement of the rates imposed on goods entering the Transvaal from Portuguese and British colonies respectively.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Mr. LYTTELTON, Warwick and Leamington): I have already promised, in reply to a Question put to me yesterday by the hon. Member for East Perthshire,† to lay the Convention. It was laid before the Transvaal Legislative Council in July last. With regard to a comparative statement of rates, I will communicate with Lord Milner.

Zanzibar and Pemba.

MR. BAYLEY (Derbyshire, Chesterfield): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs if the proposed transfer of East Africa territory from the Foreign Office to the Colonial Office will include the Islands of Zanzibar and Pemba.

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† See page 138.

THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Earl PERCY, Kensington, S.): The *status* of Zanzibar and Pemba is not the same as that of the mainland territories, which are under the direct administration of the Foreign Office, and no decision has yet been arrived at on the question raised by the hon. Member.

Postal Officials and Passive Resistance.

MR. GEORGE WHITE (Norfolk, N.W.): I beg to ask the Postmaster-General whether his attention has been called to the case of the postmaster of the sub-office of Lifton, in Devon, who has received notice that his place will be considered vacant if he again appears before the magistrate as a passive resister to the education rate; and, if so, will he state whether this has been done by his knowledge and instruction; and, if so, whether he will reconsider his instructions.

THE POSTMASTER-GENERAL (Lord STANLEY, Lancashire, Westhoughton): Post Office servants who make default in payment of the education rate are treated in exactly the same way as those who have made default in the payment of other rates or taxes. Each case is decided on its merits; but evidently the Postmaster-General cannot allow the work of the Post Office to be interrupted, or the Department to be involved in trouble or scandal, by the failure of its servants to discharge their legal obligations either to the community or to other individuals. If, therefore, such failure on the part of a postmaster or sub-postmaster results in a seizure or distraint at a post office or sub-post office, the officer concerned will be liable to have his appointment declared vacant. A communication in this sense was made to the postmaster of Lifton, against whom a distress warrant has been issued. I see no reason to alter the practice in this matter; which was laid down by my predecessor, and in which I fully concur.

MR. GEORGE WHITE: May I ask the noble Lord whether he is aware that the religious teaching in the school of this village is of such a character that the head gardener of the squire has had to leave the Church, and a good Churchman has lost his situation in consequence?

*MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! The hon. Member is not entitled to make these personal reflections in the form of a Question.

MR. GEORGE WHITE: I only thought it might be a justification of the action of the postmaster.

The Post Office and the National Telephone Company.

MR. LOUGH (Islington, W.): I beg to ask the Postmaster-General whether, having regard to the shortness of time now available, he can state whether he has come to any decision as to buying out the National Telephone Company under the clause which permits of doing so this year by compulsory arbitration after six months notice.

LORD STANLEY: After careful consideration, I have arrived at the conclusion that it would not be in the public interest to exercise the compulsory powers of purchase reserved to the Postmaster-General by Clause 17 of the National Telephone Company's licence. I shall, therefore, not give notice to the company under that clause; and I am unable to say at present whether the negotiations now in progress with a view to a voluntary sale will lead to a satisfactory result.

*MR. GIBSON BOWLES (Lynn Regis): Is it intended, or not, to undertake meantime the competition between the Post Office and the National Telephone Company, for the purposes of which this House voted £2,000,000 sterling, or is it intended to go on with the present arrangement of working with the Company in agreement?

LORD STANLEY: I do not quite follow the hon. Member. There is plenty of work to be done by the Telephone Department without actually entering into direct competition with the National Telephone Company. If these negotiations fall through—and I cannot now say whether they will or not—the circumstances will be entirely changed, and then I shall have to consider what action we should take as regards competition.

Motor-cars in London.

DR. FARQUHARSON (Aberdeenshire, W.): I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board whether, in consultation with municipal or county authorities or otherwise, he can do something to relieve the rural and suburban districts of London from the annoyance caused by motor-cars, which dash along in defiance of the comfort and convenience of those who use the road, poisoning the air with fumes of petroleum, and destroying the vegetation of trees and hedges by clouds of dust, which also render safe steering difficult or impossible.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. WALTER LONG, Bristol, S.): I am afraid I do not see my way to any effective action in the direction suggested by the hon. Member. I can only hope that a strict observance of the law on the part of the drivers of motor-cars and due consideration for the comfort and convenience of pedestrians will tend to minimise the evils incidental to the use of these vehicles.

CAPTAIN DONELAN (Cork County, E.): Has any record been kept in the right hon. Gentleman's Department of casualties caused by these motor-cars?

MR. WALTER LONG: No record is kept in my Department, and no record can be kept, because I get no information on the subject except what appears in the Press. I see records of accidents, and I am fully aware of the fact that in many cases the drivers of these cars do not take sufficient precautions for the protection of the public. The law, as amended by the Act of last year, is fully sufficient to meet such cases if the public will help themselves, and the law is fully administered by those responsible for its administration.

Relatives on the Bench.

MR. REDDY (King's County, Birr): I beg to ask Mr. Attorney-General for Ireland whether he is aware that at the Birr Petty Sessions, on the 6th February last, a road contractor named Young applied for an order to enter a quarry pit on the lands of a Mr. Frend, and that the Bench upon the occasion was composed of Mr. Shannon, R.M., and three relatives of Mr. Frend, including his brother, who overruled the opinion of the resident magistrate and refused the order; and, if so, whether he will take steps to prevent magistrates adjudicating in cases in which their near relatives are litigants.

THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. ATKINSON, Londonderry, N.): If any justice taking part in a decision is disqualified by interest the law is open to the party aggrieved, who can have the decision quashed. Mere relationship is not generally regarded as such an interest. In any case I have no power in the matter.

Fair Rent Cases in Kenmare Rural District.

*MR. BOLAND (Kerry, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that inconvenience is caused to tenants in the Kenmare Rural District who serve notice to have fair rents fixed before the County Court Judge, by reason of the fact that these cases are heard at Killarney instead of Kenmare; and whether, seeing that quarter sessions are held in Kenmare in January and June, that many of these tenants in Sneem and Tuosist parishes reside 20 miles from Kenmare, and that there is no railway communication between these districts and Kenmare, he can arrange that these cases should be heard at the Kenmare quarter sessions.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. WYNDHAM, Dover): The word Kenmare in the 13th and 15th lines is a misprint, I presume, for Killarney. I have communicated the Question to the learned Judge, who expresses his willingness to hear such cases at Kenmare if so desired. Cases from that district have been adjourned for hearing at Kenmare whenever application, on the ground of convenience, was made to him.

*Mr. BOLAND: May I state, Mr. Speaker, that the facts are correctly set out in my Question. Railway communication exists between Kenmare and Killarney, but not between Sneem or Tuosist and Kenmare.

Bonane (Kerry) Schools—Instruction in Irish.

Mr. BOLAND: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that the parents of the children attending the Tulloha male and female schools in the parish of Bonane, county Kerry, sent a petition to the Marquess of Lansdowne asking that permission should be given for the teaching of Irish as an extra subject; and that a petition was also sent to the National Board of Education on the same subject; and whether, in view of the fact that the Marquess of Lansdowne and his agents, who are the managers, allow Irish to be taught at Danros and other schools, and that the district is an Irish-speaking one, he will see that this restriction is removed.

Mr. WYNDHAM: I am not aware that a petition was addressed to Lord Lansdowne as stated. No communication on the subject has been received by the National Board of Education.

Mr. BOLAND: I can assure the right hon. Gentleman that the facts are as stated in the Question.

Kenmare Estate.

Mr. MURPHY (Kerry, E.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the Estates Commissioners or the Congested Districts Board have made, or propose to make, any effort to purchase the portion of the Kenmare Estate that comes within the definition of a congested estate, having regard to the fact that the landlord has in writing expressed his readiness to sell, and the tenants are ready to buy at a fair price.

Mr. WYNDHAM: No application has yet been made to the Estates Commissioners or the Congested Districts Board for the purchase of that portion of the estate mentioned.

Mr. MURPHY: Are we to understand that where a landlord signifies his willingness to sell and the tenants are ready to buy neither the Estates Commissioners nor the Congested Districts Board will take any action.

Mr. WYNDHAM: Nothing is simpler, if the facts are as stated, for the parties to take the necessary steps.

Fair-Rent Appeals in County Monaghan.

Mr. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland how many fair-rent appeals stand for hearing in county Monaghan; when the Land Commissioners last sat there for the purpose of hearing appeals; and whether it is proposed to take any steps to expedite the decisions in such cases.

Mr. WYNDHAM: 1,360 appeals, representing about 1,000 cases, are pending from county Monaghan. The Land Commission last sat there for the hearing of fair-rent appeals on the 10th March, 1903, and following days. A sitting is fixed to be held at Monaghan on the 12th July. Owing to the claims of other districts the Commissioners have been unable to arrange more frequent sittings at Monaghan.

Mr. T. W. RUSSELL: Seeing that some of these appeals have been suspended for three or four years, cannot something be done to expedite them?

Mr. WYNDHAM: I believe the Commissioners are doing their best to deal with these cases.

Roscommon Land Appeals.

Mr. HAYDEN (Roscommon, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he can state the cause of the delay in announcing the decisions in the county Roscommon appeal cases heard by the Land Commission in Dublin, on 21st April last; and when these decisions will be made known.

Mr. WYNDHAM: There was only one appeal from Roscommon heard on the date mentioned. Judgment will be given in the case next week.

Castleisland Eviction.

MR. MURPHY: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that at the eviction of Mr. Loughlin, district councillor, and his brother at Cordal, Castleisland, county Kerry, last week, by the sheriff of the county, the assistance of the police was given; and, if so, whether he will take steps, in the interests of peace and order, to prevent their employment at such evictions in the future.

MR. WYNDHAM: The sheriff is by law entitled to demand and to receive the assistance of the police in the discharge of his duty in executing writs of His Majesty's Court of Justice. I have no power to take the course suggested.

MR. MURPHY: Is it not the fact that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol when Chief Secretary for Ireland refused the assistance of the police in these cases?

MR. WYNDHAM: The sheriff has an absolute right to ask it.

Rossmacomen Eviction.

MR. GILHOOLY: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that at the recent eviction at Rossmacomen a sheriff's bailiff, named Harding, in the presence of County Inspector Hamilton, threw stones at the people in the houses of which possession was to be taken, and that when County Inspector Hamilton was requested to arrest Harding he refused to do so, though he arrested other men who were found in the houses referred to; and, if so, will he state what action he proposes to take in the matter.

MR. WYNDHAM: The county inspector considered there were no grounds for arresting Harding. He was resisted in endeavouring to effect an entrance to two houses, the inmates of which assailed him with missiles and lime. Harding threw back some pieces of turf thrown at him. The police do not propose to proceed against him, but it is open, of course, to the inmates of the houses, if they feel aggrieved by his action, to institute proceedings.

MR. GILHOOLY: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that one of the men arrested during the recent eviction at Rossmacomen bore a mark on his face that could have been caused by the stab of a pitchfork; that this man charged a constable, named Mulcahy, with having inflicted that wound with a pitchfork; and that, when he applied to County Inspector Hamilton for Mulcahy's name, he replied that when the wounded man's solicitor applied to him he would give it; and, if so, will he say whether it was the duty of the county inspector to furnish the name of the constable.

MR. WYNDHAM: The facts are substantially as stated. It would have been better had the county inspector given the name of the constable. This has now been done.

The Clinton Estate.

MR. GILHOOLY: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that, prior to the recent evictions at Rossmacomen, county Cork, Canon McDonnell, P.P. of Castletown, Berehaven, on behalf of the tenants requested the Congested Districts Board (through Sir Antony McDonnell) to send a valuer on the Clinton Estate on whose valuation the tenants agreed to purchase, and that since the evictions Canon McDonnell, on behalf of the tenants, offered one year's rent in lieu of arrears; and, if so, whether, seeing that the average rental on these holdings is £5 per annum and the land very barren, he will, in view of these circumstances, bring pressure within the law on the landlord of the Clinton Estate.

MR. WYNDHAM: Canon McDonnell communicated to Sir Antony McDonnell the conditions upon which the tenants of this estate were prepared to purchase their holdings. One of the conditions contemplated arbitration and purchase through the Congested Districts Board. In reply Sir Antony McDonnell intimated that the Board could not act as arbitrator between the landlord and tenants. The estate is not one which the Board could buy with advantage. A report to that effect was made to the Board many months ago. The reply to the last query is in the negative.

CAPTAIN DONELAN: Is it intended to furnish another army of police in the event of these evictions being proceeded with?

[No answer was returned.]

The Rosses Salmon Fisheries.

MR. HUGH LAW (Donegal, W.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the attention of the Fisheries Branch of the Department of Agriculture has been drawn to the dangers to those boats which are engaged upon the salmon fishery in the Rosses, county Donegal, consequent upon the inshore course taken by coasting steamers; and whether any steps have been taken to prevent the occurrence of collisions and loss of life and property.

MR. WYNDHAM: Yes, Sir. The Department has taken all the steps in its power, by the issue of placards and advertisements, to warn the masters of coasting vessels against the dangers referred to.

Birr Extra Police Charge.

MR. REDDY: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that a sum of over £20 for extra police has been assessed upon the Birr Urban Council; and, if so, whether, in view of the peaceable condition of King's County and of the fact that this charge has been remitted in other counties, he will recommend a similar course being adopted in this case.

MR. WYNDHAM: No, Sir. Charges similar to that referred to in the Question have not been, and will not be, remitted.

Police Espionage in Londonderry.

MR. FENWICK (Northumberland, Wansbeck): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether his attention has been called to the case of Arthur Orbell, a commercial traveller, who on the 19th of April last was followed in the streets of Londonderry by Police Constable Hayes whilst in the pursuit of his business; whether he is aware that Mr. Orbell was detained at the Provincial Hotel for the night under the surveillance of this constable; and, if so, whether he can state the nature of the offence for which Orbell was suspected, and under whose authority Police Constable Hayes was acting when the incident occurred.

MR. WYNDHAM: My attention was directed for the first time to this case by the Question of the hon. Member. The facts, I am informed, are substantially as stated, but I learn that, although Mr. Orbell was kept under supervision by the constable during the night, his liberty was in no way interfered with. The constable acted on his own initiative and responsibility without informing his superior officer. The matter was carefully inquired into by the Inspector-General, who gravely cautioned the constable against a repetition of such conduct. I may add that the county inspector has written to Mr. Orbell's employers expressing regret that he had been subjected to any inconvenience.

MR. JOHN REDMOND (Waterford) asked how the right hon. Gentleman reconciled his statement that Mr. Orbell's liberty was in no way interfered with when he admitted the facts in the Question were substantially correct and that Mr. Orbell was detained at the hotel for the night under the personal supervision of the constable. Was not that interference with the liberty of the subject?

MR. WYNDHAM said he did not suggest for one moment that the constable was not guilty of a grave error of judgment.

MR. FENWICK: Has any apology been tendered to Mr. Orbell for the inconvenience to which he was subjected?

MR. WYNDHAM: I have answered that.

MR. FENWICK: No, the apology has been sent to his employers. Is he not to have one personally?

MR. WYNDHAM: Yes, I think an expression of regret is due to him.

MR. JAMES O'CONNOR (Wicklow, W.): Will the right hon. Gentleman take care that this constable is promoted for his excessive zeal?

[No answer was returned.]

Graig Abbey, Athenry.

MR. REDDY: On behalf of the hon. Member for East Galway, I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that a proposal has been made in Judge Ross's Court by Mr. Thomas O'Malley, of Connemara, to purchase the holding of 252 acres at Graig Abbey, Athenry, on the property of Clarke Minors, which he held on an eleven months tenure; and whether he would direct the attention of the Estates Commissioners to this land with a view to it being purchased for the enlargement of small holdings in the vicinity of Athenry.

MR. WYNDHAM: No request under Section 7 of the Land Act has been issued by the Estates Commissioners in respect of this estate, and no application for its purchase has yet been made to the Estates Commissioners. Inquiries will be made, however, as to the expediency of making an offer for the purchase of the estate.

Midleton Town Hall.

CAPTAIN DONELAN: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that the town hall of Midleton, county Cork, was used as a rent office, on Tuesday last, by the agent of a property in the neighbourhood upon which eviction and seizures had recently taken place; whether any, and if so what, precedents exist for thus utilising a town hall for the collection of rents; and will he explain why this course was adopted upon the occasion referred to.

MR. WYNDHAM: The town hall is the private property of Lord Midleton, whose agent gave permission for its use as a rent office. The premises previously used for the purposes were not available on this occasion.

CAPTAIN DONELAN: The right hon. Gentleman has not replied to the last two paragraphs.

MR. WYNDHAM: I cannot answer the last but one.

Polo in Phœnix Park.

MR. NANNETTI (Dublin, College Green): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that, while the game of polo is allowed to be played in that part of the Phœnix Park known as the Nine Acres, the members of the Sluagh na h-Eireann are not allowed to play Gaelic games there; and, if so, will he state under what authority the Commissioners of Police are under an obligation not to increase the enclosures or number of allotments in the park; whether the Commissioners have authority to enforce prohibitive measures against the games played by most of the young men in Dublin, seeing that the history of the Phœnix Park clearly shows that the park belongs to the citizens of Dublin.

MR. WYNDHAM: Polo is allowed on a certain portion of the Nine Acres. There has been considerable opposition in the past to the allotments already provided in the park for cricket and polo, and the Commissioners of Public Works have been required not to increase these allotments. Owing to the damage to the turf and the annoyance caused to the general public by the playing of other games on the Nine Acres, a prohibition was issued on the advice of the Law Officers and has been enforced by the Courts. The park is a Royal Park, the property of the Crown, and the duties and powers of the Commissioners in respect to it are conferred by the Act 23 and 24 Vic., cap. 42.

In answer to a further Question, the right hon. Gentleman said he believed that the present arrangement were for the general convenience of the inhabitants. There must be some give and take.

Irish Agricultural Department—Clerks' Salaries.

MR. DELANY (Queen's County, Ossory): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether, in view of the fact that a number of Catholic clerks in the Veterinary Branch of the Agricultural Department, with salaries at the rate of £90 a year after ten years service, received, in reply to an application for improvement in their position, a communication stating that if these applications were pressed the Treasury might insist on their being replaced by abstractors at £55 a year, a large number of whom were at present available, he can state whether he has taken, or proposes to take, any action in the matter.

MR. WYNDHAM: In November, 1900, an application was received from some of the clerks in the Veterinary Branch for an improvement of their salaries. The religions of these officials are unknown to the Department. The application was recommended to the Treasury, who allowed the clerks to be placed on the permanent establishment, with pensionable rights and other substantial advantages in their position. There is no official record of the communication mentioned in the Question. If any intimation to this effect was made by one of the responsible officers of the Department it was made in the interests of the applicants, who have expressed their thanks to him for his advice and their gratitude for the personal interest shown by him in their case.

Cooscroum Fisheries.

MR. BOLAND: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that fishermen of Cooscroum, without exception, consider the providing of skids by the Congested Districts Board as a useless temporary expedient in view of the steep and rocky character of the beach; and whether, seeing that fully thirty boats are in use in this cove, the Congested Districts Board will follow local advice, and adopt the temporary expedient, pending some permanent improvement, of placing baulks laid down in concrete to facilitate the drawing up of the boats.

MR. WYNDHAM: The Board adopted the proposal to provide a skid with iron rollers on the advice of its fishery expert. The funds at its disposal, and the claims from other localities, do not permit the Board to undertake a more expensive work at this place.

MR. BOLAND: Was not the local advice practically neglected?

MR. WYNDHAM: The local advice consisted in asking for more extensive works than the funds would allow.

MR. JOHN REDMOND: It was the right advice, however.

Maryborough Gun Dispute.

MR. DELANY: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that a gun, the property of Mr. Peter Dowling, Straboe, has found its way into the possession of the police at Maryborough, having been taken by a local gamekeeper from a servant of Mr. Dowling's, who was carrying the gun without his employer's knowledge; and whether, in view of the fact that Mr. Dowling holds a licence from the resident magistrate and also an Excise 10s. licence, he will state upon what grounds the police refuse to restore the gun to the owner.

MR. WYNDHAM: I am now informed that the gun has been identified by Mr. Dowling as his property. He has undertaken to make a declaration to this effect and that the weapon was taken out of his possession without his knowledge or approval. When this has been done it will be restored to him.

Kilbride Canteen Licence.

MR. JAMES O'CONNOR: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether his attention has been called to the action of Mr. James Shanks in signing a certificate granting a licence to the canteen at Kilbride, county Wicklow, for which county Mr. Shanks is not a magistrate, the licence having previously been refused by the local magistrates; and, if not, will he direct the attention of the Lord Chancellor to the matter.

MR. WYNDHAM: I have already stated I had been advised that the certificate signed in this case by Mr. Shanks was invalid.† The papers will be referred to the Lord Chancellor.

Licences for Air Guns.

MR. JOSEPH DEVLIN (Kilkenny, N.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether his attention has been drawn to the fact that at the Belfast Petty Sessions, held on Monday, 30th May, Daniel Ferris was prosecuted and fined, at the instance of the Commissioners of Inland Revenue, under the Gun Licence Act of 1870, for having carried an air-gun in Belfast on 1st April without a licence; whether he is aware that the defendant in the case was a member of an air-gun club, and was taking part in an air-gun competition on the occasion in question; and, if so, whether, seeing that under the section in the Act under which Mr. Ferris was prosecuted a gun is held to be a weapon which discharges a missile, that a toy pop-gun would come within its scope, and that air-gun clubs are numerous in England and in the North of Ireland, where they are encouraged by the local authorities, he will advise the Inland Revenue Department that the fine in this case should be remitted, and that in future such prosecutions should not take place unless some grave offence is committed against the law.

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† See (4) *Debates*, cxxxv., 802.

THE FINANCIAL SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY (**MR. VICTOR CAVENDISH**, Derbyshire, W.): The weapon used by Mr. Ferris was not a toy, but an air-gun, which is expressly mentioned in Section 2 of the Gun Licence Act, 1870, as being included under the term "gun." The magistrates imposed a fine of £2 10s., but recommended its mitigation to 10s. on the ground of ignorance of the law; and their recommendation has been adopted. I am unable to give an undertaking that the law will not be enforced in future.

SELECTION (STANDING COMMITTEES).

Mr. HALSEY reported from the Committee of Selection: That they had discharged the following Member from the Standing Committee on Law, and Courts of Justice, and Legal Procedure: Mr. Jacoby; and had appointed in substitution: Mr. Dalziel.

Report to lie upon the Table.

NEW BILLS.

LAND TAX COMMISSIONERS' NAMES BILL.

"To appoint additional Commissioners for executing the Acts granting a Land Tax and other Rates and Taxes," presented by Mr. Victor Cavendish. To be read a second time upon Monday next, and to be printed. [Bill 232.]

MARINE INSURANCE BILL.

"For codifying the Law relating to Marine Insurance," presented by Mr. Attorney-General; supported by Mr. Solicitor-General. To be read a second time upon Monday next, and to be printed. [Bill 233.]

SUPPLY [13TH ALLOTTED DAY.]

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[Mr. **JEFFREYS** (Hampshire, N.) in the Chair.]

CIVIL SERVICES AND REVENUE DEPARTMENTS ESTIMATES, 1904–5.

CLASS II.

£146,461, to complete the sum for Board of Trade.

***SIR ALBERT ROLLIT** (Islington, S.) took it that upon this Vote it was open to hon. Members to say a word or two with reference to the reorganisation of certain Government Departments, especially of the Board of Trade and of the Local Government Board. Last year, upon the debate which took place on the subject, there was a very general opinion expressed that some changes were most desirable in the interest both of trade and commerce and of administration, and the Committee appointed, in its Report, had carried out in a very large measure that feeling. In some respects the Report was somewhat inadequate, but on the whole its main provisions would, he thought, reflect the views expressed in the debate last year, and would introduce a very valuable reform. In future, subject, of course, to legislation, which he hoped would be speedy, there would be a Ministry of Commerce and Industry instead of an obsolete Board of Trade, consisting of the Archbishop, the Speakers, not only of this House but also of the Irish House of Commons, and others who appeared never to have taken any practical part in trade questions, except, perhaps, once in the early part of last century, when the Archbishop of Canterbury attended and made representations to the Board on the subject of the trade of Manchester. A Return which had been presented to the House showed that in the great majority of countries there were either divisions of more general departments or specifically existing Ministries of Commerce and Industry; and those who had been brought in contact in negotiations with foreign countries on the subject of treaties, tariffs, and the like, knew well the importance attached to the work of such Ministries. He was glad, therefore, that a recommendation came from a very strong Committee, before which he had given evidence, in favour of a similar state of affairs in this country. He knew that the feeling of the commercial community was that more might be done to foster trade and industry than had been the case in the past; and he thought, when they had a Cabinet Minister specifically representing trade and industry, whose emoluments were to be raised in the hope that his services would be of proportionately increased value, it would be somewhat of a stimulus and give increased *status* to the Department, though, of course, the result depended on what work was actually done. He ought, perhaps, to add that the Committee reported that the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade and the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board both expressed a hope that in the reorganisation of their Departments their own salaries would not be increased, and judging from the value of their services that was a very modest expression of opinion. The Report also recommended a similar reorganisation of the Local Government Board and an increase in its *status*; and, when they bore in mind the very material interests it directed, he did not think that recommendation required any additional support. What he thought was most acceptable was, that there would be more co-ordination of duties, or a more practical allocation of them, and that there would not be those overlapping jurisdictions which in the past had prevented many important commercial and municipal reforms.

The Committee did not appear altogether to have approved of the suggestion, which had strong recommendations, that the Board of Trade rather than the commercial department of the Foreign Office should be invested with more power and jurisdiction over the Consular reports. In many respects those reports were good, but there were many ways in which they were decidedly inferior to those of other countries, and he referred especially to the need, not merely for periodical reports, but for special reports in particular departments of trade and industry, speedily published and brought to the notice of the community. If something were done in that direction the labours of the Departmental Committee of last session on the Consular Service, before which he had been examined as a witness, would not be without good effect. On the whole they might express agreement with the Report that had been published. He had the honour of serving as a member of the Board of Trade Intelligence Committee, and in some respects good work had been done in the direction of obtaining commercial information upon a much wider scale than was given through the Consular reports, and in focussing it with a view to commercial action in the future. For instance, commercial missions had been sent to Siberia, Persia, and other countries, the fruits of which were of unquestioned value. Amid all the discussions they had heard on the subject of tariffs and treaties, he thought very useful work had been done by the Intelligence Committee in examining the tariffs of other countries, and in taking care that commercial views had been brought to bear upon them. It was very difficult to resist those imposts, and very often too active opposition only stimulated the desire to impose them; and he commended this Report to their consideration. Upon the subject of tariffs this Committee, which was composed of men of all political Parties and possessed strong commercial and departmental representation, expressed the strong opinion that such treaties and tariffs demanded most careful scrutiny, and that all possible practical and economic means should be adopted of preventing or reducing the effect of exclusive tariffs and high import duties, which undoubtedly operated disadvantageously to our commerce.

There would be no question as to their adverse influence upon our trade, though there might be a difference of opinion as to the means by which this could be reduced; but he believed that in securing information at the earliest possible date and in some cases making representations and even remonstrances the Government could do a great deal, and he therefore hoped the President of the Board of Trade would be able to increase the ludicrously inadequate means placed at the disposal of the Commercial Intelligence Committee. By its means the Government could do a great deal for the trade of the country, but a dole of £500 or £1,000 was of little value and he therefore hoped his right hon. friend would make an increased grant, for which the Committee asked in its Annual Report just presented to Parliament.

There was one question on which he respectfully differed from the administration of the right hon. Gentleman, and that was as to the lighthouse fund. Under the Act of 1898—an Act which some of them prophesied would not be altogether effective, and the prophecy had been fulfilled—the Board of Trade had the custody of the lighthouse fund produced by imposts on shipowners for the purpose of lighting our coasts. That was at variance with the practice of practically the rest of the civilised world. They did not think that these monies should be collected, merely for putting the lights in a state of efficiency, but also for the purpose apparently of being idly accumulated in the coffers of the Board of Trade. At this moment he believed there was in hand a sum of nearly £400,000, bearing comparatively small interest, which belonged to the shipowners. Although his right hon. friend had reduced the light dues by 12½ per cent., he trusted he would make some further reduction. Although he agreed that there should be some margin of reserve, they did submit most strongly that there should be something like a financial equilibrium established between the amount of the dues and the work to be done in order to place the lights on a thoroughly good footing, a duty, however, which ought to be done by, and at the cost of, the State.

*MR. LOUIS SINCLAIR (Essex, Romford) desired at the outset to point out that any criticisms he had to offer were not in any way directed against the President of the Board of Trade personally, for he had always keenly appreciated the co-operation and courtesy displayed by the right hon. Gentleman in all matters appertaining to his Department. But it was evident that the present administration which governed our trade and commerce was inadequate. It was now exactly what it was fifty years ago, although the trade of the country was three times as large. Not only was it utterly useless for the purposes of our trade, but in his opinion, it constituted a grave peril to it. They had at the head of the Board of Trade a Gentleman whom they all respected, but who had had no experience whatever in conducting big commercial questions. He was the sole member of the Board. What they required was not a gentleman like Atlas, who had to support the whole world at large, but an effective Department, efficient in every way. In 1620 it was first thought necessary to look after the trade and commerce of this country, and a Department was accordingly created. In 1860 it was found that the increased trade required that that Department should be divided into four, and in 1867 the four were further divided into twelve. Since that date nothing had been done. What he complained of was that we had not got an up-to-date system as compared with that which obtained in foreign countries. We were clearly far behind the times; small States like Bulgaria had Ministries of Commerce, and little Japan was a long way ahead of us. Our Board of Trade, although it was supposed to govern our railways, had no effective powers to deal with overcrowding and like evils. When hon. Members talked about the fiscal policy of this country, why did they not set about the task of putting our administration in order? Let it no longer remain a by-word in other countries inducing them to seize our trade at every available opportunity.

He would like to point out one or two of the injustices under which our trade and commerce suffered at the present time. For instance, our canal systems had been absorbed by the railway companies and competition by them stopped to the great advantage of the foreign producer. Hops were sent from Ashford to London at the rate of 35s. per ton, but they were brought over from the Continent and delivered at 17s. 6d. per ton. On other agricultural produce also there was a preference ranging from 40 to 50 per cent. in favour of the foreigner. French timber was carried on our railways for 1d. per ton per mile. English timber was charged 2½d. Then monopolies were allowed, and they found the London Brighton, and South Coast Railway paying the South Eastern and Chatham Railway Company no less than £24,000 a year on condition that they should not run into Eastbourne. Another matter which operated injuriously was the increasing cost of the promotion of Bills in Parliament, the result of which was that railways in England cost about £45,000 a mile, as against £8,000 in America, £9,000 in Germany, and £15,000 in Ireland. The Board of Trade might give every facility for fostering our trade instead of letting it be hampered at every turn. It cost 40s. per ton to send calico from Manchester to London for sale to the consumer; yet if it were only intended for export the charge was reduced to 25s. It was often cheaper to send goods to America and have them returned to this country rather than send them direct to London. The Irish people had a great grievance in this respect; the charges for the conveyance of live stock were so heavy that they rendered cattle breeding absolutely unremunerative. Bad administration was responsible for much of the dire poverty that existed. Our system fostered the rich and did not help the poor. We talked a good deal about barriers raised by foreign countries against our trade, but we made worse barriers ourselves by not putting into operation Acts which would place our traders on the same footing as foreigners. Look at our Patent Laws. Persons who took out patents ought to be compelled to work them, but they would not at times, and only very recently a gentleman had had to spend not less than £5,000 in order to be able to make an article which another man had patented but would not work. The law failed to provide that the Board of Trade should take action in such a case. It was left to the private individual to do that.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE (Mr. GERALD BALFOUR, Leeds, Central): Was that case under the old Act?

*MR. LOUIS SINCLAIR: No, since the law was changed.

MR. GERALD BALFOUR: Was the Board of Trade asked to take action?

*MR. LOUIS SINCLAIR said he presumed that the gentleman to whom he had referred would not have spent £5,000 of his own money if he could have obtained the relief he desired from the Board of Trade. He would forward the facts to the right hon. Gentleman. Then there were the bankruptcy laws in this country; it paid a man to become bankrupt. The amount of which creditors were defrauded by means of these laws was increasing year by year. It seriously hampered trade and it was not conducive to honourable trading or straightforward dealing.

THE DEPUTY-CHAIRMAN: Order, order! There is a separate Vote for the Bankruptcy Department and it is not therefore in order to discuss it now.

*MR. LOUIS SINCLAIR said he would not, of course, press that point further. He would only add in conclusion that the Report on the constitution of the Board of Trade presented to the House by the hon. Member for Oldham was valuable, though disappointing in that it presented no general and comprehensive scheme. It was, however, a step in the right direction. He feared that the operations of the Committee had been too limited. We wanted in this country a Department that would be able to foster trade and commerce, and we required methods whereby we could deal both at home and abroad with questions affecting trade, without undue interference from that office. Only recently a merchant sent his clerk to examine a Consular Report affecting a trade in which he was interested. The official of the right hon. Gentleman's Department told him he could read the Report but must not take any notes. Surely information collected at the expense of the country should be at the service of those who had a right to investigate it. He would furnish the right hon. Gentleman with particulars of the incident referred to and he hoped such a thing would not occur again. He was pleased to see in the House indications of a desire to have the administration of the matters of trade and commerce in the hands of a thoroughly effective Department headed by a Minister of Cabinet rank, and he was quite certain that this country could hold its own against foreign competition without resorting to much discussed measures of tariff retaliation.

SIR GILBERT PARKER (Gravesend) said that in common with other hon. Members he had read with pleasure the Report of the Committee appointed to consider the position and duties of the Board of Trade, but he was afraid he had not derived the same amount of satisfaction from its perusal as the last hon. Member who spoke. No doubt the Committee did all it could, but, after all what was the outcome of their labours—a proposal to increase the salary of the President of the Board of Trade.

SIR JOHN GORST (Cambridge University): And a change of name.

SIR GILBERT PARKER: Yes and a change of name. He had no objection to the proposal to augment the President's salary and he had, therefore, intimated his intention to move the reduction of the Vote in order to have an opportunity of advocating an increase of the salary. That was one of the anomalies of the procedure of this House. It was like breaking a shop window in order to attract the attention of the shopkeeper. He had adopted that device in order to call their serious attention to the fact that there had been an agitation on this subject for years, and serious defects in the administration of the Board of Trade had been pointed out; but they had not got a step further. He did not believe that by calling the Board "The Ministry of Commerce" and making the President a Secretary of State they would alter the present condition of things or that it would tend to that co-ordination which the hon. Member for Islington so much desired. Let them bear in mind the great variety of interests the Board of Trade had to watch—shipping, lighting, bankruptcy, arbitration, trade disputes, copyrights, patents, weights and measures, electricity, railways, and a host of other things. Until the whole scheme of administration was altered and enlarged there could be no further development in the direction of increasing the authority of the Board. He had noticed that much of the work done by the Board of Trade was not so effectively done as it might be. There was no doubt an enormous production of material, but the quality was doubtful. A great deal of the information which was given to the public by the Board required co-ordination and specialisation, and needed to be put in a form which the average reader could understand. He would give an illustration to show how inaccurate was some of the information collected. At one time when crossing the Atlantic they were compelled to give full particulars as to whence they came, who they were, and where they were going, and these were forwarded to the Board of Trade. Well, one day he saw the steward filling in the particulars for him, and an official of the Board of Trade was present at the time. He pointed out to him how inaccurate they were. In the first place he was described as a Scotchman—possibly because he had a habit of asking so many questions. Then he was put down as of the age of fifty-two—another slight mistake, and finally he was described as a banker. He pointed out these errors to the Board of Trade official—one of those gentlemen desirous of doing their duty, and laboriously attentive to their public work, and serving the Department as well as circumstances would permit it to be served—and he believed that the system had since been altered, but still there was an illustration of how for years information had been collected which could not be depended upon for accuracy. The Board of Trade, above all things, ought to be accurate. He held in his hand a book "The Review of the World's Commerce," which enabled one at a glance to see the state of trade between particular countries, and he would like to see the Board of Trade publish something of the same nature, with special reference to our trade with our Colonies.

MR. GERALD BALFOUR: That is being done now.

SIR GILBERT PARKER said that, at any rate, was a step in the right direction. But he was bound to point out that the statistical information now published was in such a form as to involve immense labour on the part of those who wished for facts as to particular trades, or who desired to get some idea of the real state of affairs, and he therefore hoped the right hon. Gentleman would endeavour to give them some such compendious work as the book he had referred to. It might be objected to on the ground of expense, but there was such a thing as being penny wise and pound foolish. He was not advocating anything extravagant, but he would ask the right hon. Gentleman if three men already employed in the Department could not within one year produce a book which would give a clearer idea of the position in which we now stood. There was another question, and that was in regard to Consular Reports. A Departmental Committee had recently investigated the question of transferring the control of the Consular Reports from the Foreign Office. He did not know whether it had yet reported.

MR. GERALD BALFOUR: Yes.

SIR GILBERT PARKER: Well, he had not read the Report but he thought he might urge that the commercial work of our Consuls should be under the direction and control of the Board of Trade, but their appointment and diplomatic work should be under the control of the Foreign Office. He thought that our Consuls were too often men with absolutely no knowledge of this country or of the trade of the country in which they were appointed to act. The Governments of Germany and the United States received elaborate Reports on the conditions of trade from their Consuls, and those Reports were supplied to the general readers and traders who wished to know what the conditions of trade were.

Before he closed he would like to say a word or two on the question of commercial attachés. A step had been taken in the right direction in regard to our system of commercial attachés, but it was only a preliminary step. How could an official residing in Paris report accurately on the trade of France, Belgium, and Switzerland? How could a man living in Berlin cover the whole trade of Germany, Sweden, Holland, and Norway; or one in Vienna adequately look after the trade of Austria and Italy?

The thing was monstrous. Why, Canada kept commercial agents in the sister Colonies like Australia, and although he did not go so far as to say we ought to keep commercial agents in the Colonies he did say that the present system of commercial attachés was altogether inadequate. He had never ceased to believe that in this country we needed to be given far wider information generally on the commercial conditions in all parts of the world. He did not think the Board of Trade was, in itself, responsible for the backwardness of its administration in this matter. No Government could move very far ahead of the period, unless the community at large demanded certain information and certain kinds of information from the Government. A Government would only be criticised by the House for giving such information when not demanded. But, as was well known, all chambers of commerce in this country had passed resolutions for the better development of the Board of Trade. During the last ten years there had been a great deal more interest taken in commercial industry abroad. Commercial agents of other countries were found in the remotest parts of the world and we might be quite certain that the countries those commercial agents represented benefited in consequence. He believed the President of the Board of Trade and his coadjutors to be in favour of the demands which had been made upon them, and he hoped they would endeavour to see them carried out.

MR. CAWLEY (Lancashire, Prestwich) said he was a little disappointed that the only outcome of all the talk about higher and technical education for the purpose of improving our trade should be that the President of the Board of Trade was to be called the President of the Board of Commerce, and have his salary raised to £5,000 a year. He believed that that right hon. Gentleman had done as much as he possibly could for £2,000 a year, and he thought he would himself admit that he could not do any more if he had £5,000 a year. Our foreign commerce did certainly want a good deal more looking after, and the President of the Board of Trade should do everything in his power to foster our foreign trade, and should keep his eyes and ears open to every matter which would benefit the trade of this country. Everyone knew the patent law of this country, and the aniline dye industry was for years actually fostered in Germany by means of our own patents. The right hon. Gentleman certainly deserved a great deal of credit for what he had done, but in the opinion of many the operation of the Patent Law Registration Acts had been too restricted. What the country required was a Minister who would be employed exclusively in looking after our foreign trade and in supervising the Consular Service. And that Minister should have a board of directors under him of business men who would treat the trade of the country as a large going concern, and try to get the best of all our rivals. That would, he thought, be a great improvement. The present scheme of merely altering the *status* of the President of the Board of Trade and the President of the Local Government Board was totally inadequate to meet our requirements.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES (Lynn Regis) said he was entirely out of sympathy with what had been said as to the position of the Board of Trade. Our commerce, or trade, he preferred the old Saxon word, had grown up not only without the assistance of Ministers, but generally speaking, contrary to the desires of Acts of Parliament. It had flourished and a large portion of it still did flourish, not through any aid it got from the Government, but in spite of every successive interference on the part of the Government. He was, therefore, not prepared off-hand to vote in Committee for the increase of the salary of the chief of a Department which was chiefly mischievous and which when not mischievous was useless. It was owing to the way in which the Board of Trade dealt with what were now called the Colonies, but what were then called the plantations, that the seventeen colonies, now the United States of America, were lost to this country. It was only justice to admit that the part played by the Board of Trade in modern times in the affairs of this country was a more useful part, but not so useful, in his opinion, as to warrant the doubling of the salary of the President. His experience of Consular Reports was not encouraging. He did not think any merchant had ever learned anything from a Consular Report. The Reports were of the most jejune character. They were attempts to teach British merchants business, and were most meagre and inadequate. He did not know any merchant who had ever learned anything from a Consular Report. So much for the Consular Reports.

What had been the action of the Board of Trade with regard to trade matters? It interfered more or less in trade disputes, in his opinion always mischievously. When a trade dispute did occur, his opinion was that masters and men should be allowed to fight to a finish. Then there would not be a dispute again in that trade for a long time. [Cries of "Oh!"] That was his belief; he might be wrong. The principal function of the Board of Trade seemed to be to worry shipowners and shipbuilders. Only the other day it claimed to make an examination—a perfectly ridiculous examination as it turned out upon trial—into the condensers of a ship, and to impose tests upon them that were not required. In every department shipowners and shipbuilders were interfered with without knowledge and without intelligence, and often in the most mischievous manner. So far as that trade was concerned, instead of having furthered it the Board of Trade had throughout hampered and hindered it. It had been so to a large extent with the railways. Did the Board of Trade think it was competent to teach trade to traders? Apparently it did; his own opinion was that it could not conduct any department of trade itself. Did the President of the Board of Trade think he could provide for the feeding of London for a single day? It was because neither he nor the Government interfered that London could feed itself. If London were run by the Board of Trade it would starve. The Board of Trade was very useful for statistics. A most conflicting and most informing volume had been published by the right hon. Gentleman about the fiscal question, but which properly should be called the "tariff question." Anybody who had read the preface to that Report must have felt that the persons who, under the direction of the President, were providing these statistics, were dancing a hornpipe in fetters, and had been ordered to compile statistics on a basis incapable of a statistical answer. The result had been confusion so great that both sides appealed with equal confidence to those statistics. Trade in this country flourished best when the Board did not interfere with it. Let him recall another great man—Arthur Young—who was asked by a Frenchman why it was that we got on so much better than they did in France. The answer was, "Everything is done well in England except what is done by the Government." That was true to this day.

What was the Board of Trade? The Archbishop of Canterbury was a member of it and various other great personages. But the President of the Board of Trade and his predecessors for many years past had treated the Archbishop of Canterbury with the utmost contempt. They had never called him in on any occasion, and in spite of the long list of eminent personages, including the Speaker, there was only one person who was "The Board of Trade," and that was his right hon. friend who sat on the Front Bench. He was the last person in the world to depreciate the great qualities of his right hon. friend, but he did not think they lay in the direction of trade. He thought they lay rather in the direction of philosophy or metaphysics, or some of those higher regions that the trader was incompetent to fly to. But when it came to trade he really must doubt if his right hon. friend would succeed in any trade at all if it was to be carried on at a profit. As a sort of amateur trader he might succeed. The President of the Board of Trade said he desired a preference and a moderate tax on food. That was a very dangerous frame of mind for a President of the Board of Trade, and it was no inducement to him to increase his salary that the right hon. Gentleman expressed opinions of that sort. Let the Committee think what this Department was which had been so much lauded by the hon. Baronet the Member for South Islington. The duties in connection with the registration of shipping were very large indeed. They were at present imposed on the Commissioners of Customs, and it had been suggested that they should be transferred to the Board of Trade. The Committee were against that and he quite agreed with the Committee. He thought the Commissioners of Customs were much more able to perform them. The proposal for increasing the salary of the President of the Board of Trade was no novelty in the House. It had been put forward from time to time, and on the last occasion he remembered that no sooner had a Gentleman on those Benches proposed that the salary of the President of the Board of Trade should be doubled than he was made Governor of Madras. He did not know whether his hon. friend the Member for South Islington looked forward to a governorship, but he could warrant that if he went on making proposals to increase the salary of the President of the Board of Trade it would be absolutely impossible for him to escape that fate.

The Committee said they could not suppose that in future the President of the Board of Trade would be out of the Cabinet. He could suppose it very easily. The Board of Trade was properly a statistical Department, and ought never to be anything else. It was a most excellent collector of statistics. He could perfectly well suppose that an official Minister might be omitted from the Cabinet. Cabinets were now too large, and they wanted to get back to the time when the individual members were of some importance, and when the Prime Minister had not become, as in recent times they had seen him, the absolute dictator to those who were presumed to be his equal colleagues. The Committee pointed out that it was not the province of the Board of Trade to create or control commerce. The President of the Board of Trade thought it was. He was always engaged in trying to control commerce, and that was exactly his principal complaint against him. Take the sugar question. If ever there was a question which was one of trade it was pre-eminently the sugar question, but the whole work in connection with the Convention was to be done by the Foreign Office clerks and officials. Under those circumstances, seeing that there was no increase, but rather a decrease, of the duties of the Board of Trade, if the term impudence were not entirely inappropriate to any Committee whatever, and if it were not, in addition to that, most un-Parliamentary, he should be tempted to use it on such an occasion as this. He gave warning that whenever the proposal came before the House it would find in him, and he believed in others, uncompromising opposition. If really the public welfare were at stake, he believed the situation would be best met by the complete abolition of the Board of Trade. If it were a question of increasing the honour, dignity, and *status* of what was really nothing at all, and ought to be nothing but a statistical Department, he would give the proposal his most uncompromising opposition.

*MR. EMMOTT (Oldham) said he intervened with some reluctance in this debate, but as he happened to be the only Member in the House who sat on the Committee which had been so severely blamed by the hon. Member for King's Lynn, perhaps he might be allowed to say one or two words in reference to the matter. A good deal of difference of opinion had been expressed, not only as to the Committee, but also as to the work of the Board of Trade. The hon. Member for King's Lynn thought the Board of Trade an utterly useless Department of the Government. Other Members thought that the Board of Trade was not doing half what it should do, and seemed to imagine that it could create commerce and control it. It must be remembered that this was by no means a new question. It had often been considered in the House, and the House had practically always voted, if not unanimously, at any rate by a very large majority, in favour of increasing the *status* of the President of the Board of Trade. And now that an increase of that kind was recommended by the Committee of which he was a member, hon. Members said that they were disappointed that more was not recommended, and disappointed that the Committee had not recommended a total reorganisation of the Board of Trade and the imposition on them of new duties which hitherto they had not performed. He did not think the Committee were told or expected to make a complete study of the internal working of the Board of Trade, and to make wide and sweeping recommendations. While some hon. Members said that they wished that something more had been recommended, he did hope that commercial men who had pressed forward the view that the *status* of the President of the Board of Trade should be raised would remember that if they desired to have something done, they should not ask too much at once. The essential point in regard to this question seemed to him that the trade of this country was so all important to the present and future prosperity of the country, that the Minister who had most to do with the trade ought to be one of the Ministers of the higher Governmental hierarchy. That was the main view which affected the Committee.

He would point out that those hon. Members who criticised this Committee had made suggestions which were not only inconsistent with each other, but were also very wide of the mark. His hon. friend the Member for Prestwich said that there ought to be a Minister to look after foreign trade alone. He thought that the general opinion of the House was that there was quite a sufficient number of Ministers already; and therefore that was a suggestion to which the House was very unlikely to listen. If the House thought fit, at some future time, to carry out the recommendations which the Committee had made, at any rate they would have accomplished, this much, that the President of the Board of Trade would be a Minister of the first rank, and that any man, however important he might be in the eyes of the country and of the House of Commons, might be ready and glad to take such a place. And it might be found that, in years to come, something more could be done by the Government for the trade of the country, in ways, perhaps, which they knew little of now, and all that would be facilitated if the *status* of the President of the Board of Trade were raised. But he wanted to protest against the idea that the Board of Trade governed commerce. It did not govern commerce; and he was quite sure he expressed the opinion of the greatest commercial men in this House, with whom he had frequently talked over this matter, when he said that what they wanted was, as a rule, not to be interfered with. They did not want commerce to be governed for them by any Government Department. Another complaint was made by the hon. Member for Romford that the President of the Board of Trade was not a commercial man. As a matter of fact the President of the Board of Trade had very rarely been a commercial man, and it was not supremely important that he should be a commercial man. He (the speaker) happened to be in business to a small extent in connection with the cotton trade, and perhaps he knew something of his own trade. But he knew nothing of the coal trade or the iron trade, or of the 600 other trades in the country. No man could be an expert in many trades at the same time; and that being the case, it was much more important to have a man at the head of the Board of Trade of great natural capacity than to have an expert in one particular trade. One other remark he ventured to make, and it was this, that although they were vaguely told that the Committee ought to have suggested a great many more alterations than they had made, he noted a great lack of precision in these complaints. They were told that the Board of Trade was a by-word in other countries; but what kind of particulars were given in support of that statement? It was said that the Board of Trade did not interfere with the overcrowding in railway carriages. Well, so far as his experience of travelling abroad went he had found much more overcrowding there than in this country.

*MR. LOUIS SINCLAIR: The hon. Member should go to East Ham.

*MR. EMMOTT said that that was a comparatively small matter. He was trying to find what more the Board of Trade could do in a large way than it was at present doing. The hon. Member for Gravesend suggested that the statistics issued by the Board of Trade should be enlarged, and said that, in his opinion, the information the Board did supply was not assimilated. The hon. Member said that in travelling on an Atlantic liner he had been described as a Scotchman, over fifty years of age, and a banker. His only point in reply to that remark was that it was a comparatively small matter, and the hon. Member did not give the Committee any very clear idea as to what the Board of Trade could do that it was not now doing. As to the question of assimilating the information issued in such large quantities by the Board of Trade, he had a great deal of sympathy with the hon. Gentleman's view. It appeared to be a tradition in the Government Departments that, although they gave all the information they could, they should not express an opinion. He was one of those people who desired that all the Government Departments should have an Intelligence Department, and that commercial men should get something more from the Board of Trade than mere statistics; that was to say, advice. The difficulty was the fear that the Government officials would become partisans, and that they would lose that character for impartiality which they at present possessed. Be that as it might, he believed that they ought to work in the direction of having an Intelligence Department connected with all the various Government Offices, and that the officials of the Board of Trade ought not to be quite so hampered as in the past by keeping to the strict line of impartiality, and should be able to issue reports in which they did express their own opinions. He, himself, had no scheme for such a change to put before the Committee at the present moment, but he felt that in regard to trade matters, as in regard to other matters, it was a pity that the House and the country did not get more than actual facts from the Government Departments, and more guidance than they were able to have at the present moment. This, however, was not a question for the Board of Trade, it was a question which the House of Commons would have to discuss later if they were going to have a change in the direction indicated.

One word on the question of Consuls. It was generally agreed that Consuls should be appointed by the Foreign Office. It was known that they had some commercial work to perform. He confessed that he wished that more commercial men were appointed Consuls; but he was afraid that there was a vague idea that their commercial and their diplomatic duties could be separated, and that one part should be under the Board of Trade and the other part should be under the Foreign Office. He was not quite sure that that could be done. He hardly knew enough to express a confident opinion, but he felt that in regard to the great question of foreign tariffs it was important that in negotiations between this country and foreign countries, this country should act as one man, and that the Minister who should act on our behalf was the Foreign Minister. It was not possible, in dealing with a foreign country, for the President of the Board of Trade to deal with the question of tariffs over the head of the Foreign Minister. He put forward, in support of the view which the Committee had presented to the House, that if the *status* of the President of the Board of Trade were raised, if he were made a first-rank Minister—as he maintained he ought to be—then in connection with those questions of foreign tariffs he would speak with all the weight any man possibly could to the Foreign Minister who was dealing with foreign Governments. That would facilitate the end which they all had in view, that we should speak strongly and unitedly, and that the opinion of commercial men should have the fullest possible weight in regard to these foreign tariffs. He had not troubled to make any strong defence of the Committee on which he sat. He did not think it necessary. They expressed their honest convictions. They carried out their duties according to the best of their abilities, and he had no apology to make. He was heartily in favour of the Report they had presented to the House, and if the House failed to carry it out he could not help that.

*MR. RITCHIE (Croydon) said that he wished to express general agreement with the hon. Member for Oldham. He was rather surprised to hear the various opinions enunciated in Committee that day in regard to the Report made by the Committee of which the hon. Gentleman was a member. It seemed to have been imagined by many hon. Gentlemen who had spoken that the duty of that Committee was to entirely revise the whole work of the Board of Trade—not only the work which was done at present but the work which would probably fall upon it, and which, in the opinion of some hon. Gentlemen, ought to be performed by it. No doubt it was a part of the reference in dealing with the constitution of the Board of Trade that they should take into account certain duties performed by other Departments, and consider whether there might not be some transfer possible from the one to the other. That duty, he thought, the Committee had performed, but if the Committee had had to go over the very wide field which a good many hon. Members thought they should have done, he was perfectly certain that a great deal of dissatisfaction would have been caused in the House and in the commercial community at the unnecessary delay that would have occurred in making a Report on the subject. What was in the mind of the House when this question was raised? There were two points raised in connection with the Board of Trade—one was its anomalous constitution, and the other one was the position of its President. They would all, he was sure, entirely agree with the Report of the Committee as to the alteration of the constitution of the Board of Trade. It was an anomaly which no one could dream of supporting at the present time and which everyone must be very desirous to get rid of. The question of the *status* of the President of the Board of Trade had been brought before the House of Commons on many occasions, and it had been under the consideration of chambers of commerce also on many occasions; and, although he did not think the House had ever been called on to come to a decision on the subject, chambers of commerce had again and again come to the conclusion that the *status* of the President of the Board of

Trade should be raised to an equality with that of any other Minister, and that his Department should be a first-class one. He could not conceive of anyone differing from the view that the man responsible for a great commercial Department of a great commercial country like this should be made to rank as a Minister of the first class. He was perfectly certain that the commercial community as a whole would come to the decision that that, at least, should be done. It was perfectly obvious why it should be. One reason was, that while the Presidency of the Board of Trade was a second-class post, it was very difficult for the Prime Minister to make that arrangement among his colleagues which he might be able to make if it had been on the footing of a Secretaryship of State. The Minister for Commerce should be one of the highest Ministers, so that the Prime Minister should be able to ask any one of his colleagues, whatever the position he had held before, to occupy the position.

Something had been made of the proposal to increase the salary. He did not believe any Minister when appointed considered the matter of salary by any means of primary importance, but it was an impediment in the way of the Prime Minister making his choice of colleagues freely. The question of salary came in because of the *status* it was desired to give to the office. He did not think it would have been wise for the Committee to have gone so deeply into the duties of the Board of Trade as some hon. Members seemed to imagine they should. He believed there would be a progressive increase in the duties of the Board. He thought it ought to have a good deal more to do with the appointment of Consuls than it had at present. No doubt our Consuls had in a sense double duties to perform. They were representatives of commerce and they had to some extent diplomatic functions. Therefore he did not think the President of the Board of Trade should have their appointment entirely in his hands, but both with regard to the appointment of Consuls and their Reports there ought to be more action in concert between the Board of Trade and the Foreign Office than there had been, and in the appointment of Consuls great consideration ought to be given to commercial fitness. One would imagine that nothing had been done by the Board of Trade to get into closer touch with commercial matters; but a great deal had been done by the initiation of a Commercial Intelligence Department, by sending agents abroad to make commercial inquiries, and by the appointment of commercial attachés. It was perfectly true, as had been said, that these gentlemen were appointed at present to districts so large that it was impossible for them to gain sufficient information; but they had been sent abroad as an experiment, and the Committee would understand that it was not desirable to go wholesale into the matter at once, but that the experiment should be tried in certain districts to see how it worked. His view was that the number of these gentlemen should be increased to a much larger extent, and that no stone should be left unturned to secure that the commercial men of this country should be supplied with information which would enable them to compete in foreign markets. In his opinion any Chancellor of the Exchequer would be acting very unwisely if he refused any reasonable expenditure that might be necessary to equip our commercial men properly. If chambers of commerce were properly constituted and did their work adequately they might be of the greatest use to the Board of Trade; but the constitution of a great number of these bodies was altogether unsatisfactory. If it were not invidious to do so, he could name chambers of commerce in great centres of industry which did not represent the commercial community at all. It was most difficult to interest our great merchants and manufacturers in the work done by the chambers of commerce.

MR. BIGWOOD (Middlesex, Brentford) said they did not want to waste their time.

*MR. RITCHIE said that was exactly the point. As they were worked at present time was largely wasted in chambers of commerce; but he believed that if they made representations to the Government for greater facilities, even if it involved financial outlay, methods might be found by which the Government could render them more assistance. But, however the Board of Trade was constituted, reliance must be placed mainly on commercial men for pushing the commercial policy of the country and the trade of the country, and he entirely agreed that they had very little to learn from any Government so far as the conduct of their business was concerned. What they wanted was that every engine should be used to supply them with accurate information upon all that was going on abroad—on tariff questions, on shipping and railway facilities, and matters of that kind. Holding that view, he was strongly in favour of a large increase in the number of commercial agents abroad, and of the Board of Trade having something to say in the appointment of Consuls and in the use made of the Reports they sent home. Whatever alterations might be desirable, he was satisfied that the Committee had acted wisely, and in accordance with public opinion in the country, with the opinion of the commercial community, and with the opinion of that House, in recommending that the great office of President of the Board of Trade or Minister of Commerce should be as high as any office in the Government.

*MR. EVELYN CECIL (Aston Manor) said he did not attach much importance to the particular suggestions of the Committee that the salary of the President of the Board of Trade should be increased and his title changed to Minister of Commerce. By themselves those proposals had not much to recommend them; the whole question ought to be regarded from a much wider point of view. The real function of the Board of Trade was not to govern commerce but to encourage it, and to equip British merchants with proper information and the material necessary to meet their foreign rivals. From that point of view it was very important that the President of the Board of Trade should be in an honourable and a highly responsible position. Trade was much more likely to be encouraged if in commercial centres it was felt that the individual at the head and the permanent officials of the Board of Trade inspired confidence and energy. The Board of Trade like other human institutions had its failings, but it also had its advantages. The Department was sometimes intensely timid in its work, and a little more backbone was frequently very desirable. An instance on that point was afforded by the Report of the Eastern Mail Service Committee in reference to the introduction into mail contracts of a clause to prevent undue preferences being given to foreign traders. Quite apart from the special merits of that question, it was a characteristic of the Board of Trade frequently to be afraid of dealing with certain subjects which everybody else believed to be within its province. It was worth while reading a sentence of that Report: "We have to add that Sir Thomas Blomefield, the member of our Committee representing the Board of Trade, was instructed to dissent from the procedure for arbitration suggested in the above clause, but all the other members of the Committee felt that the matter is essentially one which ought to be taken up by the Board of Trade." On the other hand, the work of the Board of Trade was sometimes much under-rated and unfairly criticised. It was the fashion to say that the Department was not at all equal to the duties imposed upon it, that its influence was *nil*, and that it was of no practical value for pushing our commerce. He submitted, however, that the Board had done a great deal in the past, and one had only to look back to the difficult situations with which it had dealt in regard to arbitration, or the shipping-, railway-, or labour-world, to see how much was owing to the discretion, patience and judgment of the Department. It was largely owing to the Board of Trade that a proper form of signalling on railways had been introduced. Every inventor naturally thought his own scheme the best, and the Board of Trade by bringing pressure to bear upon recalcitrant communities, had produced an uniformity which tended to public safety. The interlocking of signals and the adoption of automatic brakes in preference to chain brakes were other matters brought about by the intervention of the Board of Trade. Much also had been done in the question of railway rates, and the matter was constantly receiving the attention of the Department, but it must be remembered that the quantity of goods sent in bulk and the mode of packing inevitably affected the cost of carriage. The hon. Member for the Romford Division had criticised the higher charge for the carriage of inland goods per ton per mile from, say, Essex to London than for foreign goods from, say, Antwerp *viâ* Harwich to London; but if there was competition between a line like that from Antwerp *viâ* Tilbury to London, where goods were entirely water-borne, and one like that between Antwerp *viâ* Harwich to London, where they were partly borne by railway, the railway company must either give up attempting to get the traffic altogether or reduce its through rates. The hon. Member for the Romford Division had also suggested that the Board of Trade ought to bring influence to bear so as to reduce the cost of railway construction in this country as compared with the cost in America. The respective rates had been put at £45,000, which was rather understating the average, as against £8,000 per mile. The two cases, however, were not at all comparable. In America the cost of land and the methods of laying the rails were altogether different, the trestle bridges were much more unsafe, and there were no such stringent regulations as existed in this country. All these considerations made the cost much higher in this country than in America, and the Board of Trade were not really to blame in the matter. The Department had done much also in the matter of shipping. Shipowners were in the habit of saying that the regulations with regard to the Plimsoll line harassed them in their industry, but no one would say that the introduction of the Plimsoll line was not a good thing. It might possibly have been fixed a little too high, but certainly the country ought to be grateful to the Board of Trade for supporting its introduction and thus safeguarding the public. He warmly approved of the action of the Board in appointing a Committee to consider whether foreign ships could not be brought under the same regulations as were imposed on British ships.

As to the specific question under discussion, he was not at all clear that the present constitution of the Board of Trade was adequate to meet the increasing amount of work that was constantly being thrown upon the Department. Labour questions and new inventions were continually being brought under notice; further, inspectors had to be appointed to deal with innumerable new subjects, as, for instance, light railways, electric railways, or tramways, and these constant additions to the work of the Department were such as to make one doubt whether the basis upon which the Board was organised was really sufficiently elastic, and whether it could be extended adequately to meet the circumstances of the time. Public opinion was growing more and more exacting in regard to commercial intelligence. That particular branch certainly required an increased and more responsible staff. With regard to the Consular Reports, they were sometimes excellent from a diplomatic point of view, but they did not always contain the precise information that traders required, or include the particulars that were commercially valuable. As to the suggestion that the Consuls should be partially responsible to the Foreign Office and partially to the Board of Trade, he thought that any such system of dual control would lead to great confusion, and from his experience of the Foreign Office he would certainly not recommend it. If the existing constitution of the Board of Trade was not sufficiently elastic he would be decidedly in favour of reconstituting the office on a broader basis. He suggested that some of the classes of subjects of Board of Trade work might be more sub-divided into separate Departments, each under a responsible expert, who should be always available to give advice to the President of the Board whenever it was required. Another point that he would press upon the consideration of the Committee was as to the desirability of constituting a Commercial Council of Defence somewhat on the lines of the Imperial Defence Committee. The recent Subsidies Committee recommended the establishment of a permanent Committee consisting of representatives of the Admiralty, the Board of Trade, the Colonial Office, and the Post Office to watch the development of foreign competition, and to consider from time to time what steps were necessary to meet it. The Prime Minister in reply to a Question on the 24th of March, 1903, had stated that the formation of such a Committee was under consideration, but that he doubted whether it would be strengthened by the admission of representatives of shipping and commerce as had been suggested by the Committee. Personally, he believed that if a Commercial Committee of Defence was created, and one or two commercial representatives enabled to sit upon it, it would be of great assistance to the work of the Board of Trade. The President of that Department would naturally be an important member of the Committee, and, as he would be the conduit-pipe between it and the Cabinet, the opinion of representative traders upon commercial questions would be carried direct to the Government, and in that way the Committee might be of great value in developing and fostering British trade. What was wanted was not an obsolete Board, such as might have been suitable years ago, but a Department furnished with modern efficient machinery, which would march with the times, and cope with the growing needs of our Imperial commerce.

MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton) said that while he was more in favour of money being spent on the Board of Trade than on the Military Departments, he did not agree that the interests of trade would be better looked after if the President of the Department were paid £5,000 instead of £2,000 a year. Too much importance was ascribed to salaries, and the taxpayer was too seldom thought of. He did not believe that a man would be more highly respected if he had a larger salary as the representative of the Department. He did not regard the President as very valuable now, and he would not regard him as more valuable, and he certainly would not respect him more, if he were paid even £50,000 instead of £2,000 a year. The Prime Minister had a large number of friends, and, as it appeared from the remarks of the right hon. Gentlemen the Member for Croydon, he wanted to give every one of them £5,000, but unfortunately there were not a sufficient number of offices with £5,000 attached to satisfy the greed, ambition, or whatever it might be called, of his numerous friends. The right hon. Gentleman had therefore to give £2,000 a year to some, and £5,000 a year to others. It was doubtless a very difficult thing for the Prime Minister to assess the value of his different friends. Human nature was the same in Cabinet Ministers as in other individuals, and the Ministers with £2,000 a year would infinitely prefer to have £5,000 a year. But if all were paid £5,000 a year what would be gained? He gathered from the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Croydon that the difference in the salaries gave rise to certain jealousies, and that a Minister who received £2,000 a year was not listened to with the same respect as a Minister with £5,000 a year. Such an idea was perfectly absurd. He thought it would be desirable that all Ministers should have the same salary; all these terrible feelings of jealousy would then be avoided, and the Prime Minister would be saved a great deal of trouble. He suggested that all Ministers should receive £3,000 a year. That was quite enough. If the Prime Minister found any difficulty in getting men at that price, he would undertake to supply him with as many as he wanted at £3,000 each, precisely as good as any that could be got for £5,000 and £2,000. Why should there be any of these jealousies? Jealousies in Cabinets were most dangerous. When Ministers were not agreed, all manner of subterfuges had to be resorted to, and the discussion of most important matters forbidden. He thought, therefore, everything possible ought to be done to remove any causes of jealousy that might exist.

It was generally admitted that the Consular Service was not so good as it might be, but rather than the dual control which had been suggested, he would prefer that the system should remain as at present. The great mistake was that commercial men were not appointed as Consuls. Under the French Consular system a person began as a cadet, and then, after passing examinations, he proceeded to Vice-Consul, then Consul, and finally Consul-General; it was much more of a service than was the case in the British system, and that was as it should be. At present the Reports were sent to the Board of Trade through the Foreign Office. He maintained that the Consuls should be either under the Foreign Secretary or under the President of the Board of Trade; they should be able to look to one Minister as their superior, with the knowledge that their fate depended upon him. It was doubtless a difficult matter, because the Consul had dual functions, having to act in some cases diplomatically and in others as a commercial agent, but the system would certainly not be improved by making half the business go to the Foreign Office and the other half to the Board of Trade. If good men were appointed, their duties increased, fuller commercial Reports demanded than at present, and answers required to all questions put to them by responsible bodies of commercial men, he thought it would be better to leave the service as at present organised, with the appointment of Consuls solely in the hands of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

MR. H. C. RICHARDS (Finsbury, E.) desired to place before the Committee the views of a large number of his constituents connected with the City of London with regard to the absolute necessity of having a Minister of Commerce. He entirely demurred, however, to the proposals of the Report of the Reorganisation Committee. What business men wanted was not an increase of salary for the President of the Board of Trade, but a Ministry of Commerce consisting of officials with commercial training, and having at its head a commercial man. The Board of Trade as at present constituted did not command the confidence of the commercial community. With regard to the Consuls, he agreed as to the difficulty of the question of dual control. What the trading community wanted was something more definite, on a broader and more liberal scale, in the way of commercial Reports. In many places where German trade had gone up by leaps and bounds we were absolutely unrepresented. For instance, Aix-la-Chapelle had grown from the position of an old-world city with a gaming-table and some baths to be the Sheffield of Germany. British trade had practically been driven out of the place. Our nearest commercial or Consular representative was at Düsseldorf, and consequently British traders knew practically nothing of what was going on. There were Englishmen in business at Aix-la-Chapelle who for the smallest remuneration would be glad to act as commercial correspondents, but, instead of any such arrangement being made, commercial men had to rely upon a Consul in a City a two-hours journey distant. He protested against the confining of the Committee's Report to the question of salaries. What was wanted was a complete change of system. There ought to be a Department of commercial men, and he would go the length of suggesting that if a Ministry of Commerce were established no scion of the Peerage should be allowed there unless he had first passed through a commercial training. Everybody knew what had happened with regard to education. The complaint used constantly to be made that there was no representative of the Education Department in this House. Accordingly an alteration was made, and there had been a reduction of salary to the man who did the work, and a new office found for the man who did it not. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Oxford University was paid less than the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Cambridge University, and a distinguished nobleman, whose only contribution to education had been the way in which he had always fought——

THE DEPUTY-CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member is not in order in discussing education on this Vote.

MR. H. C. RICHARDS said he would not pursue the subject; he could quite understand why he was not allowed to illustrate his argument by referring to what had happened in another Department. There were many Consuls whose work in connection with commercial matters entitled them to promotion, and the commercial community would not be satisfied with anything short of new men and new measures—a Ministry of Commerce in which they would be directly represented, and whose affairs would be controlled by men with commercial training. This was not a political question. The commercial men of the country had long since made up their minds on the matter, and it was for the Government of the day to realise the fact.

MR. CHARLES HOBHOUSE (Bristol, E.) said that if the theory of the hon. Member for Finsbury were carried to its logical conclusion, every First Lord of the Admiralty should be a sailor, every War Minister a soldier, every Chancellor of the Exchequer a banker, and every President of the Board of Education a national school teacher. Such a system would not necessarily secure able men; it would simply mean that men would be appointed not because they were able or capable of assimilating ideas, but because at some remote period of their lives they had followed a particular calling. What they did want at the head of the Board of Trade was not so much a great trade expert as a man who was capable of grappling with the problems put before him. He would rather have a man in that position who could approach such questions from an impartial than from a professional point of view. While a man might be familiar with the complexities of one particular trade he might be absolutely unfamiliar with others. Indeed his familiarity with one trade might hamper him considerably in dealing with other cognate trades. The hon. Member for Aston Manor had dwelt on the innumerable duties which were being accumulated by the Board of Trade. There was a Bill before the House, which if it had passed, would have added considerably to the duties of the Board of Trade. It proposed that the Board of Trade should attempt to control traffic. That was one of the things which, in the opinion of the President of the Board of Trade, it was not the duty of the Board to do. Capable as he thought the right hon. Gentleman and his Department to be, he was quite sure they were not capable of controlling the trade of the country. All it could do was to supervise it as best it could.

There was one point on which he should like to get a definite answer from the right hon. Gentleman. Two or three years ago he raised a question in the House which had been much discussed that day, namely, the position of the commercial attachés. He was told by the noble Lord who then represented the Foreign Office that there were seven or eight commercial attachés scattered up and down the world. So little use had been made of them that the total amount of fees paid by the trading community was only £13 or £14. It seemed to him that the commercial attachés were either too few or too many; they were too many if they were not consulted by our traders; but they were far too few to carry out any real duties. It was quite clear that they did not necessarily want a trader for the post of Consul. His inquiries must be pushed almost more as those of a detective than as those of a trader. He would rather have an experienced civil servant appointed to the post than a man who simply had knowledge of one particular trade. In reply to the contention of the hon. Member for East Finsbury, he might say he was a representative of one of the great commercial centres of the country. But because he was not engaged in trade he did not think he had no business to represent, as he did, 100,000 people engaged in trade. He happened to be a purely honorary member of a chamber of commerce, and he quite agreed with the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Croydon that many chambers were not active bodies. Some were active and gave a great deal of aid to the Board of Trade. On behalf of the Chamber of Commerce of Bristol, he could say that that body received help, at any rate, from the Reports of the Board of Trade. Such really active chambers of commerce as those of Manchester, Liverpool and Bristol issued monthly reports on the industrial and commercial position of the town, the possibility of spreading the commerce of the town and giving to traders some acquaintance with opportunities for extending their trade. The town of Bristol had appointed to the Dominion of Canada a commerce agent, and it was within his knowledge that by that appointment a considerable amount of trade had been brought to the city of Bristol, and that the appointment had been of the happiest character. He wished to emphasise the point that while it was quite certain that chambers of commerce had got a useful sphere of influence and while it was most desirable that they should keep themselves in touch with the Board of Trade, it was quite clear that if they did not do their duty by their constituents they must not only fail, but must hamper such efforts as were made by the Board of Trade in the interest of the commerce of the country.

* Sir CHARLES DILKE (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean) said that the Report before the Committee was the direct consequence of a debate in which the labour side played as great a part as the capital side of the question. It was pointed out in that debate that it was impossible to justify the present division of labour work in this country between the Home Office and the Board of Trade. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Croydon, who replied for the Government on that occasion, gave a most specific promise that the matter would be inquired into by the Committee to be appointed. Not one word had been said that afternoon upon the labour aspect of the matter. The special feature of the debate last session was the criticism of the present distribution of questions affecting labour between the Home Office and the Board of Trade. Lord Jersey's Committee had given the subject the go-by altogether and had not said a single word in their Report about it. He could assure the Government that there was not the ghost of a chance of any Bill based on the recommendations of Lord Jersey's Committee passing through the House which did not face this question. When Members got up and said that the President of the Board of Trade should be a commercial man they meant someone representing the employers. The overwhelming majority of their constituents were engaged in trade and were interested in the labour side of the question. They must have their say in this question, and they had just as much ground for expecting that here, as in the Colonies, and to some extent in France and Germany, labour should have the control of this new Department as that Capital should have the control of it. This was a pressing question. It was no secret now that a course of labour treaties was being entered upon as a deliberate policy on the part of France and Germany for uniformity of labour legislation. An international conference was to be called next year for the discussion of that subject. It would be called by Switzerland at, he believed, the instigation of France and Germany. Who was to decide upon the policy which was involved—a policy of the greatest importance to this country? Was it to be the Home Office or the Board of Trade? At first sight, one would say the Board of Trade, but the matters which would be brought before the conference did not come under the Board of Trade and did solely concern the Factory and Workshop Department of the Home Office. That was a practical illustration of the difficulty of the present situation—a situation which the Committee was appointed to consider, and which it had not touched. They had only made a recommendation in regard to the overlapping of work which was almost unintelligible. He had been familiar for years with the difficulty as between the Foreign Office and the Board of Trade, caused by the existence of the commercial department of the Foreign Office. This was a question most difficult to solve, and he made no complaint that the recommendations of the Committee on that subject were vague; but he did complain that the Report had left entirely aside that question which they were deliberately promised should be dealt with, and on the strength of which the Motion and Amendment were withdrawn last year.

Mr. GERALD BALFOUR said that the remarks of the right hon. Baronet undoubtedly raised a question of great interest and importance, but he could not help thinking that on the whole the Committee were wise not to include it in the scope of their recommendations, because it was probably a far more controversial question than any with which they had actually had to deal. He would not attempt to go into the merits of the question. There was, as had been said, a division of work with regard to labour questions between the Home Office and the Board of Trade. In some ways he should be very glad if the share of that work which fell to the Board of Trade in connection with railways and shipping could be transferred to the Home Office, and if the whole of that work were under a single Minister. He had often wondered whether that could be done, and, if so, whether it would be a good thing, but he was afraid his deliberations on the subject had always led him to the conclusion that it was impossible. The Board of Trade, connected as it was with shipping and railways, was able to exercise a supervision which could not be transferred to the Home Office. If unity of administration were to be insisted upon, he was afraid it could only be by the Board of Trade taking over the work which was now discharged by the Home Office in connection with factory legislation and administration. If that were done, he thought it would be clear to the Committee that the Board of Trade would be hopelessly overweighted, it really could not undertake and discharge with efficiency such an addition to its labours.

Coming to the Report of the Committee, and to the question of the *status* of the Board of Trade, there had been considerable difference of opinion among the various speakers. The hon. Member for King's Lynn, who followed the lead of Mr. Edmund Burke, thought that a Board of Trade was mischievous rather than beneficial, that it could not touch trade at any point without doing harm, that it actually did harm in connection with the railways and shipping, and that the further it extended the sphere of its activity the more harmful it would become. He might set those opinions aside as extreme, as they had not been echoed by any other speaker in the debate. On the other side his hon. friend the Member for Romford, and to some extent his hon. friend the Member for East Finsbury, desired something like a revolution in the present relations between the Department and the commerce of this country. As to how that revolution was to be carried out they were rather vague, but he gathered that the hon. Member for Romford favoured a condition of things under which the Board of Trade should practically take over the management of the railways, and more or less the same with other departments of commerce, so that commerce and industry would be really controlled by the Board of Trade. For his own part he thought that would be highly mischievous. He was himself undoubtedly in favour of the view that the commercial and industrial prosperity of this country must in the main rest with individual effort, and that all that a Government Department could do was to some extent to remove difficulties and to supply information. He did not think that a Government Department could do very much more than that, except, of course, in regard to the communications that took place with foreign countries over their tariffs, which was the work, not of the Board of Trade, but of the Foreign Office.

His hon. friend the Member for Romford seemed to think that a new era in the relations between a Government Department and the commerce of the country would best be realised by appointing a President of the Board of Trade from the ranks of commerce, and his hon. friend the Member for East Finsbury went a little further and suggested that the principal officials of the Board of Trade should also be commercial men. He remembered a story told by the late Lord Beaconsfield. When that statesman was urged to appoint a business man to the head of the Stationery Office, his reply was that such a man would either be a man retired from business or from whom business had retired. He ventured to think that if an attempt were made to appoint a President of the Board of Trade from the ranks of commercial men, still more the principal officials, they would only be able to get those commercial men who had not been successful. He entirely agreed with the hon. Member for Oldham that a commercial man would be a specialist, not in commerce generally, but in some particular line of commerce. Supposing, for instance, a great railway man were appointed. The Board of Trade had to deal with questions which arose between the railway interest and the traders, and how would it be possible for a man in that position, he would not say to exercise absolute impartiality, but to convince everybody that he was dealing with such questions impartially? The Board of Trade, as had been justly observed by the right hon. Baronet the Member for Forest of Dean, had also to deal with questions of employer and employed. If a commercial man were appointed he must often, nay, almost necessarily, be in the position of an employer, and how could he be expected under those circumstances to hold the balance with absolute impartiality? On the whole, he believed that in the case of the Board of Trade, as in the case of other Departments of Government, it was not desirable, and was certainly not in accordance with the system which had been generally followed in this country, to appoint an expert, but rather to appoint somebody who possessed what he might call general administrative capacity. He made no personal claim to general administrative capacity, but he ventured to think that general administrative capacity could be learnt elsewhere than among experts. To carry out the suggested principle logically, it would be necessary to appoint a sailor to the Admiralty, a soldier to the War Office, and so forth, but that had never been done in this country, and he did not believe that efficiency and economy of administration would be promoted by such a system.

Passing from these more or less extreme views, he might say that he agreed generally with what had fallen from his right hon. friend the Member for Croydon and the Member for Oldham, who was a member of the Committee. He did not think that any extensive amelioration would immediately follow from the adoption of the Committee's recommendation in regard to a Minister for Commerce. He thought it was perfectly true that the influence which any Minister might exercise in the councils of the country did not, and could not, depend on his salary; it must depend on himself, but it remained true generally that a salary of £5,000 a year would command the services of a man more eminent, perhaps more capable, and certainly with a higher standing in political life than a salary of £2,000 a year. From that point of view he thought the great interests of commerce in this country would on the whole be more ably and capably represented if the office were made an office of the first class. He did not put it higher than that, and, so far as the personal aspect of the question was concerned, he thought it might be desirable from many points of view that a change of this kind should not be made during the present occupancy of the office. Undoubtedly the principal way in which the Board of Trade could assist our commerce and industry was by affording rapid and full information. His hon. friend the Member for Gravesend had complained that the Statistical Department turned out quantity rather than quality. He was himself disposed to think that our volumes of statistical abstracts for the United Kingdom, the Colonies, and Foreign Countries were more valuable than the United States volume, which reviewed the world's commerce.

Sir GILBERT PARKER said it was not well arranged.

Mr. GERALD BALFOUR said that that was a matter of opinion. He thought that our volumes did afford more information as to the world's commerce than the United States volume. He was quite ready to consider any proposal, but all these matters were questions of expense. If the staff were increased, and more money spent, many more things could be done; but he could not help thinking that there were other statistical contributions to the commercial knowledge of the country which might be even more valuable than the abstract which his hon. friend desired. They proposed to add to the abstracts now issued an Imperial abstract containing all information regarding trade and navigation between the different parts of the Empire, which he trusted would prove a useful addition to the statistical work. Before leaving the question of the commercial part of the work of the Board of Trade, he ventured to say that very good work had been done by the Commercial Intelligence Committee. The Commercial Intelligence Department had been in existence for fifteen years, and had done very good work—work which had increased in importance year by year. The Commercial Intelligence Department, assisted by the Commercial Intelligence Committees had gone carefully through all the tariffs of Continental countries which had at present been issued. That was a very difficult work, and anyone who had studied their Report would agree that they had done the work extremely well, and that the thanks of the Board of Trade were due to the unofficial members of the Committee who had contributed their labours to producing such a satisfactory result. In addition to that, the Intelligence Committee had lately added a new department to their other activities, for they had undertaken the work of sending out commercial missions to various countries. A commercial mission had been sent to Siberia and another to Persia. The Report of the Persian Mission would be published in a few days, and the Report of the Siberian Mission later. Both Reports would, he thought, be of great value. In addition to that, they sent last year a very important mission to South Africa, out of funds provided by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the Committee would remember the Report of Mr. Birchenough, the representative of the Board of Trade on that occasion, and the general recognition which was given to it. Following up that, they had, with the concurrence of the Colonial Office, appointed commercial agents of their own in all the principal towns in South Africa—Capetown, Port Elizabeth, Durban, Johannesburg, and Bloemfontein—who would be in direct communication with the Board of Trade, and would serve under no other Department.

Mr. LOUIS SINCLAIR asked why were not similar agents appointed in Australia.

Mr. GERALD BALFOUR said he quite agreed; and he trusted that when the experiment in South Africa had proved successful they would follow it up by sending commercial representatives, in direct touch with the Board of Trade, to other colonies.

A good deal had been said about the Consular service, to which his noble friend the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs would presently reply. On that question, however, he might say that the Board of Trade and the Foreign Office had been working in perfect harmony; but he agreed that it would not be a practical thing to put the Consuls under two different Departments. Such an arrangement would be certain to produce friction. The Consuls could not satisfactorily serve two masters; but the question was whether the Consuls, while remaining in the service of the Foreign Office, could not be put into more direct communication with the Board of Trade. He should be glad to see that; but, as regarded information, the change had actually been sanctioned by the Foreign Office, and would be immediately brought into force. In future, questions would be addressed to the Consuls directly by the Board of Trade, and it would be their duty to reply direct to the Board, sending, at the same time, copies of such replies to the Foreign Office. He hoped that that arrangement would, to some extent, meet the universal desire for more direct communication between the commercial department of the Government and the Consuls, and a more rapid imparting of information to business men. Another change in the same direction was that before Consuls took up their duties they would have to pass a certain time in the Commercial Department of the Board of Trade, in order to become thoroughly acquainted with its methods. He thought the Committee would agree that that was an important change.

Mr. LOUIS SINCLAIR asked if no Consuls would be appointed in future who had not that commercial training.

Mr. GERALD BALFOUR said he would leave his noble friend to answer that. As regarded a further grant to the Commercial Intelligence Department he sympathised with his hon. friend and he would be gratified if the Chancellor of the Exchequer saw his way to make it. He would assist in that direction as far as his influence went. His hon. friend thought that they had allowed the Lighthouse Fund to accumulate until the surplus at their disposal was unnecessarily large. If his hon. friend knew the figures he would modify that opinion. What had happened was that the actual accumulated funds last year amounted to £320,000. They made a rebate of 12½ per cent., and the effect would be, year by year for the next five years, to diminish the accumulated fund until it reached a figure of about £250,000. He was quite aware that Mr. Courtney's Committee had suggested that £100,000 would be a sufficient reserve fund. He had looked into the matter very carefully; and he was of opinion that £100,000 was not really adequate for the purpose. Good times might be followed by bad times; and he was sure that his hon. friend would agree that it would be very undesirable to be continually altering the amount that ships had to subscribe to the fund. He calculated that a rebate of 20 per cent. instead of 12½ per cent. would wipe out an amount of nearly £200,000 in the next three years, leaving the fund with about £120,000. In making that calculation he allowed for an increase in the Lighthouse Fund at the same rate as had taken place in recent years; but if they had a period of bad trade, and there was no increase in the actual revenue, a rebate of 20 per cent. would completely wipe out the surplus in 1906. He could assure his hon. friend that if, at any time, they thought it safe to make a further reduction nothing would give him greater pleasure.

Mr. RENWICK (Newcastle-on-Tyne) asked why his right hon. friend wished to retain £250,000. Could the shipping trade be worse than it was at present?

Mr. GERALD BALFOUR said he had explained why he did not think it well to reduce the fund below £250,000. The total expenditure was about £500,000; and, therefore, the sum of £100,000 suggested by Mr. Courtney's Committee was really only two months expenditure or thereabouts. That would not be sufficient; and he thought he had shown that £250,000 was not an unreasonably large surplus to maintain. The additional rebate which he would be in a position to give at the present time was really a very small one. He certainly would not be justified in giving an additional rebate of 7½ per cent. as suggested.

Mr. RENWICK said that the shipowners would be quite prepared to accept the additional rebate and take the risk.

Mr. GERALD BALFOUR said he must take the responsibility.

Mr. BRYCE (Aberdeen, S.) said that apart from the speeches of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Croydon and the President of the Board of Trade the other speeches very largely answered one another. One set of speakers said that the Board of Trade was incompetent; and another that it was doing good work. The justification for the Report of the Committee was to be found in the fact that the work of the Board of Trade was very heavy and was always increasing. So far as he had been able to ascertain, by far the most heavily worked Department of the Government at this moment was the Foreign Office, but he thought the Board of Trade was a good second. It seemed, therefore, only reasonable and natural that it should be put on a level with the other great Departments in regard to *status* and salary. That was true also with regard to the permanent staff. The impression left on his mind was that they certainly did not pay proper salaries to the staff. In this country it was not realised apparently that the best men should be obtained for the posts—he was speaking now of the permanent staff—but the time would certainly come when they would insist upon having the best men and paying them salaries which the scale of the permanent staff did not now permit. No one could have listened to a debate like this and to similar debates in past years without seeing that there was a certain amount of vague discontent in the commercial community in regard to the Board of Trade, as expressed by the hon. Members for Gravesend, Finsbury, and others, but he could not understand what they wanted, and he could only sum up the position of those who complained in these debates by saying that they did not know what they wanted, and that they would not be happy till they got it. The hon. Member for Finsbury said that they ought to have a commercial man at the head of the Board of Trade, which reminded him of Dr. Johnson's line "Who drives fat oxen should himself be fat," and he did not think there was much more force in the one theory than the other. People had a most mistaken idea about the Board of Trade and its work. When he went to the Board of Trade he was very uneasy because he was not a business man, and had not been even a director of a public company, but he had not been at the office many weeks when he discovered that the cases in which he felt the want of a commercial training were extremely rare. The Board of Trade was to some extent a scientific department, and a scientific man would have an advantage there; secondly, and to a far greater extent, it was a legal department; and, thirdly, it was an economic department where one needed to know something about other countries besides one's own, and to have studied economic questions. But it was not at all a commercial department in the narrow sense of the word. And, therefore, with all due respect to the hon. Member for Finsbury, he confessed that he did not think, notwithstanding what had been said by the hon. Member for Oldham, that the work would be improved necessarily by taking a man from a trade, such as the cotton trade, or the iron trade, and putting him at the head of the Department. He was rather of the opinion that the head of the Board of Trade should be a neutral man, and not connected with any trade.

It had been said that the Board of Trade should do more than it now did for British commerce, but his opinion was that British commerce had been made by British men and could not be helped by Parliament. It was part of the duty of the President of the Board of Trade to prepare legislation and pass it when he had the chance, and the right hon. Gentleman, he believed, would agree when he said the pigeonholes of the Board of Trade were filled with excellent measures, which there had not been time to pass. Its most important duties, however, were to try to adapt the statutes passed by Parliament in regard to such matters as railway and shipping to the actual needs of the case, and to make them work with as little hardship as possible to the industries concerned, at the same time that efficient administration was secured. That was nine-tenths of the work of the Board of Trade. He thought that those duties were discharged with efficiency. The question of aiding British commerce abroad was one largely of expense, and we might have more Consuls, more attachés, and more reports, which should give all the facts, but there let them stop. He demurred to the idea that these Consular reports ought to represent anything approaching a Party view. He was very glad to hear that the Foreign Office had agreed to adopt the Report submitted a year ago on the question of appointments to the Consular Service, but at the same time his impression was that British traders did not use nearly as much as they might the materials placed before them by the Foreign Office. With regard to the redistribution of duties between the Board of Trade and the Home Office, it was very necessary that something should be done in that direction, especially with regard to accidents. In the case of an accident at the docks, if the crane which caused it was fixed to the dock side the Home Office would deal with the matter, but if a precisely similar accident happened and the crane was fixed to the deck of a ship, then it was a matter for the Board of Trade. These matters should certainly be under one control, and, and it could be arranged very easily between the two Departments. It was very desirable that this labour work, which was an increasing department of official concern, should be rearranged and given the best possible chance. He thought that as a result of the discussion the Committee would come to the conclusion that the Board of Trade was not insensible to the requirements of the commercial community, while, as regarded commercial intelligence, the record of the Department showed that it had been trying to do what it could in the interests of the commercial community.

*MR. GODDARD (Ipswich) said the acquisition of commercial intelligence was doubtless a most desirable object on which to spend money, but he could not see why money voted for that purpose should not be treated in exactly the same way as money voted for other purposes. For some years past, £1,000 had been voted as a grant in aid of the expenses of the Advisory Committee of Commercial Intelligence, and in the Appropriation Accounts the sum had always appeared as having been expended. As a matter of fact, that was not the case, for at the end of the last financial year unexpended balances to the amount of £2,800 had accumulated in the hands of the Committee. He gathered that commercial expeditions to Persia and Siberia would cost about £1,250 and £500 respectively, but in view of the accumulations of £2,800, he failed to see any reason why another £1,000 should be taken this year. He did not complain of the cost of these commercial expeditions which might prove to be exceedingly useful, but he thought that the money, if the unexpended balances were not surrendered in the ordinary way, ought to be paid through the Board to the Committee, and not allowed to accumulate in the hands of a body not responsible to this House. He asked whether there was any idea of spending the £1,000 in the current financial year. Another point to which he wished to refer had reference to the Vote for Law Charges. A distinct pledge was given in the Public Accounts Committee that that Vote should be reduced by £550. It was so reduced last year, but it had now gone up another £250. It was a small matter, but, as the Vote was never wholly expended, he thought some explanation ought to be given of why the pledge had not been carried out.

MR. SPEAR (Devonshire, Tavistock) said he had been urged by his constituents to urge upon the Government the desirability of the establishment of a Ministry of Commerce. Traders did not require the assistance of Parliament in the transaction of their business, but they did ask that efforts should be made to remove unreasonable interference with the development of the trade of the country. The reason traders had the idea that the work would be more efficiently done under a Minister of Commerce was, that at present trading matters were dealt with by different Departments, and it was felt that if the various interests were brought under one Department it would tend to greater efficiency. It was generally believed that under a Minister of Commerce causes of friction between traders and railway companies would be more easily and more readily arranged. Especially with respect to information concerning trading matters with foreign countries would assistance be forthcoming which would tend to promote the development of trade in this country. He was sorry, however, to hear it suggested that the salary of the head of the office, be it called Ministry of Commerce or Board of Trade, should be raised from £2,000 to £5,000 a year. It would be both unjustifiable and undesirable at this time when expenditure was so very great. Any additional information which it would be necessary to present to the trading community could be produced by the employment of an extra clerk. While acknowledging the sympathetic spirit which the President of the Board of Trade had shown in his speech, he thought there was still further information which could be given to the trading interests without any increase of cost to the country.

MR. TENNANT (Berwickshire) thought the answer to the demand for a Minister of Commerce who should be a business man might be found in the statement just made, viz., that such an official would be able to arrange differences between traders and railway companies. If the head of the new Department were a great railway king it was not at all likely that he would be able to do anything of the sort. With a captain of industry, a man of power in the commercial world, at the head of the Department, he believed there would be infinitely more friction between the various interests than existed at present. Certainly if a Ministry of Commerce were established a Ministry of Labour would have to follow, and that he did not desire to see. He believed that the Board of Trade held the balance extremely fairly as between employers and employed, but if a great captain of industry were placed at the head of the Department the public would get the idea that it was impossible for the Department to act fairly between the two classes. As to the question of salary, he had always held that it was ludicrous to ask a Cabinet Minister to serve for £2,000 a year. All Cabinet Ministers of first rank ought to have £5,000. Why? Because they were underpaid at £2,000. Men who managed City concerns received anything up to £10,000 or £12,000 a year, and it was ridiculous to pay the Minister in charge of the commercial Department of the State a beggarly £2,000. He desired to call the attention of the right hon. Gentleman to a matter connected with the transportation of fishermen from place to place in Scotland. The accommodation on the steamers in some cases was so bad that persons had actually died as a result of the exposure. He knew the powers of the Board were not very wide in the matter, but he hoped the right hon. Gentleman would use his influence with the shipping companies so that better accommodation might be provided for an absolutely defenceless class.

*MR. AUSTIN TAYLOR (Liverpool, East Toxteth) as representing a commercial community, joined in welcoming the Report which recommended that the President of the Board of Trade should be advanced to the dignity and the emoluments of a Minister of Commerce. He believed that in this, although it might appear otherwise, they were beginning at the right end of the ladder. Criticisms had been directed against the Committee for not having recommended a complete revolution in the constitution of the Board of Trade, but he believed that by having a Minister of sufficient dignity to represent the commercial interests of the country they would have a guarantee that with due initiative the necessary impetus to the commercial side of the Department would be forthcoming. It was not the function of the Board of Trade to create or to control commerce. In the history of commercial affairs we had passed the stage of the purely negative and *laissez faire* attitude, but the abandonment of the attitude of negation need not necessarily lead to any deviation from the fiscal policy of the country. In his opinion it was essential that the Minister who represented the commercial interests of this country should be as closely in touch with the commercial community as was the headquarters of the German Army with the great military organisation which it directed. He did not for a moment mean that there should be the same disciplinary powers, but he felt that the commercial community was looking for a change by which there should be at the head of the commercial Department of the State a Minister who would put his services at the disposal of the commerce of the country and lend it every stimulus that he possibly could without in any way interfering with, or hampering, its due development.

As a member of the shipowning fraternity he spoke rather feelingly on this point. Criticism had been directed against the President of the Board of Trade because he was not a commercial man. That fact, however, had compensating advantages. Some time ago the right hon. Gentleman addressed a meeting of shipowners and shipbrokers in Liverpool, and his audience were keenly anxious to hear something about the future of the industry, its possible expansion, and the profits they were likely to reap from its development. The right hon. Gentleman, however, was far too careful to give any such information. Relying upon the other side of his mind, to which reference had been made, the right hon. Gentleman directed the attention of his audience to the classical side of shipowning. He commenced with the Phœnician trireme. By easy stages he led his hearers up to the battle of Lepanto; and finally brought them up to the year in which they were, having thus completed a most interesting, historical, and classical survey of the whole history of shipbuilding and shipowning from the earliest possible times. The assembled shipowners and shipbrokers waited for some gleam of light upon the future, but the right hon. Gentleman refused to gratify their curiosity. However, he did a most important service in educating the shipowning and shipbroking fraternity of Liverpool in the historical side of their industry; and upon the practical interests of the moment and the possibilities of the future he maintained an attitude of prudent reserve. Liverpool owed a debt of gratitude to the President of the Board of Trade for having given them something higher to think of than the immediate urgent necessities of the day, and he would regret the advent of a Minister to that high office who occupied himself too closely with the sordid details of a particular industry instead of enlightening and stimulating the minds of his audience by retrospective glances over many centuries of history. He congratulated his right hon. friend upon the prospect of advancing to higher dignity and emoluments. The country had everything to gain from adding to the *status* and dignity of the Minister in charge of its commercial interests, and he hoped that as a result of that policy there would be throughout the trading community an increased spirit of enterprise, an increased belief in the reliance to be placed upon and the help to be obtained from the great Department which the right hon. Gentleman so worthily adorned.

MR. SOARES (Devonshire, Barnstaple) called attention to the composition of

Courts of Inquiry ordered by the Board of Trade into the circumstances of wrecks when accompanied by loss of life. When such inquiries were to be held, three naval assessors proceeded to a place near the scene of the wreck. These naval assessors were joined by the local magistrates, and a Court of summary jurisdiction was constituted. The Solicitor and the Standing Counsel of the Board of Trade appeared before the inquiry, went into the matter, and conducted the proceedings generally. The matters to be inquired into included all the circumstances in connection with the wreck, whether the ship was properly equipped, properly manned, and so forth. Inquiry also had to be made into the efficiency of the coastguard service, and this involved the conduct of the men, the efficiency of the look-outs, the arrangement of the system of reliefs, and whether or not the commander of the coastguards had done his duty. Notwithstanding that these matters were involved in the inquiry, the naval assessors were all appointed, not by the Admiralty, into the conduct of whose servants they had to inquire, but by the Home Office. He urged that the President of the Board of Trade should promise that in every case of an inquiry into the efficiency of the coastguard service, at least one of the naval assessors should be appointed by the Admiralty. These inquiries ought to be thoroughly efficient, but they were of no use unless the Department concerned was represented and was enabled to take the steps necessary to remedy any defects that might be found to exist. There was one other matter to which he wished to refer. In reply to a Question with regard to accidents on railways in course of electrification the President of the Board of Trade recently stated that there had been two fatal and two non-fatal accidents, but that in all cases the sufferers were trespassers. He submitted that nobody had a right to kill a man for trespassing. The setting of man-traps was illegal, and he regarded these "live rails" as nothing more nor less than man-traps of the most dangerous description, and that a man who by any mischance trespassed on a railway should be liable to be electrocuted was a dreadful thing. He believed the President of the Board had power to protect the public, and he hoped the right hon. Gentleman would see that all proper and necessary steps for that purpose were taken.

Mr. GERALD BALFOUR said that an inquiry had been ordered into the cause of the accident, but until he had read the report of that inquiry he could make no further statement. As to the other question raised by the hon. Member, under the law as it at present stood the Admiralty had no power to appoint assessors in the cases referred to. The assessors had to be appointed by the Home Office, who might appoint naval men, but the Admiralty as such had no power in the matter. When the conduct of the coastguard servants was involved he agreed that it was desirable that one at any rate of the assessors should be a naval man, and so far as he could secure that he would be happy to use his influence. The hon. Member for Ipswich had complained that the grant to the Commercial Intelligence Committee, when not expended during the financial year, was not returned as was the case with other moneys. His predecessor appointed a Departmental Committee in 1897 to inquire into the dissemination of commercial information. That Committee reported in favour of a grant of £1,000 a year for five years to the Commercial Intelligence Committee, and suggested that unexpended balances at the end of any year should be made available for outlay in other years, when greater expense might be incurred than in the average year. The Treasury assented to make the grant in the manner suggested by the Departmental Committee, and he might say that the arrangement had proved very useful, for the Commercial Intelligence Committee were enabled to spend more than a £1,000 in one year, and less in another year, according to circumstances. The hon. Member for Ipswich had asked when the term of five years would come to an end. It would come to an end in March next. With respect to the law charges of which the hon. Member for Ipswich complained, the present estimate had been based upon what the solicitor thought would be required for the year. He was obliged to take the opinion of the solicitor on that point, and he generally based it upon his knowledge of what cases were likely to come on.

*MR. AINSWORTH (Argyllshire) said he wished to call the attention of the right hon. Gentleman to a Bill, which was before the House the other day, prepared by the Board of Trade, embracing three Provisional Orders of an entirely different character. It must be obvious that it was almost impossible for those interested in the Provisional Orders to raise questions connected with them in any satisfactory way on the Second Reading. He hoped that in the future the Bills would be so introduced that each Provisional Order would be considered on its own merits. He was specially referring to the Provisional Order relating to piers and harbours in an Island in the Hebrides. He thought that the local authority should be consulted on the subject because it was obvious that the best way of dealing with the interests raised would be to leave it in the hands of the county council. He also wished the right hon. Gentleman to undertake that the report of the officer who went down to Islay to make inquiries would be laid on the Table.

SIR CARNE RASCH (Essex, Chelmsford) said he ventured to congratulate his hon. friend the Member for Romford on the fact that the Government seemed inclined to adopt the suggestion, which he was the first to raise, in reference to a Ministry of Commerce. He wished to call attention to the question of preferential railway rates in the eastern counties. Hon. Members would be surprised to hear that the Dutchman could send his garden produce—carrots, potatoes, and onions—from Rotterdam to London 20 or 30 per cent. cheaper than the Essex farmer could send his from Harwich to Whitechapel. He had no great dislike to the Great Eastern Railway. It had passed through many vicissitudes. He remembered when their carriages were in the hands of the bailiffs, and when a costermonger offered to race with his donkey-cart any of their trains. A great many improvements had taken place since then. He was not in their secrets, but this he knew, that Parliament would never have given these great railway corporations a monopoly of the carrying trade of the country in order that they might bolster up the foreigner and oppress the home producer. The right hon. Gentleman had said that he did not see what the Board of Trade could do, but he thought that the Board of Trade might have done a great deal more than they had done in making the railway companies treat agriculturists more fairly with respect to railway rates. The railway interests were strong in the House. They all felt it. But the Government ought to be stronger, and he did not see why the Board of Trade should not undertake to block railway Bills if the railway companies would not consent to reduce their rates for agricultural produce. The agricultural interest was longsuffering, and it never complained. They were rather tired. and did not intend to take the treatment of the railway companies lying down much longer. They hoped that the recontituted Board of Trade, if reconstituted it was to be, would give them some little assistance.

*SIR JOHN LENG (Dundee) said that some years ago he was a somewhat pertinacious critic of the Department which was under the charge of the right hon. Gentleman opposite, with reference specially to the Patent Office. He had to acknowledge that recently there had been a steady improvement in the administration of that office, in the classification of patents, the publication of specifications and abridgments, the extension of the library and the reading-room, and the enlargement of accommodation afforded by the new Patent Office. All this had certainly been of more or less importance and all in the right direction. Some twelve years ago he had assisted in obtaining a very considerable reduction in the Patent Office fees, and he desired now to say a word or two with regard to the present position. The funds for the past year showed that the receipts of the Patent Office were just double the expenditure. The receipts were £248,923 and the payments were £124,054 and there was a surplus of £124,858. He wished to inquire what was the object of carrying on an administration from year to year with this large excess of expenditure —making charges which were double the requirements of the office. He did this because, although the patent fees were more favourable in proportion than they were in the year 1890, when he first took up this question, it was still the fact that a patent for fourteen years cost practically £100, while the fees for four years protection were £5. What he wished more particularly to point out at this moment was that in order to obtain a patent which should run not only through the United Kingdom but through our colonies and great possessions, thirty-nine different protections must be obtained, involving a cost of £195, and if the full fourteen years term was desired £1,000 must be spent by the patentee. What, he asked, was the cost in America? There a patent running for seventeen years could be obtained for £8, as against £99 for fourteen years in this country. But that was not all. The population of the United Kingdom and its colonies and dependencies occupied by our own race, was only 50,000,000, and to obtain four years protection £195 must be paid. But the population of the United States now was 80,000,000, and a patent which was valid for a population of 80,000,000 cost £8 for seventeen years, while with our much smaller population it cost practically £100. We had been advised recently—and it was excellent advice, if it was intelligently followed—to think Imperially. He would like the President of the Board of Trade who is or may be, and the Board which is, or as it may become, to think Imperially with regard to this patent question so that one might have a patent which should run through the whole of our Empire. The President might say how was that to be done? The Dominion of Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, and New Zealand all had their Patent Offices which required to be paid their fees, but at present the charges were so high and so excessive that they deterred many from applying for patents who otherwise would do so. But if one got an Imperial patent at a moderate price, there would be a much larger number of applications for patents running through the Empire. To give a practical application to the figures he had presented, he said that if any indemnification was required by the Colonies for the loss which would be incurred, we had far more money already than was required to indemnify them in this surplus of £124,000. The present system of charging a patentee—those who took out trade marks in this country—such a sum as to yield a surplus of £124,000 more than was needed ought to be put a stop to. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman would give careful consideration to this point. He was sure that those who were connected with the industries of the country, many of whom were comparatively poor men of ingenious and inventive talents, would be delighted if the President of the Board of Trade would adopt the idea of an Imperial patent. If he would cause communications to be entered into with the Commonwealth of Australia, with Canada, and with our other dependencies to bring this about, he thought that would be a useful and practical employment of his powers.

Sir John Leng.

Mr. LLOYD-GEORGE (Carnarvon Boroughs) agreed with the hon. Member for Chelmsford that the Board of Trade could do a great deal more than they were doing at present. The question of patents was an illustration. With regard to patents they were undoubtedly charging too much or doing too little. The mere fact that a man had a patent in America or Germany had in itself commercial value, but that was not the case in regard to British patents. Here they must get the opinion of some well-known gentleman upon them in order to attach some sort of commercial value to them. The Board of Trade ought to reduce the fee—which he did not suggest—or employ scientific men to examine patents and give an opinion upon them before a patent was granted.

Mr. GERALD BALFOUR pointed out that an Act was passed two years ago more or less on the lines of those of the United States and Germany. It had not yet come into force, but it would do next year.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE continuing, thought there was a great deal more to be done by the Board of Trade with regard to railway rates. It was perfectly intolerable that through rates from America to towns in this country should be cheaper than the rates charged by the railway companies between two towns in this country. Surely the Board of Trade could bring pressure to bear upon the railway companies. Wherever railway companies had a monopoly they charged rates to make up the loss incurred where they had to reduce them on account of competition. The only way of bringing pressure to bear upon them was through the Board of Trade. They could do more in the way of bringing cases before the Railway and Canal Commissioners, for it was quite impossible for small traders to compete with great companies when it came to employing counsel and expert witnesses. If the chambers of commerce and chambers of agriculture had a powerful combination for the purpose of fighting questions of that character something might be done. The Board of Trade might then go to a railway company and say that, having satisfied themselves that there was a case, if the railway company did not meet it reasonably they would have to take it in hand.

MR. GERALD BALFOUR said they inquired into any complaint brought before them. It was open to the traders to bring cases before the Board of Trade under the Conciliation Act, and he might say that no cases of undue preference had been brought before the Board for the last ten years.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE said that that was not the opinion of the late President of the Board of Agriculture. He remembered the startling statement he made in that House. He had gone into the matter carefully, and that was not his opinion, and it was not the opinion of agriculturists in the country. There was not the slightest doubt that there were cases of preference, and the Board of Trade should do something. They could say that they would oppose the railway companies in getting enabling Bills through the House of Commons. Whenever there was a little seaside town served by a steamboat, the railway companies beat down the rates there, whereas the rates to towns where there was no competition by sea were kept up. Nominally, the rates were the same; but, as a matter of fact, they were different. The Board of Trade could do a great deal more than it did if it told the railway companies that obstacles would be put in the way of their Bills in the House of Commons. That was what happened in the case of the London and North Western Railway. When the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Croydon was at the Board of Trade the Welsh Members urged him to assist them in the redress of grievances by putting obstacles in the way of the railway company obtaining enabling Bills. They got his assistance in referring a Bill to a Hybrid Committee; the Bill was thrown out, and the result was that in the following year the grievances of individual traders were met and a considerable reduction of rates was made. That was not due so much to the action of the Welsh Members, but was due to the fact that they had the sympathetic assistance of the then President of the Board of Trade. The Board of Trade might tell the possessors of these great monopolies that unless they acted fairly the Board would put obstacles in their way when they asked for additional legislation. Not only agriculturists, but many little rural industries suffered from the effects of extravagant railway rates. What was wanted was not merely to put the people back on the land, but to get them back to the little rural industries which existed many years ago. He was sure the Board of Trade could give a great deal of assistance in the way he had indicated.

*Sir JOSEPH LAWRENCE (Monmouth Boroughs) said that with reference to the Patent Acts, which had been mentioned, there was in America and Germany not only an investigation with regard to anticipation, but also with regard to novelty. In this country, however, there was no investigation as regarded novelty. When the Bill to amend the patent law was brought forward two years ago, he objected to it; and it was only in deference to the view of the commercial Members that half a loaf was better than no bread that he withdrew his objection. That Bill was based on the recommendations of a Departmental Committee which, in his judgment, did not represent the commercial or scientific elements. That Committee objected to any reduction in the fees; and he concluded from that fact that there was a large Treasury element on it. He urged two years ago that a foreign manufacturer taking out a patent in this country should be compelled to work it in this country. Generally, he thought that the present position of the patent law deserved consideration.

Sir WILLIAM TOMLINSON (Preston) said the Board of Trade should give more attention to the complaints received from traders and others in regard to matters involving the trade interests of the country. He hoped that some better procedure would be adopted in future.

Dr. HUTCHINSON (Sussex, Rye) said he wanted to say a word or two with respect to preferential rates on railways. He rather wanted to come before the Committee as a supporter of monopolists. He thought the question of preferential rates on railways was not one where they ought to blame the railways quite as much as was the fashion. It was not possible for a railway company to carry one egg at the same rate as 10,000,000, and what they wanted was to get farmers to combine and co-operate. He expressed the hope that the Board of Trade might wake up the Agricultural Department of the State and get these men to form an agricultural committee in every county council. That was what they wanted, agricultural committees to take farmers by the scruff of the neck, and not the railways companies as his friend had said, because it was the fault of the farmers and not of the railway companies that these preferential rates existed.

Resolution to be reported upon Monday next; Committee to sit again on Monday next.

ADJOURNMENT.

Motion made, and Question, "That this House do now adjourn,'"—(*Sir A. Acland-Hood*); put, and agreed to.

Adjourned accordingly at twenty-five minutes after Seven o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Friday, 17*th June*, 1904.

EARLDOM OF NORFOLK.

Petition of Charles Botolph Joseph Lord Mowbray, Lord Segrave, and Baron and Lord Stourton of Stourton in the county of Wilts, praying that before the hearing of his Petition to Her late Majesty praying Her Majesty to determine in his favour the abeyance of the dignity of Earl of Norfolk a day may be fixed on which the Letters Patent of Creation, dated 1644, in favour of Thomas Howard Earl of Arundel and Surrey may be considered, and a decision arrived at whether the Duke of Norfolk has now any *locus standi* in the present case; read, and ordered to lie on the Table.

EARLDOM OF NORFOLK.

Petition of Henry Duke of Norfolk that the prayer of the Petition, presented this day, of Charles Botolph Joseph Lord Mowbray, Lord Segrave, and Baron and Lord Stourton of Stourton may be refused, and for leave to lodge a supplementary case; read, and ordered to lie on the Table.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

The LORD CHANCELLOR acquainted the House, That the Clerk of the Parliaments had laid upon the Table the Certificate from the Examiners that the Standing Orders applicable to the following Bill have been complied with:—Scotch Education Department Provisional Order Confirmation (Edinburgh) [H.L.].

The same was ordered to lie on the Table.

Barnet District Gas and Water Bill. A witness ordered to attend the Select Committee.

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 3) Bill [H.L.].—(Huddersfield Order). A petition of Alfred Vansittart Frere, of 5, Victoria Street, London, Parliamentary Agent, praying for leave to present a petition of the Longwood Gas Company against the Order, although the time limited by Standing Order No. 92 for presenting such petition has expired; read, and ordered to lie on the Table; and Standing Order No. 92 to be considered on Monday next in order to its being dispensed with in respect of the said petition.

Skipton Water and Improvement Bill; North Western Electricity and Power Gas Bill. Committed.

New River Company Bill [H.L.]. Returned from the Commons agreed to, with Amendments. The said Amendments considered, and agreed to.

Kirkby-in-Ashfield Urban District Gas Bill. Returned from the Commons with the Amendments agreed to.

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 3) Bill [H.L.]; Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 6) Bill [H.L.]; Doncaster Corporation Bill; Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 2) Bill [H.L.]; Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway (Steam Vessels) Bill; Barnet District Gas and Water Bill. Report from the Select Committee, That the Committee adjourned this day at One o'clock; read, and ordered to lie on the Table.

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 3) Bill [H.L.]; Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 6) Bill [H.L.]; Doncaster Corporation Bill; Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 2) Bill [H.L.]; Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway (Steam Vessels) Bill; Barnet District Gas and Water Bill. Report from the Committee of Selection, That the Lord Congleton be proposed to the House as a member of the Select Committee on the said Bills in the place of the Lord Tenterden; read, and agreed to.

Gas Orders Confirmation (No. 2) Bill [H.L.]; Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 5) Bill [H.L.]. Committed to a Committee of the Whole House.

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 4) Bill [H.L.]; Tramways Orders Confirmation (No. 1) Bill [H.L.]. Committed. The Committees to be proposed by the Committee of Selection.

An Asterisk (*) at the commencement of a Speech indicates revision by the Member.

LEITH CORPORATION TRAMWAYS ORDER CONFIRMATION BILL.

Moved, "That the Commons Message be considered."—(*Lord Balfour of Burleigh.*)

Lord HERRIES: My Lords, as I had the honour of being Chairman of the Commissioners who considered this Bill, which has been brought forward by the Leith Corporation for the purpose of enabling them to construct electric tramways within their area, I think it is only fair that I should say a few words in defence of the decision to which my Committee came. In the first place, I think I have some right to complain of the suddenness of the attack. It was only yesterday that I read that a Petition had been presented to the other House asking that the decision to which we came should be altered and the question considered by a Joint Committee of both Houses. As the Committee sat about three months ago, it was necessary to refresh one's memory as to what took place, and I spent a good portion of this morning reading the proceedings of the Committee. It appears to me that when a Committee appointed for the purpose of considering Provisional Orders comes to a decision it would be as well, in order that the Members of both Houses should be acquainted with the facts, that a report of the proceedings should be placed in their hands before any discussion takes place; otherwise how can Members be acquainted with the grounds on which the Committee came to their decision?

We were unfortunately placed in this respect, that no Members of the other House were able to serve on the Committee. The Commissioners consisted of two noble Lords and two Members from the Extra-Parliamentary Panel. Naturally, therefore, when this subject was brought before the other House there was no one prepared to defend the decision to which the Committee had come. I think it would be advisable in future that one Member at least of the other House should serve on these Committees. The Bill which we passed, and against which a Petition has been presented by the tramway lessees of the city of Edinburgh, was introduced for the purpose of constructing electric tramways within the burgh of Leith. This power was opposed by the corporation of the city of Edinburgh on the ground that they had electric tramways in their district, and that these tramways went down one street which was part of the burgh of Leith. We did not refuse a *locus standi* to the corporation of Edinburgh; but apparently the corporation had let the tramways within the city of Edinburgh to certain lessees, who undertook to work them and also engaged to run an omnibus service down through Leith.

So far as I can make out from reading the discussion which took place in the other House—I have not seen the Petition—the only objection is that we have refused to these lessees a *locus standi* in respect of the omnibus service. It is rather a question whether we have not a perfect right to refuse a *locus standi* to the runners of an omnibus service when a tramway is about to be started; but in this case the omnibuses did not go down the same street. I will quote what was said on this subject by counsel—

> "There is no substance in the objection. The omnibus service is in another district altogether. A tramway company which is working its system in another territory has no *locus standi* to appear."

So far as the lessees of the tramway within the city of Edinburgh were concerned, we considered that they had no *locus standi*, and the only ground for their claiming a *locus standi* was that they had this omnibus service within the burgh of Leith. We heard counsel on both sides and came to the conclusion that it was not a case for a *locus standi*, and that the corporation of the city of Edinburgh were quite capable of protecting the interests, if any, of the lessees. The first reason for this decision was that the lessees had never been recognised by the Board of Trade; the second was that if there was a lease it was for tramways within the city of Edinburgh; the third was that the corporation of Edinburgh, as proprietors of these tramways, were sufficient to represent all the interests in that respect; and the fourth reason was that the proposed tramways would not trench upon the territory served by the omnibuses. And, notwithstanding the discussion which has taken place in the other House, I am still of opinion that we were quite right in the decision at which we arrived.

THE ACTING CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEES (Lord BALFOUR OF BURLEIGH): My Lords, perhaps it will be convenient, in the absence of any representative of the Scottish Office, that I should state to the House the exact position in which we find ourselves. It is peculiar in this way, that there is no precise precedent, because this is the first occasion upon which either House of Parliament has taken advantage of the provisions of the statute under which these Provisional Orders are confirmed, to grant an appeal and to suggest the reference of the appeal to a Joint Committee. With reference to what the noble Lord has said, I hope he will excuse me for saying that I think there is no ground for any feeling on his part that he has been placed in an unusual position by the decision of his Committee being attacked. This is certainly not the first time in the history of litigation—and I am perfectly certain it will not be the last—that the defeated litigant is disappointed with the decision of the Court, thinks it wrong, and would like to take any constitutional methods of again raising the question. There is no real attack upon the noble Lord or upon his Committee. Knowing the noble Lord's experience in these matters I think we may presume, and ought to presume, that the decision of his Committee was a right one; but there is a constitutional method of procedure open to anyone who has this sort of decision against him, and that procedure has been taken.

As to the suddenness with which it is brought forward, there is unfortunately no option in the matter. The provision of the statute is that if, after the introduction of a Confirmation Bill and before the expiration of seven days, any Petition is presented against the Order comprised in the Bill, it is lawful for any Member of the House in which the Bill originated to give notice that he intends to move that the Bill be referred to a Joint Committee of both Houses of Parliament. This Bill originated in another place. Within the last day or two a Petition was presented, and a Member of the House of Commons moved that the Bill be referred to a Joint Committee. He was successful in that Motion, and the ordinary communication has been sent to this House of the decision come to by the other House. I suppose it would be possible to argue that this House is master of its own procedure and might refuse to join with the House of Commons in the Joint Committee, but I am certain the noble Lord will not suggest the adoption of that course. After the Motion now before the House, which is "That the Commons message be considered," is disposed of, I shall move that the House do concur in the Resolution of the Commons that the Bill be referred to a Joint Committee of both Houses. I express no opinion whatever on the merits of the case. I know that the noble Lord and his Committee arrived at what they believed to be a right decision; that decision has been appealed against, and the ordinary procedure contemplated in the Act is that an opportunity of raising the question again should be given. I hope the noble Lord will disabuse his mind of the idea that there is any sort of attack on him or on the Committee over which he presided.

On Question, Motion agreed to.

Moved, "That this House do concur in the following Resolution communicated by the Commons, viz.: "That the Leith Corporation Tramways Order Confirmation Bill be referred to a Joint Committee of Lords and Commons." —(*Lord Balfour of Burleigh*).

On Question, Motion agreed to, and a Message ordered to be sent to the Commons to acquaint them therewith.

House adjourned at a quarter before Five o'clock, to Monday next, a quarter before Eleven o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Friday, 17th June, 1904.

The House met at Twelve of the Clock.

UNOPPOSED PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

PRIVATE BILLS [LORDS] (STANDING ORDERS NOT PREVIOUSLY INQUIRED INTO COMPLIED WITH).

MR. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in the case of the following Bills, originating in the Lords, and referred on the First Reading thereof, the Standing Orders not previously inquired into, and which are applicable thereto, have been complied with, viz. :—Belfast Corporation (Tramways) Bill [Lords]; Derwent Valley Water Board Bill [Lords]; Lothians Electric Power Bill [Lords]; Newcastle and Gateshead Water Bill [Lords].

Ordered, That the Bills be read a second time.

PROVISIONAL ORDER BILLS [LORDS] (STANDING ORDERS APPLICABLE THERETO COMPLIED WITH).

Mr. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in the case of the following Bill, originating in the Lords, and referred on the First Reading thereof, the Standing Orders which are applicable thereto have been complied with, viz. :—Education Board Provisional Order Confirmation (Birmingham) Bill [Lords].

Ordered, That the Bill be read a second time upon Monday next.

Brixham Gas Bill; Littlestone-on-Sea and District Water Bill. Lords Amendments considered, and agreed to.

Barnard Castle Gas Bill [Lords]. As amended, considered; a clause added; Bill to be read the third time.

St. Bartholomew's Hospital Bill [Lords]. As amended, considered; to be read the third time.

PRIVATE BILLS (GROUP J).

Mr. TENNANT reported from the Committee on Group J of Private Bills, That the parties opposing the Milwr and District Mines Drainage Bill [Lords] had stated that the evidence of Mr. Aubrey Strachan, of the Royal Geological Museum, Jermyn Street, S.W., was essential to their case; and, it having been proved that his attendance could not be procured without the intervention of the House, he had been instructed to move that the said Mr. Aubrey Strachan do attend the said Committee on this day, at Two of the clock.

Ordered, That Mr. Aubrey Strachan do attend the Committee on Group J of Private Bills this day, at Two of the clock.

MESSAGE FROM THE LORDS.

That they have agreed to—Midland Railway Bill, with Amendments; Amendments to Chesterfield Gas and Water Board Bill [Lords], without Amendment.

That they have passed a Bill, intituled, "An Act to amend the Law relating to the falsification of Seamen's and Soldiers' Certificates of Service or Discharge, and to false statements made, used, or given in connection with entry or enlistment into His Majesty's Naval, Military, or Marine Forces." [Seamen's and Soldiers' False Characters Bill [Lords.]

Leith Corporation Tramways Order Confirmation Bill. That they concur with the Commons in their Resolution, "That the Leith Corporation Tramways Order Confirmation Bill be referred to a Joint Committee of Lords and Commons."

City of London (Central Criminal Court House) Bill. Reported, without Amendment; Report to lie upon the Table.

Bill to be read the third time.

Preston Corporation Water Bill [Lords]; Shipley Urban District Council Bill [Lords]; Ticehurst and District Water and Gas Bill [Lords]; Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire Electric Power Bill [Lords]; Leicestershire and Warwickshire Electric Power Bill [Lords]. Reported, with Amendments; Reports to lie upon the Table, and to be printed.

Lancashire Electric Power Bill [Lords]. Reported, without Amendment; Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed.

Bill to be read the third time.

PETITIONS.

EDUCATION (SCOTLAND) BILL.

Petition from General Assembly of the United Free Church of Scotland, for alteration; to lie upon the Table.

EDUCATION (SCOTLAND) BILL.

Petition from Bothwell, in favour; to lie upon the Table.

ELECTRIC LIGHTING (LONDON) BILL.

Petition from Southwark, against (praying to be heard by Counsel); referred to the Select Committee on the Bill.

HOUSING OF THE WORKING CLASSES, ETC., BILL.

Petition from South Shields, against; to lie upon the Table.

LICENSING BILL.

Petitions against; from Aberystwith (two); Abingdon; Ackworth; Ancoats; Armley (two); Ashton in Makerfield; Bakewell; Barton upon Humber; Beddgelert; Biggleswade; Binchester; Birkenhead (two); Birmingham; Bishop Auckland; Blackness; Bollington; Bolton (seven); Bothwell; Bow Brickhill; Bramley (two); Bristol (two); Caldecote; Catforth; Charleton Horethorne; Cuard; Cheetham Hill; Clapham; Clydach; Coundon; Cowbeach; Crayford; Crumpsall (three); Eastbourne (eleven); East Tilbury; Eccles; Edinburgh; Ferrybridge; Fobbing; Forest Gate; Freckleton; Fulham; Gainsborough; Glasbury: Grays; Greasbro; Greenhaugh; Gregson Lane; Hailsham (five); Halifax (two); Hartlepool; Hastings; Hay; Heapham; Heathfield; Heaton Mersey; Hermon Llannon; Hindley; Horfield; Horndon on the Hill; Horsebridge; Hurstmonceux (two); Ingham; Knottingley; Laughton; Leeds; Linford; Little Thurrock; Lower Crumpsall; Macclesfield (two); Manchester; Micklefield; Newcastle on Tyne; Newport; Nettleham; Newton Heath; Ninfield; Northamptonshire; North Featherstone; Northill; North Kelsey; Old Shildon; Pembrey; Peasedown; Polegate; Pontefract; Purston; Pylle; Rodley; Rogerstone; Rooden Lane; Runcorn; St. Anne's on the Sea (two); St. Helen's; St. Leonard's; Scotton; Shanklin; Sheffield (two); Shefford; South Carnarvonshire; South Elmsall; South Kirkby; Southlands; South Nutfield; South Shields; South Wigston; Stafford; Stalbridge; Stanford le Hope; Stockdalewath; Strathpeffer; Tain; Thorpe Audlin; Todmorden; Upton (two); Usk; West Bromwich; West Coker; Willingdon; Wilmington; Winsford (two); Workington; Wortley; and Wragby; to lie upon the Table.

LICENSING BILL.

Petitions for alteration; from Macclesfield; Pontefract; and Willesden; to lie upon the Table.

RATING OF MACHINERY BILL.

Petition from Rotherham, against; to lie upon the Table.

VALUATION BILL.

Petitions against; from Bolton; and Warrington; to lie upon the Table.

VALUATION BILL.

Petitions for alteration; from Buckingham; Godston; Potterspury; and Reigate; to lie upon the Table.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

ALKALI, ETC., WORKS REGULATION ACTS, 1881 AND 1892.

Copy presented, of Fortieth Annual Report on Alkali, etc., Works by the Chief Inspector, being for 1903 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 213.]

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

Increase of Canadian Duties on British Woollen Goods and Cordage.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE (Carnarvon Boroughs): To ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether his attention has been called to the increases about to be made in the Canadian duties on British woollen goods and on British cordage; and whether he proposes to make any protest against these increases, similar to the protest which was made by Australia when the wine duty in this country was last increased, and to the protests made by India and Ceylon when the tea duty was increased.

(*Answered by Mr. A. J. Balfour.*) My attention has been called to the proposal of the Canadian Government to diminish the existing preferences on British cloths, tweeds, etc., and British twine and cordage. His Majesty's Government do not intend to protest against this proposal; first, because it forms only part of a scheme of tariff revision which appears to have been framed in a spirit of consideration for British industries and which includes increased preferences in certain other directions; and, secondly, because, in the absence of any reciprocal arrangement, the precise nature and amount of the preference to be given to British imports are matters which must be left entirely to the discretion of the Canadian Government.

County Court Jurisdiction Extension Act.

SIR CHARLES DILKE (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean): To ask Mr. Attorney-General, with reference to a statement made on behalf of His Majesty's Government at the time of the passing of the County Court Jurisdiction Extension Act, with regard to the coming into operation of that Act, whether there could be given as a Parliamentary Paper any memorials received by the Lord Chancellor from the County Court Judges, or any committee of their body, on the subject; and what steps His Majesty's Government intend to take in reference to the matter.

(*Answered by Sir Robert Finlay.*) I understand that it would not be in accordance with usage that such communications between the Lord Chancellor and the County Court Judges should be treated as public documents. I am not yet in a position to state what steps His Majesty's Government intend to take in reference to the subject of the Question, but the matter is now under consideration.

Street Accidents—Motor-cars and Horse-drawn Carriages.

MR. SCOTT-MONTAGU (Hampshire, New Forest): To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether, if he grants the Return asked for by the hon. Member for East Cork as to the number of motor-car accidents from 1st June, 1903, to 31st May, 1904, he will place beside the figures given, for purposes of comparison, a Return of the number of accidents caused by horses and horse-drawn vehicles in the same period.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Akers-Douglas.*) I will consider whether the figures asked for by my hon. friend can be given at the same time as any figures as to motor-car accidents which it may be possible to compile. But it must be remembered that the total number of horses and horse-drawn vehicles in use cannot be given; and that, without such a basis for comparison, no trustworthy deductions can be drawn from the figures.

Unstripped Tobacco—Weight of Stalk.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON (Tower Hamlets, Poplar): To ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer what proportion on the average of the whole weight of the imported unstripped tobacco leaf is estimated to be due to the stalk.

(*Answered by Mr. Austen Chamberlain.*) The proportion of the weight of the stalk to the whole leaf in imported tobacco leaf ranges from about 18 per cent. to 34 per cent. according to the kind of tobacco. Sufficient *data* do not, however, exist to enable an estimate to be formed of the average proportion.

Rise and Fall of Agricultural Rents in Devon.

MR. SOARES (Devonshire, Barnstaple): To ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether he will grant a Return showing the rise and fall of agricultural rents in the county of Devon during the last ten years.

(*Answered by Mr. Austen Chamberlain.*) The values of lands and houses are revised only once in every five years. Revisions were made in 1893, 1898, and 1903, but the detailed figures of the revision of 1903 will not be available for some time, as appeals are still under consideration. However, if the hon. Member wishes it, and will communicate with me, I will give the aggregate valuation of all lands in the county of Devon as made in 1893 and 1898.

Income-Tax on Foreign and Colonial Investments.

MR. SOARES: To ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether he can give an approximate estimate of the amount of income-tax paid on foreign and colonial investments respectively.

(*Answered by Mr. Austen Chamberlain.*) It is not possible for me to give any trustworthy estimate of the kind asked for in the Question.

Publication of Correspondence regarding British Guiana Ordinance on Indian Coolie Immigration.

SIR HENRY FOWLER (Wolverhampton, E.): To ask the Secretary of State for India when the correspondence with reference to the British Guiana Ordinance on Indian Coolie Immigration will be circulated.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Brodrick.*) I am informed that the Paper will be ready for issue this afternoon.

Payment of Teachers' Salaries for Evening Classes at Carrowcannon.

MR. HUGH LAW (Donegal, W.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he can say when payment of teachers' salaries will be made in respect of the four months course of evening schools held at Carrowcannon, county Donegal, which terminated on the 29th February, the examination being held on the 2nd March.

(*Answered by Mr. Wyndham.*) I am informed that payment of the capitation grant has been made to the managers of these schools.

Pensions of Crown Agents.

MR. HERBERT SAMUEL (Yorkshire, Cleveland): To ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies if he will state what is the amount of the pension payable to each of the Crown Agents.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Lyttelton.*) The amounts will be determined on their retirement, based on the number of years service they may then have had and the salary they may have reached, in accordance with such rules as the Secretary of State may from time to time prescribe.

NEW WRIT.

New Writ for the County of York, West Riding (Sowerby Division) in the room of the right hon. John William Mellor (Manor of Northstead).—*Mr. Herbert Gladstone.*)

SELECTION (STANDING COMMITTEES).

MR. HALSEY reported from the Committee of Selection, That they had discharged the following Members from the Standing Committee on Law, and Courts of Justice, and Legal Procedure:—Mr. Matthew White Ridley, Mr. Henry Hobhouse, and Mr. George Faber; and had appointed in substitution: Mr. Peel, Mr. Claude Hay, and Mr. Moon.

Report to lie upon the Table.

RAILWAYS (PRIVATE SIDINGS) BILL.

As amended (by the Standing Committee), considered.

SIR FREDERICK BANBURY (Camberwell, Peckham) said that in order to explain the reason for the new clause which stood in his name, it was necessary to state shortly what occurred before the Bill was introduced. Three or four years ago a certain decision in the Law Courts gave a new interpretation to the Railway Clauses Consolidation Act, 1845, and the Railway Act of 1854, and that interpretation was taken to mean that a trader could not make a private siding unless he was himself prepared to run the trucks over the railway. The result of the decision was that traders thought it would be necessary to bring in a Bill to re-enact the provision which had always been supposed to be in force under the two Acts. The railway companies made no objection to that as they had no wish to take advantage of the unexpected legal decision. He was now proposing this clause, because the railway companies did not think that under this Bill the actual position prior to the decision of the Court was being re-enacted. The Act of 1845 provided that sidings might be constructed in any place where communications could be made with safety to the public, without injury to the railway, and without inconvenience to the traffic thereof. The clause in the Bill only provided for "reasonable facilities" being given for the making of sidings, and everyone knew what varied interpretations might be put on the word "reasonable." The object of the railway companies was to avoid possible litigation both in their own interests and the interests of the traders, and he believed that the latter only wished to get the law back into its original condition. This clause had been drafted in order to place both the companies and the traders in the same position. It was submitted to the Board of Trade and met with the approval of that body, but when the matter was before the Committee the Secretary of the Board of Trade, while intimating that he would vote for it, stated that he did not think it necessary as the lawyers of the Department held that there would be no difficulty about the interpretation of the word "reasonable." The result of the attitude taken up by the Board of Trade was that the clause was thrown out, for the traders complained that they had not had time to consider it and feared there might be something in it which gave the railway companies some unexplained advantage. Since the Committee stage the railway companies had taken a legal opinion and had been told by an eminent lawyer who sat on the Front Bench opposite that they were perfectly right in their contention that the clause was absolutely necessary. With that opinion he believed the hon. and learned Member for Stretford agreed. He hoped hon. Members who might not be directly interested in railway companies or in any branch of trade would give this clause their support, for unless something of the kind was put into the Bill great inconvenience might be caused to the public at large.

One object of the clause was to secure that railway companies should not be obliged to make sidings at big junctions, and everyone could understand how the placing of a siding at a junction where there was a great amount of traffic might cause serious inconvenience to the public. Nothing more annoyed a traveller on a long journey than to be subjected to continual waits, which often led to broken business engagements. He could not see any possible objection to his proposed new clause, the first part of which practically re-enacted the 76th Section of the Act of 1845, while as to the latter part it simply provided that where signalling was necessary in the interests of the public the trader should pay for it. Probably the chief objection to the clause was to the provision with regard to appeals to the Commissioners to vary Orders, etc. The complaint was that that would stop finality, but he ventured to suggest that the provision was in the public interest as sidings might be put in places where a subsequent great increase of traffic might make their continued working unsafe. No one could suggest that excessive profits were earned by railway companies in the present day and the House should not do anything calculated to put a stop to railway enterprise and to induce people to refrain from investing their money in railway shares. People would not put their cash into undertakings returning only 3 or 4 per cent. unless they were assured that there was no risk of legislation which would render their money unprofitable. Hence he hoped the clause would be agreed to.

A clause (Provisions as to Orders under the Act).

(1) "Before making any Order under this Act, the Railway and Canal Commission shall satisfy themselves that adequate sidings have been or will be provided by the applicant for the accommodation of traffic from time to time passing over the junction so as to avoid causing obstruction or delay upon the railway.

(2) "Any signalling or other work necessary to enable the Company to afford facilities under any Order made under this Act with due regard to the traffic using the Company's railway shall be deemed to be services rendered to the applicant at his request at or in connection with the siding.

(3) "Any party to an Order made under this Act by the Railway and Canal Commission may apply to the Commissioners at any time to vary, rescind, or alter any Order made by them under this Act."—(*Sir Frederick Banbury.*)

Brought up, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the clause be read a second time."

*SIR WILLIAM TOMLINSON (Preston) asked the House to confirm the action of the Standing Committee and reject the clause. The traders contended that the rights they enjoyed under Section 76 had been destroyed by recent decisions in the Courts of Law. Directly the decisions were given the traders found that the railway companies began to put difficulties in the way of working existing railway sidings and constructing new ones. They therefore framed a Bill with the express object of restoring parties to the position they were in before the decisions were given. They would have liked an express re-enactment of Clause 76, but after consultation with the Board of Trade the Bill was framed as it now stood. The traders were prepared to accept the view of the Board of Trade and to take the Bill as it stood, but in order, as he considered, to make the Bill more complete, and to carry out a promise which he gave after the rejection of this clause by the Committee, to frame a clause which would free the railway companies from any apprehension that they might not, under the Bill, have full protection given them by the Railway Clauses Act, he was willing to move his clause in lieu of the present one. If that were accepted it would restore the traders and the companies their rights as they existed under Section 76, whereas the hon. Baronet the Member for Peckham's new clause did not re-enact the whole of that section. It furthermore placed the railway companies in a stronger position than they would have occupied if the decisions of the Court of Appeal had not been given.

COLONEL LOCKWOOD (Essex, Epping): In a stronger position than under the 1845 Act?

*SIR WILLIAM TOMLINSON: Yes. Sub-section 3 of the hon. Baronet the Member for Peckham's new clause, did not, as he understood it, re-enact the provisions of the Railway Clauses Act. It was a subsection taken from a provision in the Railway and Canal Traffic Act, 1888, but by the rules and regulations framed under that Act, its operation was very much restricted. Of course it was possible that these rules and regulations might be altered if necessary, and that was the proper way of effecting the object of the companies of extending the scope of that provision, and not by inserting a clause which would subject traders to perpetually having their arrangements brought for revision before the Railway Commissioners. He reminded the House that traders did not like being brought before the Railway Commissioners because they considered that Court was a costly tribunal. The clause moved by the hon. Baronet the Member for Peckham in Sub-section 3 provided that—

"Any party to an Order made under this Act by the Railway and Canal Commission may apply to the Commissioners at any time to vary, rescind, or alter any Order made by them under this Act."

If that was enacted, they might, at any moment, be called upon to spend hundreds of pounds in defending their rights before that tribunal.

SIR FREDERICK BANBURY: If we accept the next clause on the Paper will the hon. Baronet withdraw the clause which is now in the Bill? We should be prepared to do that.

*SIR WILLIAM TOMLINSON said no, they could not do that. The clause in the Bill had been formed by the Board of Trade and they were fully conscious of the reasons for it. It was really a clause to cover Cowan's case—whilst his clause bore more directly on the Lancashire Brick and Tile case—decided on the question of the validity of Clause 76, and he was not prepared to withdraw it under the circumstances.

MR. GALLOWAY (Manchester, S.W.) said the railway companies had nothing to complain of in the speech of his hon. friend. It appeared to him, however, that the House was trying to settle a legal question which ought to be settled by lawyers. They were all quite willing that the law should be brought into accordance with recent decisions, for that was what they all desired, and it did seem unfortunate that they could not find words to carry out that which they all desired to enact. Directly the decision was come to by the Court of Appeal it was alleged that the railway companies resolved to put impediments in the way of trade. He was a large trader himself and had dealings with several railway companies, and he found it very convenient sometimes to play one railway off against another, but he had never yet found that they placed any difficulties in the way of getting whatever trade he had got. On the contrary he found that they vied with one another to give as many facilities as possible. It was obvious that there must be a common sense way of dealing with a railway company just as there was with any other business concern, and it was not the desire or wish of railway companies to put any difficulties in the way of trade. Railway companies did not make their profit out of passenger traffic alone, but out of goods traffic as well, and no railway could be conducted successfully if it did not endeavour to meet its traders so far as it reasonably could. He was anxious that they should come to some arrangement to avoid the House going to the trouble of a division, because this was really a legal difficulty. He did not see anything in the clause under consideration to which any trader could reasonably object. The three provisions in the clause proposed by the hon. Baronet the Member for Peckham were not unreasonable, and they were necessary if the railway companies were to conduct their business with that due regard to the safety of the public which the House of Commons had a right to demand. He wished to state quite frankly that they were ready to make any compromise which would reasonably carry out the intentions of the mover of this Bill, that the law should merely be put back into the position it was in before without any advantage on the one side or the other. He could not see why it was impossible to come to such an arrangement.

Mr. BLACK (Banffshire) said the whole object of the Bill was to reverse a decision of the Scotch Courts some two years ago in the Cowan case. He happened to know something about that case. The firm in question was not in a position to bring any other line into competition with the North British Railway Company, and the railway company in raising the question was really endeavouring to make a change in the law as it had hitherto been recognised for the purpose of bringing indirect pressure to bear upon the trader concerned. They were ultimately successful in having it established that reasonable facilities did not include the right to connect private sidings with the ordinary lines. The object of the Bill was to put the law back where it was before Cowan's case was decided; and not in any other way to affect the law as it stood prior to that decision. The onus was on the representatives of the railway companies to show that that decision altered the law in the direction suggested by the proposed clause. He submitted that so far they had entirely failed to advance any argument establishing such a contention. There was no case for altering the law in the direction suggested by the hon. Member for Peckham. He therefore hoped the House would pass the Bill as it stood and refuse to accept the Amendment.

Mr. STUART WORTLEY (Sheffield, Hallam) said common sense and history told them that things were not the same now as they were in 1845 when the Railways Clauses Consolidation Act was passed. That Act was passed on the assumption that the railway companies were mere toll takers and not providers of motive power as they were now; and if the provision of that Act was to be reinstated some regard must be had to modern conditions. The right to demand facilities could not be granted as if railways were now what they were contemplated to be under the Act of 1845—namely, mere providers of the road which other persons providing their own motive power were allowed to use. It was not an unreasonable thing for the railway companies to say that, if they consented to the reinstatement of the law of 1845, it should be subject to conditions which were really required in the interests of the public. He submitted that the circumstances justified the modifications in the clause of the hon. Baronet the Member for Peckham.

Mr. WEIR (Ross and Cromarty) said he was always suspicious when railway companies came to the House of Commons asking for fresh powers. They possessed already very great powers, and they used those powers very harshly in many cases. The clause of the hon. Baronet the Member for Preston was of a very much more moderate character, and would satisfy the wants of traders. They should not lose sight of the importance of doing all they could to encourage trade. The case of Cowan had been quoted. That case was carried to the Scottish Court of Appeal, and the decision went against the trader, who was not in a position to bring his case before the House of Lords. It would prove to be a serious tax on industry if traders were to be pestered with litigation in this way, and driven from Court to Court. They should do their utmost to help traders to develop their industries without all these restrictions. The Board of Trade had a voice in these matters, and they would see that traffic was conducted in the public interest. These matters were of vital importance to the small traders, and great railway companies, with their large dividends, were in a totally different position. He was surprised that the hon. Baronet the Member for Peckham had raised a point of this sort, the meaning of which must be apparent to everybody who knew anything about Stock Exchange business. If a man wished to start a manufacturing concern on the banks of a river he would build his works there and perhaps spend many thousands of pounds to found a great industry, and possibly build a large number of cottages for his workmen; and after doing all that he was never sure whether a railway company might not pounce down upon him, and drag him before the Commissioners, thus involving him in costly litigation with a chance of his rights being taken from him. For these reasons he much prefered the proposal of the hon. Baronet the Member for Preston. He was in favour of justice being done to both the railway companies and traders, but railway companies should not stand in the position of having power to crush out industries and squeeze traders to their heart's content. He sincerely trusted that the House would realise the importance of voting against the clause which had been moved by the hon. Baronet the Member for Peckham, and he hoped they would stand by the clause of the hon. Baronet the Member for Preston. He opposed this clause, not with a desire to hinder the business of the House, but in order to protect traders, and in order that the railway companies should not have absolute power to hamper industries.

The PARLIAMENTARY SECRETARY TO THE BOARD OF TRADE (Mr. Bonar Law, Glasgow, Blackfriars) said the Board of Trade were interested in this Bill from one point of view, viz., they wished to give traders the right they had up to the time that a certain decision was arrived at in the Scottish Courts. The Bill, as it was introduced, was framed by the Department, and they thought it carried out that object. The railway companies considered that certain Amendments were necessary to put them in the position in which they were before that decision, and this Bill had been the result of a compromise. The Board of Trade had tried to get both sides to take a reasonable view, and to pass a Bill to which nobody seriously objected. He had been in communication with his hon. friend who introduced the Bill and the representatives of the railway companies, and he was glad to say that they had agreed to a compromise which he thought effected everything the House desired. According to the law as it stood at present, once a siding was granted the arrangement was final, and it could not be altered except by Act of Parliament. Circumstances might alter, and a place which was once suitable for a siding might not always be so. What was now proposed was that a railway company should be able to deal with a question of that kind without the necessity of a special Act of Parliament. His hon. friend did not like the words in the Bill. He wished that before the Railway and Canal Commission made any Order under this Act the railway companies should show a *prima facie* case for the alteration they proposed to make. The railway interests had agreed to accept that, and he hoped the House would accept an Amendment in that sense.

Sir FREDERICK BANBURY stated that after the Second Reading of the clause he would move the omission of Subsections 1 and 2, and the insertion of words in the third sub-section which would meet the view expressed by his hon. friend.

Mr. ALEXANDER CROSS (Glasgow, Camlachie) said that as the representative of important trade interests in Scotland, he had much satisfaction in expressing concurrence in the proposal now made. He appreciated the spirit in which the railway companies had met them in this matter. He thought the compromise would prove a workable one. His hon. friend the Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade had with perfect accuracy pointed out that circumstances might alter, and that the conditions which existed when a siding was originally granted might no longer obtain.

Question put, and agreed to.

Amendment proposed to the clause—

"To leave out Sub-sections 1 and 2."—(*Sir Frederick Banbury.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Amendment proposed to the clause—

"In line 2, Sub-section 3, after the word 'may' to insert the words, 'on specifying to the Commissioners that they have a *primâ facie* case.'"—(*Sir Frederick Banbury.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Clause, as amended, added.

MR. WEIR had given notice of a new clause with respect to the jurisdiction of the Board of Trade for the protection of the public at level crossings in the following terms—

"All private sidings or private branch railways, whether authorised by virtue of this or any other Act, and whether authorised before or after the passing of this Act, shall fall within the jurisdiction of the Board of Trade who are hereby empowered to make such rules and regulations, and to attach such penalties as they may think fit, for the protection of the public at those points or places where such private sidings or private branch railways cross public highways, roads, footpaths, or thoroughfares by means of level crossings, or where such private sidings or private branch railways abut or adjoin such public highways, roads, footpaths, or thoroughfares."

*SIR WILLIAM TOMLINSON said the clause was not in order.

MR. CALDWELL (Lanarkshire, Mid.), on the point of order, said the object of the Bill was to give increased facilities for sidings. [Cries of "No."] It was so. The Bill was to amend the law in relation to private sidings. The object of the Bill was to enable private parties to have sidings which they were precluded from having now. These sidings, therefore, would increase in virtue of this Act, and the public interest should be protected by provisions in regard to level crossings where these crossed public roads. The Bill obviously would create new sidings, in fact it would be of no use if it did not. He submitted that the clause was in order.

*MR. SPEAKER said the Bill now before the House dealt only with the question of connecting private sidings or private branch railways with railways. The proposed new clause was not in order.

A clause (Extension of private sidings or private branch railways)—

"Where a private siding or private branch railway is connected with a railway under the provisions of Section 76 of the Railways Clauses Consolidation Act, 1845, as amended or explained by this or any other Act, the owners or occupiers of lands adjoining to such private siding or private branch railway shall be entitled to the same reasonable facilities for constructing and connecting a private siding or private branch railway with such private siding or private branch railway, and by means of such private siding or private branch railway with the railway belonging to the railway company, as under said Acts, are possessed by the owners or occupiers of lands adjoining to the railway belonging to the railway company."—(*Mr. Weir.*)

Brought up, and read the first time.

MR. WEIR, in moving the Second Reading of the clause, said he was anxious that the industries of the country should be encouraged and that proper railway facilities should be provided wherever factories were set up. The object of the clause which he now proposed was to prevent railway companies from being able to say that they would not allow the connections which were required in different localities. If they objected to the proposal on the ground that it might lead to congestion of traffic he thought that difficulty could be got over by having several lines to meet the requirements of the traffic. In view of the foreign competition to which many of our industries were subjected at the present time, it was of the utmost importance that facilities should be provided for working people being removed to places where house accommodation could be obtained at moderate rents and where living was less costly than in the cities and towns. He hoped the promoters of the Bill would accept the clause in the interest of British industries. He begged to move.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the clause be read a second time."

MR. CALDWELL said this was a most reasonable clause in the interest of the general public, and also of those who wanted to connect with the railways. Whatever arrangements might be made between the railway companies on the one hand and private individuals on the other, it was obviously the duty of Parliament in these matters to see that the terms of the Act did not prejudice the public interest. The section now proposed to be incorporated in this Bill was Section 76 of the Railway Clauses Act, 1845, which gave power to those whose lands adjoined a railway to make a connection between a private siding and the railway. They came forward asking that their right in this matter, which had been disputed by the Law Courts, should be restored, or rather that they should get the privilege, which under the law as presently interpreted they had not got, to connect their branch railways and sidings with the main railway. There were obviously other parties who were entitled in equity to have a connection with the main railway besides those who were nearly adjoining the railway. A proprietor of extensive works a little bit off a branch railway might wish to get a connection with the main railway, but at present it was impossible for him to get that connection if the proprietor adjacent to the main railway refused to give his consent. What objection could any man have to giving powers of the kind provided for in the new clause? He should say that it was in the interest of the railway companies that such powers should be granted. The owners of private branch railways were asking by this Bill that they should have access to the main railway, and why should they object to another person whose works did not lie alongside the railway, but a little way off, from gaining access to the main line? It stood to reason that if one man got a privilege from Parliament he, in turn, should give facilities to someone else—who had probably a different kind of traffic altogether—for having running powers over his branch siding or railway in order to reach the main line. A large landed proprietor might have the whole land alongside the railway and no person but himself would be entitled to have a branch siding; while a little further down there might be very large and valuable works which were technically outside the boundary of the main railway. The owner of these works might consequently find himself cut off from railway communication on account of the limited nature of the powers given in this Bill. It was in the interests of the trade and commerce of the country that access to the main lines of railway should be made as wide as possible; and nothing could be more reasonable than to say that if a man got a privilege from Parliament to connect his siding or branch railway with the main line, he should, in return, allow somebody else who had works which adjoined that branch line or siding to have a connection through that branch line or siding with the main line—more especially as the prosperity and industry of a whole village or town might depend on these works so cut off by this Bill from all communication with the main line. It was not for the general convenience of trade that the promoters of this Bill should enjoy all the advantages of access to the main line of railway and refuse it to others who happened to have large and valuable works outside the radius or technical border of the main line. He heartily supported the proposed new clause.

SIR JOSEPH LEESE (Lancashire, Accrington) said he gathered now that the Bill had passed so far as the main clause was concerned. He also gathered that the effect of the second clause was to re-enact Section 76 of the Act of 1845. Now the hon. Member for Ross and Cromarty proposed a new clause which was to extend the Act of 1845. He had looked to see if the Amendment were necessary, and he thought that that Act fully and better covered what the hon. Gentleman wanted than did his new clause.

MR. WEIR said he begged leave to withdraw the clause.

Motion and clause, by leave, withdrawn.

Bill read the third time, and passed.

HALL-MARKING OF FOREIGN PLATE BILL.

As amended (by the Standing Committee) considered.

MR. CALDWELL (Lanarkshire, Mid.) said he wished to move the following new clause—

> "In the application of this Act to Scotland, all jurisdiction under the Summary Jurisdiction Acts is hereby conferred on sheriffs."

*MR. SPEAKER: The proposed new clause is properly an Amendment to Clause 2.

MR. CALDWELL said that in that case he would move his next Amendment, which was to omit Clause 1.

*MR. SAMUEL ROBERTS (Sheffield, Ecclesall) said that Clause 1 was practically the entire Bill; and he submitted that an Amendment which was inconsistent with or contradictory to a Bill as agreed to by a Committee was not in order.

*MR. SPEAKER: That rule does not often apply, but it may apply in this particular case. Clause 1 is the entire Bill with the exception of a few sections which refer to the application of other Acts.

MR. CALDWELL said that the inconvenience arose solely from the operation of putting the whole Bill into one clause. It was always convenient to move the omission of the clause in order to discuss it generally before proceeding with the Amendments. If he were not permitted to move the omission of the clause, he would only have to move the omission of each sub-section separately; but that would be inconvenient, as the sub-sections depended on each other, and it would not be possible to have a general discussion as to the merits of the Amendments.

*MR. SPEAKER: I will not take the course I am invited to take, and rule this Amendment out of order, so the hon. Member may proceed with his Amendment.

MR. CALDWELL said it was very much more convenient to deal with the clause as a whole, as they would be able, in that way, to compare the existing law with the change proposed in the Bill. By the Customs Act of 1842, Section 59, it was declared that all gold and silver-plate which was not battered, and which was imported from foreign ports, and which was sold, exchanged, or exposed for sale within the United Kingdom, should be of the respective standards, as regarded quality, as was required for any ware, vessel, or merchandise of gold or silver, wrought or made in the United Kingdom. That was to say, that the plate should be imported for commercial purposes, and not for the importer's own private use. It was also provided that no gold or silver-plate not battered, which was imported, should be sold or exchanged or exposed for sale within the United Kingdom until it had been assayed, stamped, and marked, either in England, Scotland, or Ireland, in the same manner as any ware, vessel, or merchandise of gold or silver, wrought or made in the United Kingdom. It was further provided that any person who offended against the Act should be liable to penalties and forfeitures in all respects to be recoverable in the same manner as if they had been imposed on a goldsmith or silversmith who sold ware or merchandise wrought or made in these countries which was not assayed, stamped, and marked, as required by law. Then followed an important proviso which showed that equal treatment was given by Parliament to foreign and home plate. The 1842 Act treated foreign plate imported into this country precisely in the same way as home-made plate, and then it said "provided that no article or ware of gold or silver to be imported shall be liable to be assayed, stamped, or marked, which would not be liable if it had been wrought in Ireland." In every respect under that Act foreign gold and silver-plate was treated as home-made plate, and in order to entitle foreign plate to the benefit of the hall-mark, it had to be of exactly the same standard, and to be assayed in the Assay offices either in England, Scotland, or Ireland, and in regard to this obligation was under the same penalty as home-made plate. Section 60 provided that in order that such imported gold or silver may be assayed, stamped, or marked, it is allowable for any person to send to any Assay Office in the United Kingdom gold and silver to be assayed, stamped, or marked, and when foreign plate was brought to this country there was an obligation on the part of every Assay Office to stamp the foreign plate, which was to be submitted to the same charge, with the same hall-mark. The object of the Act of 1842 was to protect the public, who were entitled to know if the plate imported from abroad was of the same standard of quality as the home-made plate. Here the hall-mark was a great convenience. It was necessary for the stamp used for foreign plate to be the same, because, after all, that was the stamp the public knew, and one that told them that the material on which the stamp was placed was of the same standard of quality as the material represented by the ordinary hall-mark. All the hall-mark did was to protect the public and to certify the quality. People were not deceived as to the difference in workmanship. It did not matter to them where it was made. They took the design as a whole and there could not be any possibility of fraud so far as that was concerned. That was the position of affairs under the Act of 1842.

Then, in 1876, under the Customs Act, there was a change. Up to then both kinds of plate were treated exactly alike, and the only change that was made by the Act of 1876 was that imported plate should bear the impress of the letter "F" on an oval escutcheon, in order that it might be identified as imported plate, and it provided that that additional mark was to be impressed before it was delivered by the Assay Office. Could anybody conceive that anything more could be done in order to prevent even the possibility of any one who knew the hall-mark from knowing whether it was made abroad or whether it was made in this country? He did not see that any possible change could be made, although they proposed to make a change in this Bill, which would make the matter clearer. The great public convenience of this method of hall-marking would be noticed. He did not object to their catering for the home trade in this respect by using the letter "F" to distinguish between home-made and imported goods, but, as he had pointed out, there could be no fraud in regard to hall-marking. The object of hall-marking was to determine the quality of the material. But what was the proposal of the Bill. It was that foreign-made plate should not bear the same hall-marks as home-made, and the reason for that was given in the Memorandum attached to the Bill, in which it was alleged that the letter "F" was often taken to be the manufacturer's initial, and did not afford a sufficiently ready means for distinguishing foreign plate; therefore legislation was necessary to provide such means. But surely any one who had any knowledge of hall-marks knew well enough that imported plate was distinguished by the letter "F." Where was there any evidence of anyone having been misled on that point. No inquiry had been made into the matter and no evidence taken since 1842—a period of over sixty years—this hall-mark had been used for all plate, and there had never been any Select Committee appointed to inquire into this grievance. In 1876 a Conservative Government, in its desire to protect the home market, provided for the use of the letter "F" for imported plate, but kept the other hall-marks unchanged. It was only people who were interested in Birmingham plate who wanted to throw this matter into confusion.

*MR. SAMUEL ROBERTS: The Bill is promoted by the manufacturers and workpeople of Sheffield, Birmingham, and London.

MR. CALDWELL said it was always useful to put in the workpeople, but it was well known who was at the back of this movement. The Bill would put the whole thing into confusion and cause a serious revolution with regard to the hall-marking of foreign plate. It would do injury to the trade and commerce of the country. What was the necessity for knowing whether the workmanship was done in this country or abroad, in Scotland, England, or Ireland, in Birmingham, Sheffield, or the East End of London. So far as the workmanship or pattern was concerned there could be no fraud. Fraud could only arise in connection with the material. The sole purport of the Assay Office was to prevent fraud in regard to material. They did not assay furniture; they only assayed that in which a standard quality was demanded. The Bill could only introduce confusion into the public mind. He did not object to helping our manufacturers in their competition with the foreigner, but it was not fair to do it by confusing the public. He wanted to point out another hardship the Bill would cause. At present any person could take gold and silver plate imported from abroad to the Assay Office without any restriction, or having to make any declaration, but this Bill provided that he should state in writing where the article was made, and he would be liable to a penalty for any error in his statement. Was it possible to conceive anything more harmful or hurtful to a trade than an impediment of that character. It was not the foreigner who would suffer the inconvenience, it was the importer, one of our own people, and he thought it most unreasonable. He must point out too that, under the Merchandise Marks Act, a person making a mis-statement as to imported watch-cases rendered himself liable to a prosecution for perjury; in this Bill the penalty was a pecuniary one. He had so far only dealt with the general argument against the clause. When they came to the Amendments he would deal more with details.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"To leave out Clause 1."—(*Mr. Caldwell.*)

Question proposed, "That the words of Clause 1, to the word 'in,' in page 1, line 11, stand part of the Bill."

*Mr. SAMUEL ROBERTS said he had no desire to enter into the various arguments which the hon. Member for Mid-Lanark had brought forward in what was really a Second Reading speech. He could answer every point the hon. Member had used against the Bill. Very great stress had been laid upon the fact that no evidence had been adduced in favour of the change. But it so happened that the workpeople of Sheffield had met and passed certain resolutions which had been sent to every Labour Member of the House calling attention to the very great abuses in regard to the present law on hall-marking and urging them, as Labour Members, to support the Bill. He noticed that not a single Labour Member was present to oppose the Bill. He claimed, therefore ,that he had their support. The President of the Silver Trade Affiliation Society of Sheffield wrote a letter in which he said—

"Only those in the trade have any idea of the extent to which foreign countries are trading with the reputation of Great Britain by the use of our hall-mark and our corporate marks. Tons of foreign-made silver-plate are imported into this country with but one condition, that is that it is marked with the letter 'F'. This finds its way to the London, Birmingham, or Sheffield Assay Office, and receives the ensign indicating that it is of sterling quality and has been marked in England and in a particular year. After that because of the fragility of the mark supposed to indicate its foreign origin, it is contorted and otherwise used or misused until it is impossible for the most sagacious expert to detect the fraud. As a result of this, tons of foreign-manufactured silver goods are being sold in this and other countries, bearing the British hall-mark, as of British manufacture without the faintest trace of the letter 'F' which the goods originally bore."

Trade unionists knew very well of these abuses, and they claimed that they should be rectified by Parliament. The object of the Bill simply was that instead of the letter "F" the Privy Council should be authorised, as they were in the case of watch-cases, to stamp a distinctive and separate mark different to that placed on English goods. They were asking the House to follow the precedent of Section 8 of the Merchandise Marks Act, 1887, which left it entirely to the discretion of the Privy Council to say what mark should be placed upon watch-cases, and they asked that the same discretion should be extended to all plate. He did not propose to detain the House any longer because they were anxious to get on with this Bill.

Mr. WEIR (Ross and Cromarty) thought the promoters of this Bill ought to have given a much better reason for passing it into law. The hon. Member opposite had told them that the workpeople of Sheffield were in favour of the Bill, but that only applied to some particular firm, and they did not know that that was the unanimous voice of the workpeople of Sheffield. Under the law as it stood at present all foreign goods were marked distinctly with the letter "F." The promoter of this measure said that frequently this letter was obliterated, but he failed to see how they were going to prevent the obliteration of any other letter which might be placed upon foreign goods after the passing of this Act. If a person was such a rogue as to obliterate the letter how were they going to stop him doing it? He had gone most carefully into all these proposals, and he could not for the life of him see the use of this Bill. He was as anxious as anyone to see that British trade was protected, and that all materials from abroad should be stamped, but there could not be any large amount of deception practised under the law as it stood at present. This Bill gave power to the Privy Council to alter the marks as often as they liked. At the present moment everybody understood that the letter "F" indicated foreign manufacture, but if this Bill became law they might in future have half-a-dozen different marks, and where would the public be then? They would indeed be in a fog. The public might reasonably conclude that these new marks were the marks of English manufacturers, and not those for foreign articles. For the last sixty-two years the letter "F" had been stamped on foreign articles, and everyone knew what that mark meant. There was actually very little fraud under the present system, but the danger of fraud would be considerably increased under this Bill. He did not know whether the hon. Member in charge of this Bill knew anything about the manufacture of these goods or not, but he would remind him that a very considerable quantity of articles supposed to be made in this country had parts of them made abroad, and were really only made up in this country. A good many small parts of articles were imported from France, Germany, Belgium, and America. In America, in particular, they produced most delicate work by machinery, and every manufacturer here could rely upon every part being precisely alike. The House should remember that a large quantity of gold and silver articles were produced in India, and they came to this country as foreign goods, and yet they had not heard one word as to how these articles were to be treated. There was precious little plate produced in London, it was mostly produced in Sheffield and Birmingham, the home of protection. This was purely a protectionist Bill. If this Bill passed, the public would be more confused than ever. They had at present a good genuine mark for foreign goods, and he hoped the House would refuse to allow any chopping and changing about merely to please a small clique in Sheffield and Birmingham.

The promoter of this Bill had referred to watch-cases, but they were only one of many articles the parts of which were manufactured abroad. What about the interior parts of watches? He could mention at least 500 articles the parts of which came from foreign lands, and were not manufactured in this country at all. The hon. Member opposite said the letter "F" was being obliterated and fraud was being perpetrated, but, if frauds were now going on amongst unscrupulous traders, that fraud would be magnified one hundred times by the plan proposed in this clause. He had no desire to take up the time of the House because there was a great deal more business to follow, but he fell in with the views of the hon. Member for Mid-Lanark upon this question. This clause was a bad clause, and the promoters of the Bill had failed to give satisfactory reasons to show how either the public or traders would be benefited or protected. This clause, in his opinion, was absolutely worthless and unworkable and would have the effect of allowing the people of this country to be defrauded more than ever they had been in the past.

SIR JOSEPH LEESE (Lancashire, Accrington) said that on the Second Reading of the Bill he believed he took the only logical view of the matter possible, which was that this measure was absolutely unnecessary and would do no good whatever. Now that the Bill had emerged from the Grand Committee, he found that the view he then expressed was rather strengthened, because the measure only made confusion worst confounded. Parliament in its wisdom had already legislated for a distinguishing mark—the letter "F"—which told a purchaser what he was buying. If that mark was obliterated on any article of foreign manufacture it was a fraud under the Act and the offence was punishable as a fraud. He was surprised that this Bill, which had no ground whatever for its existence, should have been introduced. Under these circumstances, if a division was taken he should certainly vote against this clause.

*Mr. BRIGG (Yorkshire, W.R., Keighley) said he thought this Bill would have just the contrary effect to that which was intended. The great probability was that it would make a market for foreign articles which did not exist at the present moment. They were asked to institute a new system of marking without being given any definition of what the new mark was to be, but they were simply told that it must indicate the place of origin. The stamp would give a value to these articles in the market which they would not otherwise possess. This Bill would give a real value to that which before had a very uncertain value. He should have been better satisfied if some definition as to intrinsic value had been proposed to be indicated by the stamp, for then they would have known what they were doing. He saw no reason whatever for the introduction of this Bill, and he did not see any good that was likely to accrue from passing it into law.

Mr. ALEXANDER CROSS (Glasgow, Camlachie) said this Bill was a measure to amend the law with reference to the marking of foreign plate, and the Amendment of the hon. Member for Mid-Lanark proposed to leave out Clause 1. It had been stated that the trade of Birmingham and Sheffield was very much affected by the present system, which permitted fraud. He was going to suggest that instead of amending the law in the interests of the manufacturers of Birmingham and Sheffield, the proper course to adopt was to abolish the absurd method of hall-marking altogether, and get rid of these antiquated methods. What would happen if they omitted this clause altogether? They would then have the same procedure in regard to silver-plate as in regard to any other article. He thought manufacturers ought to put their good name behind their productions, and that would be a guarantee to the public that they were getting what they paid for. Look at the proceedings which would go on under this Act? A manufacturer would have to take every little bit of silver to some Assay Office to be treated by a chemical process at enormous cost, and this would impose a serious restriction upon manufacturers and hinder them from freely carrying on their trade. In regard to his own business, it had been laid down that every bag should be branded in the presence of an inspector. He regarded such regulations as that as monstrous, and they undoubtedly had the effect of increasing the cost of production. They ought to get rid altogether of all these hall-marks. They might let inspectors go about taking samples and testing them, and that would be far more effective. This was a Bill which, in the interests of those who brought it forward, ought not to be passed. There ought to be a clause inserted in this Bill which would get rid of hall-marking altogether, for it did not serve any useful purpose. They had had some experience of the Merchandise Marks Act under which articles had to be marked "Made in Germany" or "Made in France," with the result that the manufacturers who first sought this protection were now heartily sick of it, because it had had the effect of increasing the number of those articles manufactured and had increased their sale. It was ridiculous to talk about protecting home industries at the expense of the foreigner, and this was a sort of protection which ought not to be passed by Parliament. He recommended the House to postpone this Bill, and when they decided to protect home industries in another way then they might also consider what would be the best means by which foreign silver might be kept out and home silver more largely used. He thought this Bill proceeded along the wrong lines altogether.

*Mr. SOARES (Devonshire, Barnstaple) thought they ought to have some answer from one of the promoters of the Bill to the speech which the hon. Member for Accrington had made. The hon. Member had made a strong attack upon this clause and had said that it was no use, and no reply whatever had been given to that accusation. He was in favour of the principle of the Bill, for they all wanted to prevent fraud in this matter; but his hon. and learned friend said that, so far from closing the door by this Bill, they were opening it to fraud. He hoped that one of the promoters would explain for the benefit of those who did not understand this question, exactly what the effect of this clause would be. If they did not do so he for one, although he was favourably disposed to the principles of the Bill, would be obliged to vote for the proposal of his hon. friend.

Question put—

The House divided :—Ayes, 95 ; Noes, 68. (Division List No. 156.)

AYES.

Acland-Hood, Capt. Sir Alex. F.
Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
Allen, Charles P.
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Balcarres, Lord
Baldwin, Alfred
Balfour, Rt. Hon G. W. (Leeds
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Beach, Rt. Hn. Sir Mich. Hicks
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Bousfield, William Robert
Bowles, T. Gibson (King's Lynn
Brotherton, Edward Allen
Butcher, John George
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Cavendish, V.C.W. (Derbyshire
Chamberlain, Rt Hn. J. A (Worc.
Chapman, Edward
Charrington, Spencer
Cohen, Benjamin Louis
Craig, Chas. Curtis (Antrim, S.)
Cross, Herb. Shepherd (Bolton)
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Dickson, Charles Scott
Durning-Lawrence, Sir Edwin
Elliot, Hon. A. Ralph Douglas
Emmott, Alfred
Farquharson, Dr. Robert
Fergusson, Rt. Hn. Sir J. (Manc'r
Fielden, Edward Brocklehurst
Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
FitzGerald, Sir Robert Penrose-
Forster, Henry William
Foster, P. S. (Warwick, S.W.)
Galloway, William Johnson
Gardner, Ernest
Gordon, Hn. J. E. (Elgin & Nairn)
Gore, Hon. S. F. Ormsby-(Linc.)
Greene, Henry D. (Shrewsbury)
Guest, Hon. Ivor Churchill
Gunter, Sir Robert
Haslett, Sir James Horner
Hope, J. F. (Sheffield, Brightside
Kennaway, Rt. Hn. Sir John H.
Knowles, Sir Lees
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
Lawrence, Wm. F. (Liverpool)
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Macdona, John Cumming
Malcolm, Ian
Mappin, Sir Frederick Thorpe
Morley, Charles (Breconshire)
Mount, William Arthur
Mowbray, Sir Robert Gray C.
Murray, Charles J. (Coventry)
Murray, Col. Wyndham (Bath)
Myers, William Henry
Nolan, Col. J. P. (Galway, N.)
O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
Parkes, Ebenezer
Pemberton, John S. G.
Pilkington, Colonel Richard
Pirie, Duncan V.
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Plummer, Walter R.
Pym, C. Guy
Reid, James (Greenock)
Ridley, Hon. M. W. (Stalybridge
Ridley, S. Forde (Bethnal Green
Robinson, Brooke
Rollit, Sir Albert Kaye
Rothschild, Hon. Lionel Walter
Russell, T. W.
Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Sharpe, William Edward T.
Sloan, Thomas Henry
Spear, John Ward
Stone, Sir Benjamin
Stroyan, John
Taylor, Austin (East Toxteth)
Tennant, Harold John
Tomkinson, James
Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
Tuff, Charles
Vincent, Col. Sir C. E. H (Sheffield
Wason, Jn. Cathcart (Orkney)
Willox, Sir John Archibald
Wilson, Henry J. (York, W.R.)
Wodehouse, Rt. Hn. E. R. (Bath
Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B. Stuart
Yoxall, James Henry

Tellers for the Ayes —Mr. Samuel Roberts and Sir William Holland.

NOES.

Ashton, Thomas Gair
Black, Alexander William
Boland, John
Brigg, John
Brunner, Sir John Tomlinson
Cameron, Robert
Campbell, John (Armagh, S.)
Causton, Richard Knight
Crombie, John William
Cullinan, J.
Delany, William
Devlin, Chas. Ramsay (Galway
Devlin, Joseph (Kilkenny, N.)
Dewar, John A. (Inverness-sh.)
Donelan, Captain A.
Doogan, P. C.
Furness, Sir Christopher
Gladstone, Rt. Hn. Herbert Jn.
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Hammond, John
Harwood, George
Hayden, John Patrick
Hayter, Rt. Hon. Sir Arthur D.
Hemphill, Rt. Hon. Charles H.
Horniman, Frederick John
Jones, William (Carnarvonshire
Joyce, Michael
Kennedy, Vincent P. (Cavan, W.
Kilbride, Denis
Leamy, Edmund
Leese, Sir Jos. F. (Accrington)
Leng, Sir John
Lundon, W.
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
M'Arthur, William (Cornwall)
M'Laren, Sir Charles Benjamin
Mooney, John J.
Murphy, John
Nannetti, Joseph P.
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
Nussey, Thomas Willans
O'Brien, James F. X. (Cork)
O'Brien, K. (Tipperary, Mid.)
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Brien, P. J. (Tipperary, N.)
O'Connor, James (Wicklow, W.
O'Kelly, James (Roscommon, N
O'Shee, James John
Palmer, Sir Chas. M. (Durham)
Power, Patrick Joseph
Priestley, Arthur
Redmond, John E. (Waterford)
Rigg, Richard
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.)
Robertson, Edmund (Dundee)
Seely, Maj. J. E. B. (Isle of Wight
Shaw, Thomas (Hawick B.)
Sinclair, John (Forfarshire)
Slack, John Bamford
Soares, Ernest J.

Spencer, Rt.Hn.C.R(Northants
Sullivan, Donal
Thomas, D. Alfred (Merthyr)
Wallace, Robert

Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan)
Weir, James Galloway
Whiteley, George (York, W.R.)
Young, Samuel

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Mr. Caldwell and Mr. Alexander Cross.

Clause 1.

MR. CALDWELL moved to amend Subsection 2 of Clause 1, which provided that any person who brought plate to be assayed and marked at an Assay Office should state in writing whether it was imported from foreign parts, by providing that it should not be necessary to make a statement in writing when the plate was brought to the office in charge of an officer of Customs under the Revenue Act, 1883. He pointed out that under that Act, when gold or silver-plate was brought from abroad it was at once warehoused with the Customs and could not be moved without the assent of the Assay officers. When that consent was obtained, it was taken to the Assay Office in charge of an officer of the Customs, and it could not be taken out of the Customs House until it was marked. He thought this Amendment was absolutely necessary in order to prevent annoyance which might otherwise be caused in connection with the importation of foreign goods into this country. He was sure there was no wish on the part of anyone to create what would be absolutely unnecessary annoyance in this matter, and, therefore, he hoped the Amendment would be accepted. He begged to move.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 1, line 21, at end, to add the words 'but it shall not be necessary to make such statement in writing where any plate or other article is brought to an Assay Office by an officer of Customs under the provisions of the Revenue Act, 1883, for the purpose of being assayed, stamped, or marked as having been imported from foreign parts.'"—(*Mr. Caldwell.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

* MR. SAMUEL ROBERTS said he had pleasure in accepting the Amendment. He explained that the promoters of the Bill had followed the precedent of the 1887 Act by which when foreign watch-cases were taken out of the Customs warehouse a declaration had to be made before a magistrate before they were assayed. The Amendment would relieve importers of the necessity of making a declaration or statement.

MR. WEIR said he was glad the Amendment had been accepted. No importer would be so insane as to import an article not up to standard.

Question put, and agreed to.

MR. CALDWELL moved an Amendment in Clause 1 with the object of making the meaning clear in regard to its application to Scotland and Ireland. There was a rather peculiar state of the law in regard to summary jurisdiction in the three countries. In the case of England it was provided in the Summary Procedure Act, 1876, that wherever the words "summary conviction" were put in they were understood to imply the Summary Jurisdiction Acts, but in Scotland and Ireland there was no such proviso. The consequence was that, unless these words were inserted, this clause would not apply to Scotland and Ireland. This was a technicality, but he supposed there would be no objection to the Amendment. He begged to move.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 2, line 5, after the word 'conviction' insert the words 'under the Summary Jurisdiction Acts.'"—(*Mr. Caldwell.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Clause 1, as amended, agreed to.

Clauses 2 and 3 agreed to.

Clause 4.

MR. CALDWELL moved to omit that part of Clause 4 which repealed Section 8 of the Merchandise Marks Act, 1887. This was a very instructive Amendment from the fact that those on the other side had found it necessary to repeal the section referred to. He thought it was a very awkward thing from the point of view of order to introduce in the Bill now before the House a proposal to repeal a section of the Merchandise Marks Act which related to other matters. If that section of the Act were to be repealed at all he would personally prefer that it should be repealed by an amending Act of its own instead of by a clause in such a Bill as this where they would never think of looking for it. The supporters of the Merchandise Marks Act were very anxious to put in as many penalties as they could in connection with the importation of foreign-made articles. What was now proposed to be repealed had reference to the marking of watch-cases, and the clause was of a much more stringent nature than that they were now introducing. He supposed that the promoters of the Bill of 1887, after about eighteen years experience, had come to the conclusion that the clause had done more harm than good, and were most anxious to have it repealed. He predicted a similar fate for this Bill. When watch-cases were in question the man had to make a declaration before an officer of the Assay Office, or before a Commissioner with power to administer an oath in England, Ireland, or Scotland. That was a solemn and serious statutory declaration fenced about in every possible way. And then followed the penalties. Every person who made a false declaration was liable on conviction on indictment to the penalties of perjury, and on summary conviction to a fine not exceeding £20. Why were the promoters of this Bill asking that that protection in the Merchandise Marks Act of 1887 should be removed? Were they anxious to protect the foreigner in these matters; for the section only applied to the foreigner. Was that the way to protect British trade and commerce? In 1887 those interested in the watch-making industry in this country could not get a clause severe enough against the foreigner; and, if it was necessary then, why was it not necessary now? Section 8 of the Merchandise Marks Act of 1887 ought not to be repealed by a species of side wind in a Bill of this sort, where nobody was likely to look for its repeal. He hoped the President of the Board of Trade would cut the matter short by agreeing to the Amendment, and if it was necessary to repeal that section of the Merchandise Marks Act it should be done by a separate Bill.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 2, line 18, to leave out from '1876' to the word 'hereby' in line 19, and insert the word 'is.'"—(*Mr. Caldwell.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Bill."

*MR. SAMUEL ROBERTS said he quite agreed with the hon. Member that it would have been more convenient if the repeal of Section 8 of the Merchandise Marks Act had been introduced in a different way; but the clause now objected to was put in at the request of the Birmingham Assay Office in order to make the practice uniform.

MR. WEIR said that the attitude of the Government towards this Bill seemed to him unaccountable. If a man were guilty of fraud, let him bear the punishment. He was astonished that the promoters of this Bill should ask that these fraudulent persons should escape from any penalty whatever. If they were guilty of fraud, let them be fined in £200 or £2,000, in order to protect honest British traders and British workmen. This Bill dealt with plate, and not with watch-cases at all. Watch-cases had been introduced into the discussion almost within the last quarter of an hour. The hon. Member for Ecclesall said that the clause had been introduced at the request of the Birmingham Assay Office; but had he consulted the authorities at the Assay Offices in London, Edinburgh, or Dublin? Were these Asssy Offices of the same opinion as the Birmingham Assay Office? For his part, he declined to be led by the nose by Birmingham, and he supported the hon. Member for Mid.-Lanark in his objection to the repeal of the eighth section of the Merchandise Marks Act of 1887 in this manner.

MR. ALEXANDER CROSS said he must say that the situation exposed by the hon. Member for Mid.-Lanark required some explanation. Hon. Members on the Treasury Bench were the custodians of the commercial law of this country, and was the Board of Trade going to permit the repeal of one of the most important sections of the Merchandise Marks Act by the terminal clause of a Bill for another purpose? He did not argue whether it was wise or unwise to repeal that section; but he insisted that it should not be repealed in the manner proposed. He strongly urged the President of the Board of Trade to carefully consider this matter, and find some means to rescue the House from the anomalous position in which it was placed. They were asked to repeal this section of the Merchandise Marks Act at the behest of the Assay Office of Birmingham. What had that Assay Office to do with the matter? The Assay officer in Birmingham was a public officer, and it was not for him to say whether it was convenient, or inconvenient, to make a statement in writing when plate was brought to the office in charge of an officer of Customs under the Revenue Act of 1883.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE (Mr. GERALD BALFOUR, Leeds. Central) said that this did not appear to him to be a matter of great importance one way or another. He understood that the Grand Committee had carefully considered the subject and had inserted the words objected to by a large majority. He did not believe that there would be any practical inconvenience in repealing the 8th section of the Merchandise Marks Act which, as he understood, ought never to have been in that Act at all, but ought to have been originally treated as an Amendment to the Customs Act. The hon. Member for Mid-Lanark had given a practical illustration of the difficulty of passing special amending Acts.

MR. CALDWELL asked how many he had helped to pass? He had given more help than obstruction to pass such Acts.

MR. DALZIEL (Kirkcaldy Burghs) said he had listened with some interest to the statement of the President of the Board of Trade, but the right hon. Gentleman had not convinced him that he was justified in supporting this clause in the Bill. The right hon. Gentleman said it did not matter whether this clause was taken out of the Bill, and he asked whether the right hon. Gentleman would not be well advised to agree to the deletion of this clause which raised so many controversial matters. This clause was not originally in the Bill, but certain intelligent and far-seeing gentlemen from Birmingham seized the opportunity of introducing this repealing provision in the Grand Committee, although it was absolutely foreign to the character of the Bill; and the division to take away a very important section of the Merchandise Marks Act was of a closely Party character. In dealing with a Bill for one purpose, they ought not to introduce a matter which dealt with a question altogether foreign to the character of the measure. The right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade said that this section ought never to have been in the Merchandise Marks Act at all. But who was responsible for that? The hon. Member for Sheffield was one of the enthusiastic supporters of that Act, and he hoped the hon. Gentleman was not going to sit silent under the condemnation of the President of the Board of Trade, who said that that Act was badly drawn, and contained a clause which ought not to have been in it. He understood that the hon. Gentleman himself was anxious to repeal other clauses in the Merchandise Marks Act; and he believed that the hon. Gentleman had got a Bill before the House which was to do away with his grand idea of the mark "made in Germany," which, instead of helping British trade, had been the best advertisement in the world to assist German trade. He submitted that the Merchandise Marks Act ought not to be amended on a side issue like this.

*MR. SAMUEL ROBERTS said that as there seemed to be a general feeling in the House that the eighth section of the Merchandise Marks Act ought not to be repealed by this Bill, he was willing to accept the Amendment.

Question put, and negatived.

Word "is" inserted.

Clause 4, as amended, agreed to.

*MR. SAMUEL ROBERTS said that he hoped the House would now allow him to take the Third Reading.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be read a third time."

MR. CALDWELL said he acknowledged the handsome way in which the hon. Member had given way on his Amendment, and he was not going to interpose any objection to the Third Reading. He, for one, was quite in favour of protecting British-made goods by every legitimate means; but they had had experience before that these measures of protection, which interfered with foreign goods coming into this country, put needless impediments in the way of interchange of commerce between this country and other countries, and really did far more harm than good to this country. That had been shown in various ways. He contended that to introduce a different mark for foreign plate would lead to great confusion in the public mind. Foreigners coming into this country had access to our Assay Office. He did not know whether there were Assay Offices abroad, but he presumed that, if there were, by the reciprocity of nations, British manufacturers would have access to these foreign Assay Offices. If restrictions of this kind were to be introduced on foreign-made plate, it would soon be spread all over the Continent that Britain was afraid of foreign competition; and no greater stimulus could be given to foreign competition with the home trade than the passing of an Act of this kind. Who were the parties to suffer owing to the necessity of a statement in writing that plate was imported from foreign parts? It would not affect the foreigner; because he brought goods into this country in bond. It was the home manufacturer alone who would suffer. The home manufacturer would now have to make a declaration on every piece of plate which he took to the Assay Office, and that would interpose an obstacle to the home trade, and in its effect it would be as disappointing to the promoters of this Bill as the Merchandise Marks Act had been. Watchmakers and jewellers sold foreign-made as well as home manufactures; but if they found themselves annoyed by the home trade insisting on these new regulations, the effect would be that they would avoid the home trade as much as possible, and go in for the foreign trade. In one sense he did not object to this Bill being passed, and for this reason, that if the Merchandise Marks Act of 1887 had not been passed, the hon. Member for Sheffield, and others of his way of thinking, would always have felt that they had a grievance, and they would have alleged that their trade was being ruined. After that Act was passed, it was found that instead of benefiting trade, it had wrecked business. In the same way he believed that this Bill, when it became an Act, instead of benefiting business, would be a positive hindrance, and, moreover, would create a prejudice against British-made goods.

Question put, and agreed to.

Bill read the third time, and passed.

SAVINGS BANKS ACTS AMENDMENT BILL.

As amended (by the Standing Committee), considered.

MR. WEIR (Ross and Cromarty) said he had put down a clause in order to show a way of increasing the Post Office revenue by at least £25,000 a year. The Post Office Savings Bank had been established for the purpose of encouraging thrifty and frugal habits amongst the working classes. No charge had hitherto been made on withdrawals from the Post Office Savings Bank, and he thought that a small charge of this kind would tend to encourage thrift, as it would be a slight deterrent against hasty withdrawals; and considering that there were six million withdrawals in the course of the year there would be a contribution to the Exchequer of £25,000. It would mean very little to the withdrawers, but would mean a great deal to the Treasury and would have a tendency to keep deposits in the Savings Bank.

A clause (Charge on Withdrawals).

"The Postmaster-General shall be entitled to make a charge of one penny on payment of each withdrawal from the Post Office Savings Bank, and such charge shall be collected by means of a penny stamp affixed to the withdrawal order at the time of payment."—(*Mr. Weir.*")

Brought up, and read the first time.

Motion made, and question proposed, "That the clause be read a second time."

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN, Worcestershire, E.) said he appreciated the desire of the hon. Member to find additional public revenue, but doubted if the clause would assist the object of encouraging thrift. What did give that encouragement was the knowledge a depositor had that at short notice and without charge he could withdraw his savings. A provision such as was proposed would cause irritation to depositors, and its effect would rather be to deter people from depositing in Post Office banks if their savings would be penalised in a manner from which depositors in other savings banks would be exempt. He was sure the hon. Gentleman did not wish to penalise depositors in the Post Office Savings Bank; and he hoped he would withdraw the clause.

MR. CALDWELL (Lanarkshire, Mid.) said he quite recognised the force of what the Chancellor of the Exchequer had said. As a matter of fact, the hon. Gentleman and the Chancellor of the Exchequer had practically the same object in view—namely, to stimulate thrift among the people. The hon. Gentleman thought that that could best be done by putting a little impediment on withdrawals; and he argued that if a man wanted to take out a shilling, and found he had to pay a penny in doing it, that that would act as a deterrent. There was a great deal of force in that. But there was also a great deal of force in what the Chancellor of the Exchequer said. As the clause would act one way with one class of the community, and another way with another class, perhaps it would be better to leave the matter where it was.

***MR. WEIR** said he had no desire to press the clause, and would withdraw it.

Motion and clause, by leave, withdrawn.

***MR. WEIR** said that the clause he now desired to move embodied a scheme which would be an undoubted advantage to depositors. He had no doubt that the officials of the Department would oppose it. They always opposed new schemes. At the present time, if a man wished to withdraw £10 from the Post Office Savings Bank he often had to wait three or four days for it; and if he happened to live in the Highlands or in remote parts of Ireland he would probably have to wait a week or even longer. He wanted to get rid of that delay. At present if a man wanted to withdraw money at once he had to telegraph for it, and prepay a reply, at the average cost of fifteenpence. That information was given him by the right hon. Gentleman when he represented the Postmaster-General in this House. Under the proposed scheme every depositor, could, if he wished, obtain eight withdrawal orders, from the Head Office, which he could cash at any Post Office Savings Bank by producing his deposit book and affixing his signature to the order. He would thus be able to get the money he required at once without paying fifteenpence for a telegram. What an advantage that would be. A workman might be moving about looking for a job, and having withdrawal orders in his pocket could get one cashed at once without awaiting correspondence by post and losing two or three days. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman would accept the clause, notwithstanding the attitude of the permament officials who tried to influence the Postmaster-General. The scheme he proposed was a feasible scheme, and would be an undoubted advantage to the vast number of depositors in the Post Office Savings Bank who might require to withdraw money at once. It might be said that the scheme would affect ordinary banking business. He could never understand why the Post Office was so concerned about the interests of banks. This was not a case of transferring money to another person; it was merely repaying money to a depositor, and could not therefore affect the banking interest in the slightest degree. He, therefore, hoped that the right hon. Gentleman would not advance the old argument that the scheme would interfere with the business of the banks. It might be said that the scheme would encourage fraud; but a person might, at any time, get hold of a depositor's book and obtain money by forging the depositor's name. Under the scheme, there would be no more risk of fraud than existed at the present time. He had suggested orders of the value of 10s., 15s., £1 or £2; but he would not object to the amounts being altered in any way the right hon. Gentleman desired. Under the scheme a depositor could get his money easily and cheaply; and the commission to be charged would bring revenue to the Department without any additional trouble. He begged to move.

A clause (Regulation in regard to withdrawal orders).

"The Postmaster-General may by request of a depositor in the Post Office Savings Bank issue against money standing to the credit of such depositor a book containing eight savings bank withdrawal orders, each order to be of the fixed value of ten shillings, fifteen shillings, one pound, or two pounds; and payable at any Savings Bank Post Office in the United Kingdom, on the depositor producing his deposit book, and affixing his signature to the order. It shall be lawful for the Postmaster-General to debit the account of any such depositor with the sum of one shilling as representing a commission of three halfpence on each order. (*Mr. Weir.*)

Brought up, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the clause be read a second time."

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said he regretted the hon. Member's criticisms of the officials of the Post Office, and in particular the officials of the Savings Bank Department. No Department of the public service was managed with greater skill or economy, or care for the public convenience than the Post Office Savings Bank; and there was nothing comparable to the work it accomplished in this or any other country. To be able to open an account in any one of the thousands of offices where savings bank business was transacted, and to be able to withdraw money at any other of these offices, required in itself an efficient organisation, which showed how well the work was being carried on. He thought the hon. Gentleman was under a misapprehension. In this clause the hon. Member went in a directly contrary direction to his intention in his last proposal. In that he desired to deter depositors from withdrawals, in this he offered facilities for withdrawing in a hurry. The cost of withdrawing by telegraph was not 1s. 3d., but 9d., except in cases where a telegraphic reply was required, and these cases were a very small proportion of the total number of withdrawals. The hon. Gentleman had on previous occasions commended this scheme to the attention of the House in the form of Questions addressed to the late Mr. Hanbury. The scheme was, he believed, originally propounded by a Mr. Lupton; and it was carefully considered by the Post Office authorities. It was that, in addition to all present means of withdrawal, a depositor should be allowed to withdraw a sum not exceeding £16 through the medium of postal orders to be cashed as he desired at any post office. The organisation of the scheme proposed that while the depositor would be charged 1½d. on each order, he should continue to be credited with the interest on the amount until the orders were cashed. Instead, however, of simplifying the transaction, that would double, and more than double, the work of the Department in regard to each transaction. The very first result would be that for every letter now in use—and they numbered 20,000—new letters would have to be substituted. Complications would also arise in reference to interest, and there would be difficulty in the depositor knowing exactly the state of his account at the end of the year. Further, the way in which the accounts were kept did not lend itself to this scheme. He could assure the hon. Gentleman that according to the best information he could obtain, instead of increasing the revenue of the Post Office, the scheme would cause very considerable extra expense and trouble. What would happen in the case of orders which were not presented within the limit of three months the clause did not state. If they were to be subject to the ordinary rule regarding postal orders, that would introduce a new complication and would cause a great deal of natural irritation to depositors who had taken out such orders, and found that, at the end of three months, they could not be cashed.

Under all the circumstances, he could not accept the clause; and he hoped the hon. Gentleman would not press it. After all, as the hon. Member himself said, the object of the Post Office Savings Bank was to promote thrift. It was not, however, intended that a depositor should use the Post Office Savings Bank for the purposes of an ordinary current account. The Post Office Savings Bank was established to encourage thrift; and their efforts should be directed to securing it. He could not accept the clause. Its working would be difficult and costly; and he did not think it would be desirable to introduce such an innovation into Savings Bank practice.

Mr. CALDWELL said that it was understood that Post Office officials were very partial to their own views with regard to postal arrangements. With reference to the Savings Bank Department there was, however, a great deal in what the Chancellor of the Exchequer had said; and he noticed himself in the last Post Office Report that that Department had been able to produce a very considerable surplus. With regard to the clause, he thought there was a great deal in the idea. He quite agreed with what the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer had said, that interest could not be paid on every little thing of that kind. At the same time it would be a great convenience to get an order of the kind payable at any post office. With regard to what had been said about it not encouraging thrift, he would point out that a man would only get a withdrawal order as a matter of precaution. A man travelling about might want to take more money than he required, and in such a case he would instead of taking bank notes take a withdrawal note and only cash it if required. There was a great deal to be said in favour of a scheme of that kind, especially on behalf of the working and other classes who when travelling wished to have command of money, but who did not wish at the same time to withdraw it from the bank. He quite recognised that it was not a scheme that could be earmarked by the House in this Bill, nevertheless he thought it was a scheme which should be placed before the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the best opportunity of drawing attention to it was when this Bill was brought before the House. The clause had answered its purpose, and he therefore hoped his hon. friend would not persist.

Sir GEORGE BARTLEY (Islington, N.), while recognising that the scheme as it stood would not work, thought it was one which deserved careful consideration. There was no doubt that there was considerable delay, and he was satisfied that small people did not put money into the Post Office Savings Bank because of the difficulty of getting it out. The best way to encourage thrift was to make it easy to draw money out. In London there was very little difficulty, but in outlying districts it was different, and if there were some document by which a man could, on proving his identity, get a withdrawal at the next post office without the circumlocution of sending up to London it would be a useful reform. If the right hon. Gentleman would consider some scheme by which that difficulty could be met he would make the Post Office Savings Bank much more popular.

Question put, and negatived.

Mr. WEIR said the right hon. Gentleman had shown a great desire to safeguard the depositors in every possible way and to encourage thrift, and that being so, the clause he (Mr. Weir) now proposed was that the Post Office should convey all the correspondence of the Post Office Savings Bank at a fixed charge of £50,000 against the cost of management. If £50,000 was too much let them make it £10,000 less, and if it was not enough let it be £10,000 more, but let there be a fixed charge for the conveyance of this correspondence and not a different amount every year as at present. He begged to move.

A clause (Maximum cost of Post Office Savings Bank postage).

"In page 5, after Clause 12, to insert the following clause, 'The Postmaster-General shall convey all correspondence on behalf of the Post Office Savings Bank at a uniform charge of fifty thousand pounds per annum against the cost of management.'"—(*Mr. Weir.*)

Brought up, and read the first time.

Motion made and Question proposed, "That the clause be read a second time."

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN opposed the clause. At the present time, he said, the Exchequer was not making any profit out of the Savings Banks account; on the contrary, it was incurring a heavy loss. One of the objects of the Bill was to reduce that loss so that it might not be necessary to reduce the rate of interest to depositors. If, however, the Amendment were carried, the present cost to the Exchequer would be increased, because the charges now were considerably in excess of £50,000. It had always been the opinion of the Treasury, and he believed the policy of the House, that the Savings Banks should be charged by the Post Office with the fair cost of the work that was done for them, and in making that charge all the part which would in the ordinary way represent profit was deducted. Thus the Post Office made no profit out of the Post Office Savings Banks, though it made no loss. He saw no reason for departing from the present system.

MR. CALDWELL said he did not understand why, if the right hon. Gentleman was so anxious to reduce the charges against the Savings Bank, he did not accept this clause.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said the Treasury had to find the money any way, and he did not wish it to be said that the Savings Banks were charged £20,000 or £30,000 less than they really were.

MR. CALDWELL said it was a matter which could not be properly discussed at that time. There was no doubt this was a Bill which ought to have been brought in by the Government, and he recognised the friendly disposition of the right hon. Gentleman with regard to it, but it was quite obvious the clause would not be accepted, and he hoped his hon. friend would be satisfied with the reasons which had been given.

MR. WEIR said he had no desire to occupy the time of the House at this hour and therefore would withdraw the Amendment.

Motion and clause by leave, withdrawn.

MR. CALDWELL said his Amendment was to leave out from the word 'appointment' in Clause 1 down to the end of the clause. All the officers of the Savings Banks had to give security for their good conduct. Among those officers was the auditor, who had to make statutory balance-sheets which were placed in the books. Supposing that auditor disappeared and the balance-sheets were false balance-sheets they had no security. Everyone else had to find security against misconduct.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 1, line 8, to leave out from the word 'appointment' to end of clause."—(*Mr. Caldwell.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Bill."

SIR ALBERT ROLLIT said that out of respect to the spirit the hon. Member had shown not to finally impede the progress of this Bill he was prepared to accept the Amendment in the hope that it would facilitate the passing of the Bill on that the last day. In his view the best way to meet the question of the auditor was not by requiring him to give security, but by requiring the trustees of the bank to be most careful in their selection. The Bill provided that the office of auditor should only hold for one year, so that a change might be made in the auditors if it was deemed desirable. He appealed to the hon. Members for Mid-Lanark and Ross and Cromarty to allow the Bill to pass in the interest of the promotion of thrift. If they would do that he would confer with them, and if in any other direction he could make similar concessions he would be only too happy to do so.

Mr. WEIR said he should be only too glad to accede to the wishes of his hon. friend. He recognised that, so far as the Bill applied only to trustee savings banks, it was a good Bill, but the Chancellor of the Exchequer had tacked on to it most objectionable clauses affecting the Post Office Savings Bank, and if the hon. Member wanted his Bill to pass he should induce the right hon. Gentleman to withdraw those clauses.

Question put, and negatived.

Mr. CALDWELL said there was just one question which he thought was the most vital question of all. He regarded Clause 3 of the Bill with the greatest possible objection. It was really that clause to which he objected most. This Bill was going to give them a pension scheme. It was to be given to every officer—it was in the entire discretion of the trustees of a savings bank to grant it to any officer of a bank who became unable to discharge his duties through illness or age without any regard to length of service. If there was to be a pension scheme it should be under another Bill altogether. He begged to move.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 1, line 21, to leave out Clause 3." *Mr. Caldwell.*)

Question proposed, "That the words of the clause to the end of line 24, page 1, stand part of the Bill."

Sir ALBERT ROLLIT said he could not accept the Amendment.

Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said if he might make a suggestion he would suggest that the National Debt Commissioners should be substituted for the Inspection Committee which would result in the limitations of the Superannuation Acts being enforced.

Mr. CALDWELL said that that would still leave the objectionable principle of superannuation in the Bill. He would suggest that the clause should be withdrawn and the question at issue left open for further negotiation.

Sir ALBERT ROLLIT hoped that that course would not be taken at this stage.

Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said that if the Bill were to be allowed to go through the objections of the hon. Member for Mid-Lanark might be satisfied by Amendments moved to the Bill in the House of Lords.

Mr. WEIR said he could not allow the Bill to pass without some consideration of the clauses added to it by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. He was very much disappointed that the right hon. Gentleman had taken no notice of the points which he had raised.

And, it being half-past five of the Clock, further consideration of the Bill, as amended, stood adjourned.

Bill, as amended (by the Standing Committee) to be further considered upon Monday next.

REGISTRATION OF CLUBS (IRELAND) BILL.

As amended (by the Standing Committee) considered; Bill read the third time, and passed.

Adjourned at twenty-five minutes before Six o'clock till Monday next.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Monday, 20th June, 1904.

SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE.

The LORD CHANCELLOR acquainted the House that His Majesty had (by Commission) appointed the Lord Balfour of Burleigh Speaker of the House in the absence of the Lord Chancellor, the Earl of Morley, the Earl of Cork and Orrery, the Earl de Montalt, the Earl of Halsbury, the Earl Waldegrave, and the Lord Ribblesdale. The said Commission was read.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

Great Eastern Railway Bill. The King's consent signified; and Bill reported, with Amendments.

Humber Commercial Railway and Dock Bill. Reported from the Select Committee, with Amendments.

Barry Railway (Steam Vessels) Bill [H.L.]. Reported from the Select Committee, with Amendments.

Manchester Corporation Tramways Bill [H.L.]. Reported from the Select Committee, with Amendments.

London County Council (Tramways and Improvements) Bill. Committed. The Committee to be proposed by the Committee of Selection.

London County Council (Money) Bill. Committed.

Stretford Urban District Council Bill [H.L.]. Read 3^a; Amendments made; Bill passed, and sent to the Commons.

South-Western and Isle of Wight Junction Railway (Extension of Time) Bill. Read 3^a, with the Amendment, and passed, and returned to the Commons.

London, Tilbury, and Southend Railway Bill; Harrow Road and Paddington Tramways Bill. Read 3_a, with the Amendments, and passed, and returned to the Commons.

Leyton Urban District Council Bill; Swindon Corporation Bill. Brought from the Commons; read 1^a; and referred to the Examiners.

Brixham Gas Bill; Littlestone-on-Sea and District Water Bill. Returned from the Commons with the Amendments agreed to.

Gas Orders Confirmation (No. 3) Bill [H.L.]. House in Committee (according to order). Amendments made. Standing Committee negatived. The Report of Amendments to be received To-morrow.

Canal Rates and Charges (Regents Canal) Order Confirmation Bill [H.L.]. House in Committee (according to order). Bill reported without Amendment. Standing Committee negatived; and Bill to be read 3^a To-morrow.

Scotch Education Department Provisional Order Confirmation (Edinburgh) Bill [H.L.]. Read 2^a (according to order).

ELECTRIC LIGHTING PROVISIONAL ORDERS (No. 3) BILL [H.L.].

THE ACTING CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEES (Lord BALFOUR OF BURLEIGH): My Lords, I desire in connection with this Bill, which contains the Huddersfield Order, to move that Standing Order No. 92 be considered in order to its being dispensed with in respect to a petition of the Longwood Gas Company. I have seen the parties who desire to petition and also the promoters of the Bill, and no objection is offered by the promoters to an appearance being entered on this Petition, which had been withdrawn before it was known that a certain matter in connection with a clause in the Electric Lighting Order was to be discussed before this same Committee in regard to other Orders. I have satisfied myself that the ends of justice will be best promoted by allowing this Petition to be revived, and I move the Motion which stands in my name.

Moved, "That Standing Order No. 92 be considered in order to its being dispensed with, in respect to a Petition of the Longwood Gas Company." — (*Lord Balfour of Burleigh.*)

LORD WOLVERTON: My Lords, after having heard the statement of the Lord Chairman of Committees, I am prepared, as representing the Board of Trade,

An Asterisk (*) at the commencement of a Speech indicates revision by the Member.

to agree to the Motion he has submitted; but in doing so I do not commit myself in any way to the principle of the clause.

On Question, Motion agreed to.

Leave given to present the said Petition.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

TRADE REPORTS (ANNUAL SERIES).

No. 3186. Germany (Hamburg).
No. 3187. Portugal (Beira).

LOCAL TAXATION (IRELAND).

Returns for the year 1902–1903.

ARMY.

I. Sum of money granted as compensation to the widow and children of an officer killed at the battle of Inkerman.

II. (Volunteers). Annual Return of Volunteer Corps of Great Britain, for the year 1903.

Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie on the Table.

ALKALI, ETC., WORKS REGULATION ACTS, 1881–1892.

Fortieth Annual Report on Alkali, etc., Works, by the Chief Inspector. Proceedings during the year 1903, presented to the Local Government Board and to the Secretary for Scotland. Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table.

RAILWAYS (PRIVATE SIDINGS) BILL (No. 107).

HALL-MARKING OF FOREIGN PLATE BILL (No. 108).

Brought from the Commons. Read 1ª; and to be printed.

REGISTRATION OF CLUBS (IRELAND) BILL.

Brought from the Commons. Read 1ª; to be printed; and to be read 2ª on Thursday next (The Lord Clonbrock). (No. 109.)

TRANSVAAL (CHINESE LABOUR IN THE MINES).

*LORD COLERIDGE, who had given notice "To call attention to the death rate and treatment of black labourers in the mines of the Transvaal; and to move to resolve 'That, having regard to the assistance given to the Mother Country in the late Boer War by Australia, New Zealand, and Cape Colony, this House expresses its regret that His Majesty's Government has disregarded their opinions on the policy of introducing indentured Chinese labour into South Africa,'" said: My Lords, since I drew the attention of this House to the subject of my Motion on 18th March last many fresh facts have occurred, and much new information has been supplied to us. It may possibly be said that the principal and natural place for a discussion of these facts and this new information is the House of Commons, but by an ingenious use, or possibly misuse, of a Rule of that House, all debate upon the subject of my Motion is precluded there for the session. His Majesty's Government have taken advantage of a plan whereby their supporters put down Motions which they never intend to bring on, but which prevent any other Members bringing forward discussion on the subject of those Motions. I find that three Motions have been put down in the other House which cover the whole ground of the Resolution standing in my name. If your Lordships will look at the Order Paper of the other House, you will see that I am correct in saying that by the attitude adopted by supporters of His Majesty's Government in putting down Motions, Members are precluded, in that House, from debating the subject of my Resolution. It may be said also that there is a form in which the matter may be discussed, namely, on platforms in the country, but I have noticed that supporters of His Majesty's Government are singularly reticent, not to say shy, in alluding to this matter on public platforms, and the public, therefore, have nothing to guide them but scraps of information brought out in driblets by the mode of Question and Answer in the other House and by the publication of Blue-books which the public as a rule never read, and, if they did read them, they seem to me generally so constructed as rather to confuse than to assist the reader.

But the new matter which makes me bring forward this Motion is this. We find now that last August questions arose in the Cape Parliament with regard to the alleged scarcity of native labour in the mines of the Transvaal, and as to the reasons which prevented a greater flow of labour to those mines. It was decided to send a deputation of sixteen headmen, who were Kaffirs, accompanied by a magistrate, to investigate into the alleged scarcity and the causes of that scarcity, and between September 24th and 30th last this deputation of headmen visited twenty of the principal mines in the Transvaal. They were accompanied by a Mr. Brownlee, resident magistrate at Butterworth, and the first thing which strikes the reader of the Blue-book in regard to the information which they obtained is this, that although the object was to elicit complaints from the native labourers working in the mines, no interview was allowed by the mine-owners or the Transvaal authorities to take place between these headmen and the accompanying magistrate and the persons from whom they were sent to obtain information, except in the presence of the employers, which, of course, naturally tended to stifle, more or less, and to prevent freedom in the making of complaints which would otherwise naturally exist. But we have the results embodied in independent reports of these sixteen head Kaffirs. I am not going into them in detail, but I think it is fair to say that the result of the reports which they submitted to the Cape Parliament was this, that on the whole with regard to food there were no very well-grounded complaints, but five of these headmen reported that there were grave complaints that the Kaffirs were forced to work when they were sick, and eleven out of the sixteen reported that when sick the Kaffirs were not allowed to return home. All of them reported that there were grave causes of complaint with regard to the payment of wages, and that the agents who had recruited the men from their native districts had promised them wages which the mine-owners did not pay them when they arrived. Most of them complained that they were obliged to work weekdays and Sundays alike, having no one day's holiday in seven, which is usually considered the least that a workman ought to have. And another grave cause of complaint was the system whereby the mine-owners, through the establishment of the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association, obtained a monopoly of recruiting and were thus enabled to draft the natives from mine to mine without giving them any opportunity of choosing to which mine they would go. This was a matter which gravely affected their minds in two directions—firstly, because the Kaffirs from a particular kraal or district like naturally to keep together and to go to the same mine; and, secondly, because some mines had a bad repute, and they naturally wished to be drafted to those mines whose repute was better with regard to the treatment of workmen. The effect of this monopoly was undoubtedly that no penalty attached to mines that treated their labourers badly—no penalty in the difficulty of obtaining labour in those mines. And all of them complained strongly that the men were flogged continually, flogged for the smallest cause, or for no cause; flogged for breach of the smallest regulations, and flogged for not going to work.

Now, my Lords, how far were these statements backed up, or assented to, or approved by Mr. Stanford, Assistant Chief Magistrate of Native Affairs at Cape Town. He endorsed the report of these headmen on the question of the wrongful deduction from wages, on the question of misrepresentation with regard to wages, and, above all, on the question of flogging. Mr. Brownlee, the resident magistrate, said that on the whole the treatment of the labourers was generally good, but he admitted that there were misrepresentations as to the pay, and he also admitted the flogging, which he described, ironically I suppose, as the "gentle stimulus of cowhide." He further described the manner in which the overseers managed to control their men by stating that on one of the visits he found the men being lashed in his presence. Mr. Cooke, the Acting Pass Commissioner, admitted the misrepresentation with regard to wages and the evidence with regard to flogging. But he wound up with this remarkable statement—

> "I do not consider that the Cape Colony native employed on the goldfields of the Transvaal labours under any disabilities for which his personality is not accountable."

That is a repetition of what the American slave-owners always said with regard to their slaves.

Finally, there is the covering letter of Sir Godfrey Lagden, who is head of the Department of Native Affairs in the Transvaal. He admits the flogging—that is admitted all round, but he says that when discovered the matter had been promptly dealt with. That may be. He admits that flogging did continually take place. Sir Godfrey Lagden and Mr. Cooke are officials. They are responsible to Parliament for the treatment of the natives placed under their charge. Therefore, it would be well to see what view they take of their responsibilities. Sir Godfrey Lagden was appointed in 1900. Three years passed and he did nothing; it was not until February, 1903, that he summoned a committee of doctors to investigate the mortality in the mines, and to devise a remedy, if remedy could be devised. They presented their report in June of last year, and Mr. Cooke in February of this year issued his report to Sir Godfrey Lagden, who is his official superior, dealing with the condition of the natives in the mines for the year ended 30th June, 1903. That report contains sentences like this—

> "I have pleasure in bringing under notice a steady and uninterrupted progress, not only towards the betterment of the conditions of life of the native labourer, but also of the consideration with which he is regarded by his European employers. An intelligent apprehension of the principles essential to human health has gradually worked a change in the conditions of native life in the mines. The inspector goes into all questions affecting the comfort, health, and happiness of the natives employed in the mines."

And finally he says—

> "The condition of the compounds has greatly improved. Medical attendance is efficient. . . In fact, a vast improvement all round has taken place."

That would be most admirable if it were true. Mr. Cooke vouched for the fact that before the happy era which he is discussing matters were very much worse. The happy era under review is the year from 30th June, 1902, to 30th June, 1903. Now, what are the facts? Take the last eight months of that very year. The average death rate in these mines for the last eight months down to the time of the signing of the report was sixty-one per 1,000. In the last two months preceding the issue of the report—May and June, 1903—the death rate was seventy-nine and eighty-eight per 1,000 respectively, and in the month following the report—namely, in the month of July—the death rate rose to 112 per thousand, while for the whole year under review, which Mr. Cooke has characterised in the language I have read to the House, and which your Lordships, believing to be true, very rightly cheered, the average death rate was 71·25 per thousand. For the six months succeeding this report the death rate on the average was eighty-one per thousand. No wonder that in February of this year Lord Milner, then advocating the importation of Chinese labour with all the energy and ability of which he is capable, said that the

> "high rate of mortality in the mines is the weakest part of our armour."

I think, my Lords, I shall hear no dissentient voice in any part of the House when I say that the figures which I have read out show a state of things truly appalling, and how that state of things can be reconciled with the report of Mr. Cooke sent to Sir Godfrey Lagden I would rather that some member of His Majesty's Government should explain, for I cannot.

On the last occasion that I drew attention to this matter the noble Duke the Under-Secretary replied that no doubt the figures were excessive, but he said the state of things was due to an outbreak of influenza. I accepted the noble Duke's word, and, of course, to that extent it was qualification of the apparently terrible state of affairs which I was presenting to the House. I do not know what figures the noble Duke had to go upon. The only allusion I know of to influenza is in the report of this committee of doctors, in which they are asked to explain the reason of the mortality. They go into the details of disease after disease, but influenza is not one of the diseases. Indeed, in their report they say that influenza is not even the cause of stoppage from work, and therefore it would be interesting to know where the noble Duke got his information that influenza was the cause of this high rate of mortality.

Let us reflect that these men when they once become recruited by the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association must go to whichever mines they are sent. Now, what are the returns from the mines themselves? I find that in the Simmer and Jack Mine the rate of mortality was 103 per thousand; in the Salisbury Mine, 109 per thousand; in the Angelo Deep, 113 per thousand; in the Langlaate Deep, 123 per thousand; in the Simmer and Jack E, 125 per thousand; in the Witwatersrand Deep, 135 per thousand; and in the Cassel Coal, 137 per thousand. That that high rate of mortality is not necessary is shown by the fact that in some mines quite as large as those I have quoted the mortality ranges between 24 and 31 per thousand, a very different state of things. Can one wonder that Kaffirs are not inclined to be recruited by this agency when they have no choice as to the mine to which they are to be sent? You may say that mining is a dangerous occupation. Is it? Reflect that in this death rate you take men in the prime of life, from eighteen to forty-five years of age; you eliminate all women and children and all the old. What are the facts in England? The death rate of miners bebeen the same ages in England is six per thousand, and if you take those mines which are most like the Transvaal mines in all their details, mode of work, the dangerous nature of the employment and so forth, the tin mines of Cornwall, you find that there the death rate is very high, as we think it, because it goes up to fourteen per thousand. How does that compare with the death rate in the Transvaal? I say again, and I repeat it, that these figures eloquently prove that on the commonest grounds of humanity the mine-owners ought to be called upon to reduce this mortality before the question of supplanting Kaffir by Chinese labour is even considered.

It is said that necessity knows no law, that financial and other reasons make the necessity of importing Chinese imperious. Let us look at that. If I am stating any facts that are at all questioned I make bold to say that I can give my questioner the answer from a Blue-book. The greatest output—that is surely one test as to whether it is so necessary to bring in Chinese—the greatest output of gold from the mines was in 1899, a period which Lord Milner has characterised as one of fabulous wealth. In 1899 the output was £16,000,000; that is the statement of the Commissioner of Mines. In 1902 the mines began to work again after the war, and in that year Lord Milner tells us that the output was £7,458,000. By January, 1903, the output had increased from £7,458,000 to over £10,000,000; by October, 1903, it had increased to £14,500,000; and by March last the output had risen to £15,750,000, only £250,000 less than during the era of fabulous wealth. And I am told—though I have not authority for stating this—that since then the output has further increased, and, if so, probably at the time I am speaking we are taking out of the Transvaal as much gold as we have ever done since the Transvaal came into existence.

Moreover, it is said that there is a dearth of labour. To extract £16,000,000 worth of gold in 1899 they had to employ 107,827 men; to extract gold in March last at the rate of £15,750,000, which is practically the same, they had only to employ 70,340 men, showing that with 70,000 odd men they can now extract as much gold, through improved appliances and through keeping natives from drink and in other ways improving the power of their getting gold, as it took nearly 108,000 men to extract in 1899. I have not got the returns since then of the gold, but I have the returns of the labourers, and at this moment the labourers have increased from 70,340 to over 82,000 men. Those are the numbers now working in the mines. Where is the necessity for supplanting this labour by indentured Chinamen? When we were last discussing this matter I drew attention to the moral aspect of introducing thousands of Chinamen into these compounds without their wives and families. The noble Earl, Lord Selborne, told us, and no doubt he believed it, that we need not trouble about that at all; that the Chinaman could bring his wife and child at any time, and all alarm on that head might be dispelled. If I remember rightly, the noble Earl turned round to the right rev. Prelates and said—

"Can we do more in the interests of humanity?"

The right rev. Prelates thought the Government could not. Now then, my Lords, how stands the fact to-day? I said I anticipated that only Chinamen would be engaged who had no encumbrances. Your Lordships rather laughed at that suggestion, and thought it impugned the *bona fides* of the importers. Since then I find that the mine-owners have convinced the Government that every Chinaman ought to register his wife and family, if he wants them brought over, before he signs his articles at the port of embarkation. As a matter of fact, not a single child or wife has come. The question I want to ask the noble Duke is this, Have any one of those men registered either wife or child at Hong-Kong or elsewhere? If they have not, then I think I am justified in believing that instructions have been given by the mine-owners to employ only such Chinamen as either have no encumbrances or do not admit having them, so that they may not have to bring them over. I hope the noble Duke the Under-Secretary will answer that question. I fancy the order has gone forth, "No bachelors, no dividends," and we shall find that no registration of either child or wife has taken place at the port of embarkation.

On the question of wages, I do not think that sober men now have any real doubt that, whatever the Government may mean or intend, the practical effect of the importation of Chinamen will be not only to supplant Kaffir labour, but to supplant the white man also. What was the principle which guided the Government when the late Colonial Secretary was their mouthpiece? He said last March in the House of Commons, addressing in imagination the newly-conquered territories—

> "We have to try to find out if we can what would be your action if you were a self-governing colony and to treat the matter on that basis.'

And I have no doubt that the noble Duke will repeat the assertion that he made the other night, and tell us that in his opinion, and in the opinion of the Government, the people of the Transvaal and of the Orange River Colony are entirely convinced of the necessity of the importation of Chinese labour. But assertions are not proof. I will make as bold an assertion, and on as good grounds, that the people of the Transvaal and of the Orange River Colony are bitterly hostile to the importation of Chinese labour, and both my assertion and the assertion of the noble Duke are, if I may say so without any disrespect, just worth the breath we expend in uttering them. There is one very simple test. I am convinced of the truth of my assertion, and I will put it to the test. Is the noble Duke as confident of the truth of his assertion as to put it to the test?

I am perfectly well aware that certain organs of public opinion have come round on this question. The mine-owners have bought up the whole Press in the Tranvaal. They absolutely control Chambers of Commerce and things of that kind. They have their grip on almost every white labourer connected with the mines, and they can, as we know, when a meeting is held like the one held last December in the Wanderers' Hall, employ men at 15s. a head to break it up. We know also that they can get any number of people to sign petitions in favour of the importation of Chinamen. But do you suppose that the people who put their hands to these petitions really mean what they say? Is it not true that the old saying that—

> "He that complies against his will is of his own opinion still"

holds good in this case? That political and personal pressure can be put upon these men we know from the evidence given before the Commission. But, my Lords, there is one simple test. Put it to the vote. If you ever mention the question of a *referendum* to the mine-owners or anybody connected with the mines, their cheeks positively turn pale at the thought. Last September a very influential deputation of various white labour associations approached Sir Arthur Lawley, in the absence of Lord Milner, and asked that a *referendum* should be taken. Sir Arthur Lawley expressed his disagreement with that proposal, but in February of this year it occurred to the mind of Mr. Lyttelton, and he cabled to Lord Milner and asked how long a *referendum* would take. Lord Milner replied on 17th February that it would take six months, and he thinks that an absolute answer. Surely it is trifling with

Lord Coleridge.

the subject to suggest as a serious objection to it that it would mean a delay of six months.

It is the knowledge of what the result of a *referendum* would be that is operating on the minds of the mine-owners when they pooh-pooh, or do all they can to prevent, such a test of popular opinion being put into practical effect. But more than that. Since this occurred to the mind of Mr. Lyttelton in February there has been a complete census taken of the inhabitants of the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony. If you can take a census so easily and without hitch, where is the difficulty in taking a *referendum?* Why cannot it be done in the same way? Meanwhile the mouths of the Rhodesian mine-owners are watering for Chinese labour. It occurred to the authorities that it might be well to take the opinion, by *referendum* or by dissolution of the Council, of the people in Rhodesia. There were terrible outcries from Rhodesia. The Mine-owners Association there telegraphed on 25th November that—

> "Wages have increased without conferring any real benefit on the natives."

That is the first time I have ever heard of an increase in wages not benefiting the wage-earner. I wonder if that doctrine would be applicable to the increase in dividends. However, in Sir Marshall Clarke, the Resident Commissioner, the mine-owners found a very tough obstacle. He was not going to be driven from his course by any of these heated telegrams from the mine-owners. He says the movement "lacked spontaneousness," and he recommends on a "question of such moment" an appeal to the electors. How is that treated by the mine-owners? The question is referred by the Colonial Office to the British South Africa Company. What is the reply? It is what you would expect—"the board on general public grounds is strongly opposed." Of course they are; and the Colonial Secretary is roundly accused by them, I think somewhat impertinently, of "retarding the progress of Rhodesia" by refusing to let them have Chinese labour at once. I prophesy that before very long we shall hear the noble Duke—quite honestly—telling us that not only the mine-owners but all the white inhabitants of Rhodesia are entirely convinced, and His Majesty's Government likewise, of the imperative necessity of introducing Chinese labour into Rhodesia, and that all opposition in that country is now at an end.

I ask, are we proceeding on true Imperial lines? Are we proceeding in consonance with the wishes and aspirations of our colonies? Australia and New Zealand sent between them 22,000 odd men, at a cost of £1,800,000, to help to conquer the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony. I have not the Cape Colony figures by me, but I have no doubt they are very large. Mr. Chamberlain, at the Colonial Conference, expressed himself in this manner—

> "We are profoundly grateful to you for what you have done. It has created a sense of reciprocal obligation. I attach still more importance to the moral support we have received from you."

And, speaking to his constituents in Birmingham, he said—

> "In future you will have to take account of the opinion of your colonists; you will have to consult them, and if you wish that they should always stand at your side you will have to be guided, to some extent at any rate, by their wishes and their aspirations."

Now, my Lords, the Transvaal has been conquered by the assistance of these colonies. It is not a self-governing colony which can express its own mind and deal with home matters, so to speak, independently. His Majesty's Government is responsible for the conduct of affairs in this newly-conquered territory, and not the mock Legislative Council they have set up there, which does not represent the opinions of the people. From Cape Colony on 2nd July we had a strong unanimous protest from the House of Assembly. On 17th August there was a protest from the Ministers, and on 4th January this year another repeated protest from the Ministers. On 19th January this year came protests from the Australian Commonwealth and from New Zealand.

I ask this House to express its regret that the opinions of these colonies have been disregarded. It is a matter, to my mind, of vast and overwhelming importance. It is not the question of the importation of one shipload of Chinese labourers. It is a far larger question than that. It is a question of whether capital alone, uncontrolled by political or moral considerations, is to dictate the destiny of one of our colonies. The Chinaman is the tool—the apt tool—desired by the capitalists to free them from the restraints of any labour control. His Majesty's Government may deny it, but the facts show, and will increasingly show, that the Chinaman will be the supplanter, not only of the black, but of the white man. The Chinaman will confer on the mine-owner the power to work the mines for the exclusive profit of the shareholders, utterly disregarding the benefit of the country. In fact, to put it shortly, we have broken down one oligarchy only to set up another oligarchy, infinitely more intolerant, infinitely more unscrupulous, and infinitely more dangerous to the Empire at large.

The difference between capital and labour is this, that capital knows no country and recognises no frontier. Naturally, capital only seeks the cheapest labour, and science with its rapidity of intercommunication has come to the aid of capital by strengthening its cosmopolitan influence all over the world. You have only to look down the list of mine-owners, and their un-English nationality is at once detected by their names. The only breakwater, so to speak, to the complete world-wide tyranny of capital lies in the combination of labour, and such combination is destroyed by the importation, in competition with white labour, of servile labour under such terms as those under which you are importing Chinese into the Transvaal. They are mere hewers of wood and drawers of water. They have no part or lot in the colony into which you introduce them, no part in its aspirations or its ideals. They are no strength to it. They will not fight for it, and they will not even find burial in its soil.

The question involved then is whether the lot of labour in this colony shall be levelled up or levelled down. We on this side of the House believe in the levelling up of labour, because, although the few may not become so rich, the general condition of the community is raised and improved. Do His Majesty's Government and noble Lords who talk so proudly of Empire reflect that they are wounding and alienating the Imperial spirit in one of its most healthy and vital manifestations? Every permanent element in the newly-conquered territories is raised against you in open or sullen hostility on this question. And it follows that you are sowing in these countries the seeds of future mischief and future revolt—a revolt in which, perhaps, for the first time in South Africa you will find the Kaffir and the white man sympathising with each other. You can only hope to succeed by driving out the British workman and by keeping the Boer in subjection by force of arms. If that is to be the outcome of your policy, all I can say is that you are permanently withholding from that country the blessings of self-government on which you have assured the British, the Boers, the Kaffirs, and the Colonies alike your hopes were unalterably fixed. For these reasons I move the Resolution standing in my name.

Moved, to resolve, "That, having regard to the assistance given to the Mother Country in the late Boer War by Australia, New Zealand, and Cape Colony, this House expresses its regret that His Majesty's Government have disregarded their opinions on the policy of introducing indentured Chinese labour into South Africa."—(*Lord Coleridge.*)

*LORD HARRIS: My Lords, it is with some hesitation that I rise to ask your Lordships to allow me to address you on this subject to-night, not from a want of acquaintance with the subject, for it has been my business for some years to make myself familiar with many of the points which have been dealt with by the noble Lord, but I cannot help remembering that in the other House, for some years at any rate, it has been intimated pretty clearly that the House objects to directors of companies addressing it on subjects in which, on behalf of their companies, they are interested, and I could not be sure but that your Lordships' feelings might be of the same character. I am a director and chairman of two important trust companies in the Transvaal, one of which controls a very large group of mines, and is responsible, and is prepared to accept the responsibility, for the management of the mines, within which is included, of course, the treatment of the natives. But after an experience of thirty years in your Lordships' House I have never detected any similar feeling here. I think I may rather say that it is your Lordships' wish to hear those who have a practical knowledge of the subject. Therefore, encouraged by that manifestation, I will endeavour to deal with certain facts which, I think, I may with advantage bring to your Lordships' notice without advancing any opinions of my own.

The noble and learned Lord dealt first of all with a Cape Blue-book. It has now been incorporated in a Blue-book presented to this House. When the subject was first raised by Major Seely in the other House it was a Cape Blue-book. It had not been presented to this House, and was not easy to get hold of. Therefore it was difficult to discuss it from an absolutely impartial point of view in that House. It had all the appearance of a Parliamentary Blue-book, and a leading Member of the Opposition in the other House told me a day or two afterwards that he had been at the time, and was then, when he spoke to me, of opinion that it was a Blue-book presented to Parliament. I do not dispute for one moment the statements which the noble and learned Lord quoted from the reports of the deputation which went to the Transvaal, I think, in the autumn of last year, but I would call your Lordships' attention to certain facts in connection with the examination conducted by that delegation. In the first place, they had no power to administer an oath. They went from compound to compound and probably selected at random natives they saw about. They would not have any power of making a special selection; they probably called up any boys—your Lordships are, of course, acquainted with the fact that "boy" is the technical term for natives employed in the mines—they saw there and questioned them. They asked certain questions and the boys gave their answers. The mine-owners or the mine managers had no intimation whatever that these visits were going to be paid, so that they were quite surprise visits. The deputation asked the boys questions and obtained their answers, but where the answer conveyed something critical of the action of some employer at the mine, that person was never given an opportunity of saying anything in reply. If the noble and learned Lord will look at that Blue-book from a purely judicial aspect he will admit that it is an *ex parte* statement.

LORD COLERIDGE: Yes.

*LORD HARRIS: The noble and learned Lord accepts that. It is a purely *ex parte* statement brought before the House of Commons suddenly, and without any opportunity being given to those who might have answered the allegations in it successfully, or, at any rate, according to facts, and I do not think it is a report that should receive greater attention than the replies of Sir Godfrey Lagden and his subordinates. Now, Sir Godfrey Lagden in, I think, the last Blue-book which has been presented to your Lordships, deals with this report, and he also presents a memorandum drawn up by his chief inspector. They touch upon one or two of the points which the noble and learned Lord referred to, and I think it is only fair to those who have been charged, through the report of this delegation, with unfairness to the boys, that some one should point out what the chief officials of the Transvaal have to say on their behalf. The noble and learned Lord first of all said that the boys were forced to work when they were sick. I confess I have not seen that point particularly dealt with, and I have never heard any complaints myself about it; but it seems to me that inasmuch as a boy when sick is unable to do good work, it is highly improbable that the managers would want to put him to work of the kind of which the noble and learned Lord is thinking. Then he said they were not allowed to return home. Every workman is not a good one. There are a certain number of shirkers in every group of boys on mines; but if a boy is really well enough to be sent back to his home, and is not a good worker, it certainly is not in the interests of the mine-owners to keep him.

The most serious complaint, I thought, in the report was that the boys were deceived as to the wages they would get; that they were told they would be paid so much a month, and when they came to work, found that they had got to put in thirty days in order to complete the month, and if they were sick for a day or two, they would not get paid in respect of that time. It was pointed out in the

House of Commons by Mr. Lyttelton that in the Cape Blue-book there is set out the certificate which is shown to the boy, and which is passed by the officer on the frontier before the boy is allowed to come into the country, and that certificate makes it perfectly clear that the boy is to receive so much per day. It would be perfectly possible for the recruiting officer to deceive the boy if there was no one on the frontier whose business it is to see that he knows the terms and conditions of his employment. Before a boy is allowed into the country he has to be brought to the nearest pass officer, who is an officer of the Government, and it is the business of that officer to see that the boy understands the contract which he enters into. Therefore, although it is possible that recruiting agents may have tried to deceive the boy, if the boy has arrived in the country in that state of ignorance it is the fault, not of the recruiting officer, not of the mine-owners, not of the mine managers, but of the official of the Government, who has either through ignorance himself or carelessness omitted to point out to the boy the actual terms of his engagement. As regards Sunday work, your Lordships must be aware of the fact that where there is machinery certain portions of it must be kept going on Sundays.

As to the boys not being allowed to choose the mines to which they will go my information is that if the boys indicate at the frontier that they wish to go to a particular mine, the officer is bound to pass them on to that mine. That is a very marked difference from what obtained before the war, when a kind of piracy went on. Boys were kidnapped on the way, and intending to go to one mine were taken off to another, and boys were bribed away from one mine to another. Instances of that kind occurred, but I was informed when recently in South Africa that there is now no doubt whatever that if the boys indicate that they wish to go to a particular mine it is the business of the Government official at the frontier to pass them to that mine. Then, as regards flogging. Sir Godfrey Lagden says of it—

> "With regard to the allegation about being beaten, no power is vested in any mining authorities to inflict punishment. That is reserved for the officers of the law. But, of course, it is necessary to maintain discipline on mines where there are thousands of natives working, and for that reason the mining authorities are bound to employ supervisors and overseers. Occasionally it has happened that these men, whether white or black, have exceeded their powers, and whenever such has been discovered it has been properly dealt with."

Lord Harris.

Mr. Cooke, the Acting Pass Commissioner and Chief Inspector, refers to the punishment in these terms—

> "The term 'stocks' is the one applied to the mine detention room. The sobriquet is a relic of former days. 'Stocks' as understood by us are no longer tolerated. The mine detention room is, I consider, absolutely essential as being the only means of controlling riotous and quarrelsome natives. It must be remembered that in the majority of cases mines are situated a very considerable distance from any charge office or gaol, and as it is not infrequently happens that a native 'runs amuck' it is necessary that he should be promptly dealt with in order to prevent further developments.

Mr. Cooke admits that cases of beating have occurred. But this is not confined to the mines. Mr. Cooke says—

> "Great difficulty has been experienced in securing conformity to the legal procedure. This has now been secured as regards those responsible, but cases of assault still occur, where ignorant miners strike natives probably for no other reason than that the natives are unable to understand orders given to them. When such cases have come to the notice of inspectors of this department, representations have at once been made to the management of the mine, and in almost all cases the result has been the dismissal of the European employé."

I am not here to attempt to deny that there may be cases of brutality. I am sorry to say that if such exist they are not confined to South Africa. I have heard of cases of brutality in other parts of the world where a white race is brought in touch with a coloured race. I admit at once that it is the duty of those who are responsible for the management of these mines to do everything in their power to impress upon their white servants that such things are not to be allowed, and that the native is to be encouraged to regard the compound as a place where he is not only made comfortable, but where he will receive absolute justice and be free from brutality.

The noble and learned Lord passed on from the Cape Blue-book to what seems to me to be a far more serious question. I refer to the mortality returns. I do not dispute the figures which the noble and learned Lord gave, for it is impossible to do so. The rate of mortality for the year which he quoted is lamentable, and by every means in our power, and at whatever cost, that figure has got to be reduced. The committee of doctors to whom the noble and learned Lord referred have expressed a hope that by means of certain changes which they have recommended, some of which have been carried out, and all of which are being now undertaken, the death rate may be reduced to, they hope, forty per thousand. There is a further report which I only received a week ago, and which I do not think has been included in the Blue-book, signed by a sub-committee of doctors, three of whom were on the original committee, called together to report whether it would be a good thing to have a detention compound in which boys on arrival at Johannesburg should be put for a few days before being passed on to the mines. At the end of their report these doctors say—

> "It must not be forgotten that, however great care is taken, and however much expense incurred, the permanent condition of climatic differences and seasonal variations, the circumstances of underground work, and the proved susceptibility of the natives to certain, and especially to pneumococcal infections, will contribute to render the risks of mortality always considerable."

The figure of seventy-one per thousand is a terrible death rate to face, but I am not prepared to accept it as being extravagantly different from what may be the case in similar occupations in other countries. The noble and learned Lord quoted some mortality returns in connection with mines in England, and I think the worst case he quoted gave a death rate of thirty per thousand.

LORD COLERIDGE: The figure was fourteen per thousand in the tin mines in Cornwall. I may tell the noble Lord that the highest rate of all is in returned miners from the Transvaal.

*LORD HARRIS: I will deal with that in a moment. I have in my hand a Report to the Secretary of State for the Home Department on the Health of Cornish Miners, by Dr. J. S. Haldane, F.R.S.; Mr. Joseph S. Martin, H.M. Inspector of Mines for the South Western district; and Mr. R. Arthur Thomas. On page 14 of this Report the noble Lord will see that the proportion of deaths from lung diseases among Cornish miners who had not worked rock-drills was about three times the normal, and the total death rate about 1·8 times the normal. That leads one to inquire what is the normal death rate. The normal rate of mortality is given in another table in the same Report as thirty-four per thousand.

LORD COLERIDGE: My figures were taken from page 6, table 2, in the same Report. They are the figures of the death rates between the ages of eighteen and forty-five, which represent the ages at which Kaffirs are employed in the Rand mines.

*LORD HARRIS: That may be so, but I think I am justified in quoting the statement of these gentlemen, that the proportion of deaths from lung diseases among Cornish miners who had not worked rock-drills was about three times the normal. The normal death rate in England is thirty-four.

LORD COLERIDGE: May I ask where the noble Lord gets that figure?

*LORD HARRIS: I have not the reference in my notes, but I will find it presently.

LORD COLERIDGE: That is the death rate of miners between the ages of fifty-five and sixty-five.

*LORD HARRIS: The ages taken throughout these tables are from fifteen to sixty-five. I have excluded machine-men because I think it must be admitted that the mortality of machine-men in Cornwall has been increased by the return of machine-men from the Transvaal and other parts of the world; but the death rate among machine-men from respiratory diseases is about fifteen times, and their total death rate about eight times that for average occupied males in this country; or, to make another comparison, the death rate among machine-men from respiratory diseases is about thirty times, and the total death rate about ten times, as great as that among colliers or ironstone miners of the same age. I only quote this to show your Lordships that the conditions of work in the Cornish mines and in the Transvaal mines are very similar to the conditions of work in some other kinds of mines, and that the death rate where the rock-drill is used as it is in Cornwall and the Transvaal is very much increased.

I do not think the noble and learned Lord will contest this, that where the rock-drill is used there is very serious danger from phthisis. Phthisis has been recognised in the Cornwall mines for over forty years, and I do not see from this Report that there has been any inquiry by the Government until these gentlemen were appointed in 1902. In the same year the Transvaal, which has not been mining for more than twenty years—and, I think, to be really fair, one ought not to consider anything before the war, for everything was then done in a rough and ready way—in the same year a committee was appointed in the Transvaal to report upon miners' phthisis, and their report is actually quoted in this Report about miners' phthisis in Cornwall. More than that, as far back as 1902 the mine-owners offered three prizes, the highest being £500, for the best machinery for subduing the dust which in dry-drilling is inevitable. They were desirous of doing all they could to reduce the tendency to this great increase in mortality. Therefore, so far as the Government of the Transvaal is concerned, they appointed a committee quite as soon as any Administration in England on this important question, and the mine-owners themselves have done what so far no one in England has done, namely, they have encouraged manufacturers to produce something which will allay the dust in the mines. Those prizes have now been awarded.

I was talking to-day to an eminent engineer and he told me that long before the war they were experimenting with all kinds of rock-drills in the hope of reducing this danger, but the difficulty is this, that the rock-drill men themselves will not use these machines if they can possibly help it. For one thing, they have not been perfected, and the second objection to their use is that they render the work, so to speak, "sloppy." Your Lordships know for how many years attempts were made to compel coal miners to use safety lamps before it was effectually done. By degrees I hope it will be possible, if not to induce, at any rate to compel, these rock-drill men to use these appliances which science has invented in order to reduce the dust which is inevitable where the explosions take place. They are by nature, I fancy, a very careless body of men, and prefer to go on earning large wages rather than take greater care of themselves. I have quoted these cases in order to show your Lordships that the managers and the mine-owners of the Transvaal are not indifferent to the excessive rate of mortality, and are doing what they can to reduce it. That is as regards phthisis, and phthisis has affected the black boy as well as the white man, because the black boy goes down into the mines after the explosion has taken place just as soon as the white man. He is close at hand, and is subject to the same conditions to some extent; and if we can reduce this disability in connection with rock-drilling, I should hope that a reduction would certainly be shown in the rate of mortality.

Lord Harris.

The committee of doctors, as I have already pointed out, and Lord Milner in one of his despatches, called attention to the enormous death rate from pneumonia. That is not peculiar to the natives. It is a very prevalent disease among Europeans in the Transvaal, and, having regard to the fact that many of these natives come up from the level of the sea coast to this great altitude of 7,000 feet at the time of the year when they are most liable to catch cold on emerging from the shafts, there will always be a tendency to their getting pneumonia. Our business is to do all we can to get the boys to take care of themselves, but they are just as casual in every way as the white miner is. When they come up from the shaft, instead of staying in their rooms for a time and accustoming themselves to the change of temperature, they lie about anywhere, and the compound manager cannot, of course, always be looking after them. These are some of the reasons. Another is, I think, that boys have been passed at the frontier who had much better have been left behind.

There has been a great prevalence of scurvy, and a boy who has got scurvy is much more likely to get one of these other diseases than a boy who has not. The noble and learned Lord has quoted a case of one mine which I know very well, where there is a high death rate, and considering myself to some extent responsible for the management there, and being aware that scurvy had been very prevalent in that mine, I made some inquiries on the subject. The doctors to whom the noble and learned Lord referred stated in their first report that scurvy was purely a dietetic disease. Knowing that, the greatest care was being exercised in that compound as regards food. I made special inquiries as to this, and I believe your Lordships will find that the doctors in the Transvaal will have to acknowledge before very long that scurvy is not purely dietetic, and that it is transmissible from one to another. I merely mention that as an interesting point. It has been recommended that dry-drilling shall be done away with, and wet-drilling substituted. That is just one of the points where we are in the hands of the drillmen themselves. As a matter of fact, a day or two before I left Johannesburg the chief engineer of the group of mines with which I have to do was asked this question in my presence, "Are the white drill-men using the jet drill?" and he replied, "No; I am afraid they will not." It is impossible for the man in charge to keep his eye on every miner. It is impossible for every white man who is superintending a rock-drill to be looked after and compelled, as if he were a child, to use the water jet, and until we can get some more efficacious means of compulsion, there will be risks of miners' phthisis.

I have mentioned these points because I am anxious to assure your Lordships that the mine managers and mine owners are most anxious to do all that lies in their power to improve matters by providing good food, more rooms with sufficient breathing space, sounder floors, removable bunks which can be cleaned in the sunshine, places into which the men can go at the shaft head; and by providing baths and looking after the sanitary arrangements down in the mines, we hope that eventually we may be able to arrive at something near the figure which the committee of doctors said they thought was possible. I do not contest the fact that there are certain circumstances connected with mining on the Rand which are remediable, and I believe it is the anxious desire of the managers of the mines, and the directors of the companies controlling them, to introduce these changes as rapidly as possible.

The noble and learned Lord went on with the question of the output of the mines and the labour employed before the war and now, and pointed out that the mines are now producing as much as they did before the war with about seven-tenths the amount of labour. I think that is attributable entirely to the fact that the boys are doing very much better work. They are not tempted away by drink, which before the war incapacitated quite a considerable proportion. That, indeed, is one of the reasons why we are not getting as many boys as we did before the war. They know they cannot get drink now, and prefer to go where they can get it. From observation, I should say that for the whole of the last century, and even before that, South Africa has been suffering from lack of labour. The wages that are paid to coloured men in the Transvaal are something enormous even as compared with the wages paid to English servants and English labourers in England. I believe it is impossible for South Africa to go really ahead until she can lay her hands on more labour somehow or other. There are several facts which support my contention. Cape Colony had to go to the East for labour, and she got Malays. You will find Malays all over the Colony. Natal had to go to the East for labour for her sugar plantations; and when the Uganda Railway was being built Africa had to go to the East for labour again. As regards these mines it would have been impossible, without going elsewhere, for us to obtain the labour necessary to keep working the number of stamps that are ready. At the present moment there are hundreds, if not thousands, lying idle, and it would have been impossible, in my opinion, to get the labour in South Africa to keep them going.

As regards the question of morality, I have only this to point out, that the Kaffirs themselves did not bring their wives to the Rand, it being contrary to the custom of the tribe for men to take their wives away from the kraal, so that the Chinaman will be in pretty much the same position as the Kaffir in that he leaves his wife behind. I admit that there is this difference, that the Kaffir could return home, but the Chinaman cannot under the terms of his indenture for three years. I should like, if I may, to read to the House one quotation. It was applicable to England sixty years ago, and at any rate the condition of the mines in South Africa, which is, after all, a country peopled by coloured men, a country dependent upon coloured labour under conditions which the noble and learned Lord is disposed to criticise very severely, and which is far removed from civilisation, is a thousand times in advance of what the condition of the mines was in this country sixty years ago. The quotation I would read to your Lordships is from the pages of "Sybil," published, I think, in 1846 or 1849—

> "But can we wonder at the hideous coarseness of the language used when we remember the savage rudeness of their lives. Naked to the waist, an iron chain fixed to a leather belt, clad in canvas trousers, while on hands and feet English girls for twelve and sometimes sixteen hours a day haul and hurry tubs of coal up subterranean roads—dark, precipitous, and splashy."

He also describes how infants of four or five years had to go down the shafts first and to leave them last, and for many long hours were left absolutely alone in the dark, their only occupation being to open the air doors to allow the trucks through and to close them afterwards, on which depended the safety of the mine. Thank God everything of that kind had been changed in England, and thank God the example of England has been followed by the Transvaal.

I think that the other questions which the noble and learned Lord dealt with are rather questions for the Government than for an independent Member of your Lordships' House. I would only say this, as regards the noble and learned Lord's Motion, that we must all be grateful for what the Colonies did for us in the recent campaign. At the same time, I cannot see the appositeness of the noble and learned Lord's reasoning. He says that because the Colonies helped us in the late war, therefore we ought to have paid attention to their objection to the importation of Chinese labour. The Australian Colonies and New Zealand have no real experience of what the labour conditions are in South Africa, and I think that when they arrived at those opinions they could hardly have realised that, so far as the lowest class of work is concerned, Africa always has been, is now, and, in my opinion, for many years must be, dependent on coloured labour. But whether that is so or not, I do not admit that the argument advanced by the noble and learned Lord is a strong one. He and I would probably agree that it is regrettable that the Australian Colonies will not allow Indian natives to earn a living there, but I could not admit that it would be a sound argument to say that it was unfair of them to do this because India has spent so many millions and sacrificed so many lives in defending one of the bulwarks of the Empire. Australia and New Zealand are perfectly entitled to exclude coloured labour, but I do not admit that because they do that they are good judges of what is necessary for another colony in another part of the world. After all, my Lords, you are responsible, as the noble and learned Lord has pointed out, these being Crown colonies, for their government. Why should you cede your right to carefully watch all legislation proposed for colonies which have not got popularly-elected Legislative Assemblies?

In conclusion, I would ask your Lordships to believe that whilst there are men in the Transvaal with names that are not English, men who, perhaps, have very little English blood in their veins, yet at the same time there are a great majority of men there concerned with the control of these mines, with their actual practical management, and with the engineering difficulties connected with them, who are Englishmen—Englishmen such as your Lordships associate with in your daily life, who do not change their feelings and their habits because they have gone to live in South Africa; and I say it is grossly unjust to attribute to these men habits of slave-owners.

LORD COLERIDGE: I said they used the same arguments as the slave-owners did.

*LORD HARRIS: Is it intended by that to convey that the word "slave-owner" is applicable to them? [Lord COLERIDGE dissented.] I am delighted that the noble and learned Lord does not imply that. The men who are out there are Englishmen in every sense of the word and are most profoundly indignant that the word "slave-owner" or "slave-driver" should have been used in connection with any occupation that they have got to manage; and I do earnestly ask your Lordships to believe that just as you have been grateful to pioneers who in different parts of the world have carried the frontier of your Empire forward, so you have every reason to be grateful to these Englishmen for what they are doing in South Africa to-day.

*LORD NORTON: My Lords, we have heard a very interesting statement from Lord Harris as to the management of the Transvaal mines; but is not that a very incidental and minor point raised by the Motion of the noble and learned Lord opposite? The main proposition is that your Lordships should express regret for having consented to the admission of Chinese labour into South Africa. As an incidental point of argument it was attempted to be shown that the treatment in the Transvaal mines was very bad and the mortality great. I think what has fallen from Lord Harris shows that that need not be any argument whatever against the proposition for the introduction of Chinese. The argument itself was imperfect in the noble and learned Lord's own hands, for he said that the extreme mortality which obtained in some mines in the Transvaal was not the case in other mines. Therefore, the inference would be that the excessive mortality should be reduced so that the death rate should not be greater on an average than that shown to obtain in the better managed mines. But, after all, if there was any point to be made from the mortality in the Transvaal mines it would be in favour of the introduction of Chinese labour, because the introduction of carefully guarded indentured free labour would at all events be a very great advance upon the present state of affairs. It was, therefore, an argument against the general proposition of the Motion.

The noble and learned Lord asks that the Imperial Parliament should interfere on this question. It is said that the Transvaal is a Crown colony. It is in one sense but not in a general sense. As Mr. Chamberlain has well shown in the other House, the Transvaal is in a position similar to that of an American territory—a position of inchoate but guaranteed self-government. It is a self-governing colony which, from circumstances of the war, cannot be given entire self-government until the reconstitution of the country; but it is to all intents and purposes a self-governing colony so far as the guarantee of self-government is assured to it; and this country is pledged not to delay or interfere with her self-government more than is absolutely necessary for the immediate settlement of the country. But the proposition before us is that the Imperial Government should interfere with an entirely local measure in a self-governing colony.

It is surprising to me that there are any who still retain such false notions of the right relationship between the mother country and the Colonies. It is that very mistaken principle which lost us our finest colonies; and if the idea which is embodied in the Motion now before the House is the idea of the Opposition, then all I can say is, Heaven prevent that Opposition getting into power, for if they do they will most certainly repeat the mistake which has been made before and lose these present Colonies just at the very moment when they are promising the most perfect prosperity and attachment to this country. The proposition of the noble and learned Lord goes further than mere interference with the rights and local policy of a self-governing colony. It proposes to express regret at the passing of, and, if possible, to undo, a measure which is now in process of being carried out. What is worse, the proposition is not only to interfere with the local policy and action of self-governing colonies, but actually that their measures should be used, I may say misrepresented, for the purposes of Party contests in this country. That is the proposition now before us.

The Transvaal, by their Legislature and in every way in which they can express their own opinion, have decided upon the introduction of Chinese labour. That is what they feel to be absolutely necessary and vital for their prosperity, and we are asked to say that they were mistaken and that we know better. I must say candidly that I think the Opposition have lately been very hard up for a topic on which there was any prospect of uniting their Party for the purpose of making an attack on the Government. So prosperous and successful were affairs conducted in this country that the only thing open to the Opposition was to go to a distant colony where they could get topics to misrepresent for the purpose of attacking the Government at home. The people in the Transvaal have made up their mind to pass this Ordinance for Chinese labour, and this Motion proposes that the Imperial Parliament should say that they should not have done so. It was, therefore, necessary to misrepresent so plain a fact to make it available for Party purposes in England. The employment of Chinese labour freely in Africa is misrepresented as a return to conditions of slavery — a distortion of fact which has not been made out at all by anybody. In fact, it has been clearly proved that there is no feature of slavery in the contract of labour adopted. But it was necessary to make the Transvaal Ordinance appear odious to become a possible topic for uniting the Opposition against the Government at home.

We ought by this time to have learned the wisdom of not interfering with the local affairs of colonies. Do not let us attempt the more mischievous plan of garbling their affairs as material for Party strife at home. If this is attempted we shall soon find that our interference, however humanely conceived, will have but one effect; and that will be to alienate the Colonies from us. They will not stand that sort of usage of them. Mr. Chamberlain has lately most powerfully advanced the feeling of attachment on the part of the Colonies to this country, from what occurred during the South African War. If your Lordships were to pass this Resolution and to express your regret that you did not interfere in time to prevent this local Ordinance, which was anxiously wished for by the colony, from becoming law, and against which nothing has been said truly, but a good deal falsely, you would be doing much to break through that attachment which Mr. Chamberlain has so successfully encouraged, and than which, whatever some may say as to the method by which he proposes to cement it, there is nothing more essential to the interests of the Empire at large.

Lord Norton.

*THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (The Duke of MARLBOROUGH): My Lords, when I saw this Notice on your Lordships' Paper embodying inquiry into the policy of His Majesty's Government in South Africa, and when I saw that it was the noble and learned Lord who was going to move the Motion, I felt certain that once more His Majesty's Government would be attacked in strong and vigorous terms for the policy which they have carried out in the Transvaal. The noble and learned Lord divided his subject into two parts. One part was an attack upon His Majesty's Government for having permitted the policy of the introduction of Chinese labourers, and the other was devoted to pointing out that the treatment of the natives in the Transvaal was not, in his opinion, all that could be desired. I cannot at this late hour follow the noble and learned Lord in a discussion as to the amount of gold that has been dug out at Johannesburg, and the number of miners employed there; nor am I prepared to discuss with him whether or not the inhabitants of the Transvaal are in favour of Chinese labour. Nor do I think it necessary for me to repeat arguments why a *referendum* was not granted, and why we did not employ that process of discovering the opinion of the people of the Transvaal.

The noble and learned Lord asked for a specific answer as to whether the Chinese who had started from Hong-Kong had been permitted to take their wives with them. I have a telegram in my hand from the Governor of Hong-Kong, in which he says that the emigrants were made fully aware of the provisions for taking out their families. Special accommodation on board was ready, but none took advantage of the privilege. It is impossible to say how many men will send out for their families later, but they have got every encouragement to do so.

LORD COLERIDGE: Have they registered them? because they cannot send for them if they have not.

*THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH: I am afraid I cannot answer that question. I do not propose, either, to dwell upon the points raised by the noble and learned Lord with regard to the opinions of

Australia and New Zealand on this question. The views of His Majesty's Government were fully set out in the two telegrams from the Secretary of State, one to the Earl of Ranfurly, Governor of New Zealand, and the other to Sir Hely Hutchinson, at the Cape. No doubt the noble and learned Lord has read those telegrams, and knows their contents well. The views expressed by the Secretary of State at that date are exactly the views that the Secretary of State holds to-day. We have nothing further to add on that point. I feel sure your Lordships would not wish me to enter for the third or fourth time into a defence of the Ordinance for the importation of Chinese labour. Parliamentary discussions on that subject have taken place on several occasions, and I need hardly remind your Lordships that Parliamentary decisions have been duly recorded. The Transvaal is perfectly quiet. The agitation which the noble and learned Lord predicted has not taken place. Chinamen have safely arrived, and so far as we are aware, great benefit will result from their importation.

I turn from the consideration of the general policy of the Government in South Africa to the main point which the noble and learned Lord has raised with regard to the treatment of labourers. I do not deny that it is possible by a judicious selection of passages to make a formidable indictment against the Transvaal Government. I admit, however, that the noble and learned Lord was on the whole very moderate in the indictment he made. He pointed out to your Lordships very accurately the facts of the case. Mr. Brownlee was sent with fifteen of the headmen of the tribes to find out why the natives of the Cape would not go and work in the mines at Johannesburg. They were also to inquire into the condition and the treatment of the natives. The immediate object and aim of the inquiry, as the noble and learned Lord reminded us, was to elicit from the natives any complaints they had to make against their employers; that is to say, to find out every complaint that the employee had to make against his employer. Your Lordships will notice that the result of this inquiry was not a dispassionate report; it was essentially the report of an inquiry instituted to formulate every grievance that could possibly be collected. The number of Kaffirs in the Rand mines is about 80,000, and of that number only 4,000 come from Cape Colony. It will therefore be observed that this inquiry referred only to 5 per cent. of the total number of labourers employed in the Rand. We know from experience of the natives of West Africa that those who live near the coast or near the towns are undoubtedly more prone to complain of the standard of living and comfort than the inland natives. Their inland brethren would regard very often as a condition of positive luxury, a condition of affairs which the natives in towns grumble at. I do not, for a moment, suggest that there is any difference of treatment between the Cape natives and the other natives employed in the Rand; but it is an undoubted fact that the Cape native is more troublesome and querulous, and more likely to make complaints. What does Mr. Cooke, the Acting Pass Commissioner, say of their disposition? He, speaking of the native, says that his association with Europeans has made him independent and impatient of control, that when brought to task he shows an ungracious spirit, and that his tendency to indulge in liquor and the smoking of hemp unfits him for work and brings him into conflict with those in authority. The Cape native is more likely to get into trouble with his overseer and to give a highly-coloured version of his conflicts with authority. Although I do not for a moment impugn the testimony of the natives, it is certainly a testimony which is not likely to err on the side of under-estimating any grievances they may have to bring forward. This view is sustained by the testimony of an independent witness and impartial critic, who is not in any way connected with Transvaal Administration or with the Chamber of Mines—I refer to the Chief Medical Officer of Portuguese East Africa, the territory from which 75 per cent. of the natives employed in the mines comes. This gentleman, after paying a surprise visit to the compounds, stated that the Portuguese natives in the mines which he visited were 75 per cent. of the total employed, that he was confident they were better housed on the Rand than in their own homes; and that the food was in good condition; and after making some suggestions he passed a general note of approval. Thus your Lordships will see that, in regard to 75 per cent. of the total number of natives employed, the representative of Portuguese East Africa, a perfectly independent witness, considers that their treatment on the whole was of a good and proper character.

Now, my Lords, let us for a moment consider what the result of this inquiry of Mr. Brownlee's was. As I have already said, it is doubtless easy by making a judicious selection from the report to show that the Cape natives are subjected to all kinds of treatment—that they are flogged, that the contracts they have entered into are not kept, that they are bought and sold, and so on. But in many of these cases, if the facts are carefully gone into and examined, it is easy to explain why the natives have complained. On page 28 a native chief says—

> "Those who are unemployed are sold for six shillings per head."

That is a remarkable statement. If it were true that natives were sold I should have great difficulty in replying, on behalf of His Majesty's Government, to the remarks made by the noble and learned Lord. But what are the real facts of the case? These natives are not sold at all. When they are unemployed they are put into what is called a protection camp, the Government charges 1s. per day for their care and keep, and when another employer comes along to take over these natives, he has to pay the sum which the Government have charged for their keep. This point was clearly explained by another chief, more intelligent than his brother, who said—

> "Natives look upon this as a purchase price paid for them and think they are sold. We explain this matter to our Colonial natives, and show that it is a good thing for the natives to be protected in this way."

There is just another instance of the distorted view that some of these chiefs have taken in regard to complaints. The noble and learned Lord alleged that the natives when sick were not allowed to go home. That is very easily explained. When a native is ill his one desire is to get home as quickly as possible, but it may be necessary to detain him in the hospital to make sure that he is perfectly fit to travel before being allowed to go home. It is impossible for me at this hour of the evening to deal with many of the complaints to which the noble and learned Lord has alluded. Many of them are based upon error and misconception. I think the natives who make these complaints make them against measures which they do not appreciate and which are really designed for their benefit and protection. When there is so much difficulty in arriving accurately at the opinion of these native chiefs, when the opinions of the commission itself vary, one native saying one thing and another native another, and when it is clear that the natives themselves were not capable of weighing very accurately the mass of information which was placed before them, there is only one way of arriving at a proper solution of the question, and that is to turn to the testimony of the one man who went with this deputation who was an impartial judge—the one white man, Mr. Brownlee. Mr. Brownlee took the part of and showed every sympathetic feeling for the natives, and quite rightly so, because he was sent to protect their interests and to bring up a report on any grievances which could be found, or irregularities of which complaint was made. Your Lordships will see in the Papers that he acted as the champion of the natives in a correspondence with Mr. Macfarlane, the general manager of the Native Labour Association, and so far as His Majesty's Government are concerned we have only to be grateful to Mr. Brownlee for the zealous and efficient manner in which he carried out his work. Now, Mr. Brownlee, while admitting that the deputation was warmly received by the Transvaal Government, that no attempt was made to burke inquiry, that every material assistance was afforded him by the officials and that, but for the assistance given him by the Government, he would have been unable to accomplish his task, while admitting all that, what does he say? He says, speaking about the treatment of the natives, that the diet was sufficient and wholesome; that the men's quarters were on the whole fairly commodious and comfortable; that the sanitary arrangements were in almost every instance sufficient and good, that the lavatories in most cases were excellent, that fresh water, hot and cold, had been laid on in unlimited quantities, and that every facility was afforded the boys to keep themselves and their clothing clean. That is the testimony of Mr. Brownlee upon this specific point. It is perfectly true, as the noble and learned Lord has pointed out, that there were two complaints which Mr. Brownlee had to make—the first on the question of wages, and the second on the question of flogging.

Let me deal quite briefly with the question of wages. The noble Lord, Lord Harris, also dealt with this subject. I confess that after having read the Blue-book very carefully, I have the greatest difficulty in understanding how any quarrel could possibly arise between the natives and those who employ them with regard to wages. What is the system of recruiting, and what safeguards do the Government employ to ensure that the natives shall understand the amount of wages they are to be paid? As your Lordships are aware, the recruiting is carried on by the agents of the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association. These agents are most carefully selected. It is, after all, in the intersts of the association to select the very best men—the most reliable and trustworthy they can find. In nearly every instance the agents can speak the language of the country in which they recruit. Moreover, they are obliged to get a licence from the Government in which it is distinctly stated that if they do not keep to the terms of the contract they may be severely fined and punished. On page 19 of the Blue-book is the contract itself, and there it is definitely stated that the men will receive 1s. 8d. per day for surface work and 2s. for underground work. This contract has not only to be explained to the natives, but it has also to be signed by them and by the native chief. There is yet one further precaution, namely, that when the native arrives on the frontier he is met by an official who asks whether he has come voluntarily, and in the event of a native replying in the negative, this official can send him back home at the cost of the importer. In the face of these precautions it is difficult to understand how any dispute about wages can arise. But no doubt some do occur, and to meet such cases the Government have yet another precaution for the protection of the native. There are Government inspectors. As the Papers show, these inspectors, during the last two years, have made 9,000 inspections, and the number of cases of misunderstanding as to wages during those two years amounted only to twenty-six, in seventeen of which the natives were proved to have miscalculated their pay, and the complaints were dismissed. Now, my Lords, when we bear in mind that there are 80,000 natives in the mines at Johannesburg, and that out of that total there were only twenty-six disputes about wages in two years, it is impossible to believe that there can be, as it has been alleged on many occasions, though not necessarily in your Lordships' House, continual complaints on the part of natives of being misled by the agents by whom they were recruited as to the exact amount of wages they were to be paid. Moreover, you will notice that the Government by their efforts have reduced to a minimum the number of possible complaints.

Now let me turn briefly to the question of flogging, of which the noble and learned Lord made a great point. I do not quarrel with the noble and learned Lord for having brought that matter before your Lordships' notice. He referred to the fact that native overseers had sjamboks, and he quoted the passage about "the gentle stimulus of cowhide." No doubt this flogging is a legacy of the late Government. It was quite a common practice for people to carry sjamboks under the old *régime*. I myself, when in South Africa, saw nearly everybody carrying sjamboks, and I daresay other noble Lords present had the same experience. That having been the general practice there is no doubt that it is very difficult to eliminate it at once. I need not remind your Lordships that cases of unauthorised flogging are met with the severest penalties. The law is that no one can be punished by flogging except in pursuance of a judicial sentence, and a medical officer has to be present to see that the man does not receive more strokes than his constitution is capable of bearing. It is the special function of the inspectors to whom I have referred to find out from the natives any cases of abuse or any instances in which flogging has been carried out in an unauthorised or unjustifiable manner, and to bring any such cases to the notice of the authorities. These native inspectors have done their work well, and yet in the two years the total number of cases of unauthorised flogging and assaults brought to their notice amounts only to fifteen. In fourteen of those cases the accused were found guilty and severely punished. When it is remembered that there are 80,000 natives employed, that there were 4,000 inspections per year, and that as the result of those inspections only fourteen cases of unauthorised flogging were discovered, I think it is clear that the Government are alive to their duties in the matter and that the practice is being put down. No doubt there are a few isolated cases of flogging, but the fact that those isolated cases are brought to the notice of Parliament, and form the subject of discussions in your Lordships' House, is sufficient proof of the great change which has taken place in the Transvaal in regard to this matter. It is not only a testimony to the humane instincts of British rule, but it affords conclusive evidence that the Government are succeeding and will eventually entirely succeed in stamping out unauthorised flogging. The late Colonial Secretary, during his term of office, did all in his power to reduce flogging throughout the Empire, and he succeeded to a great degree. The present Colonial Secretary is determined to follow the same policy. But cases where from ill-temper, caprice, or irritability on the part of overseers, flogging is administered in an unjustifiable or improper manner, will be visited with the severest penalties, as both Lord Milner, the Transvaal Government, and His Majesty's Government are determined at all costs to stamp out this most odious practice.

My Lords, I now turn to the consideration of another matter, which is is by no means pleasant, namely the question of the death rate. On this point the noble and learned Lord had a great deal to say. He declared that whatever Mr. Cooke had to say with regard to the better treatment, the better housing, and the better *status* generally of the natives in South Africa, he could not agree with him, because the death rate was eighty or ninety per 1,000, a state of things that was truly appalling. But because there have been twenty-six cases in which natives have alleged that they have not received the money to which they were entitled, and because there were fourteen cases in two years in which men have been flogged in an unauthorised manner, is the noble and learned Lord really going to claim that therefore the death rate in South Africa is so abnormally high? The death-rate in South Africa has nothing whatever to do with the treatment of the natives. The two things are totally unrelated. The high mortality is due to altogether other reasons than those which the noble Lord has inferred. According to our information, the death rate for the year 1903 was seventy-one per 1,000, for 50 per cent. of which pneumonia was responsible. The noble and learned Lord complained of my having said that influenza was responsible for a certain number of deaths of natives. I do not pretend to be a medical officer, but I think I may reasonably say that an illness which ends in pneumonia frequently begins with influenza, and I believe that many of the cases of deaths recorded from pneumonia have been due in the first instance to influenza. I am confirmed in this opinion by a passage in the bulky volume before me. I am sorry to have to allude to this point at all, but the noble and learned Lord made such a strong point of it that I am obliged to reply to him. This is a passage from page 395—

> "Theirs was brought up to April. You cannot form any comparison between the two. Since they wrote their report there has been a very bad epidemic of influenza which has attacked a good many of the mines here."

I quote that passage simply to justify my contention on the last occasion when we discussed this matter in your Lordships' House, and to show the noble and learned Lord that my statement was not altogether without foundation.

It is a remarkable fact with regard to this death rate that for the first three months, and especially in the first month after their arrival, a great number of natives die. We believe that this exceptional rate is due to two causes, namely, the deplorably impoverished condition in which the natives arrive at the mines, and the sudden change to which they are subjected from the semi-tropical regions in which they are recruited to the somewhat rigorous climate at Johannesburg. As your Lordships will observe from the Paper, this high rate of mortality has been the subject of great anxiety to the Transvaal Government.

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So far back as a year ago, a committee of medical men was appointed to consider how the high rate of mortality could be reduced, and various recommendations were made. Time will not permit me to go through all those recommendations, but I can assure your Lordships that they were accepted by the Transvaal Government and that one and all of them have been put into force. For instance, movable bunks in rooms have been provided, sanitation and drainage improved, baths provided, the diet has been carefully attended to, hospitals on modern lines erected, and lastly, but not least in importance, changing houses have been erected at the head of the mines, so that natives coming out in a very hot condition may go in and cool down before submitting themselves to the cold air. Lord Milner in a despatch dealing with this subject says—

> "There can be no doubt that the all-round consideration which native labourers receive to-day as regards general care and comfort contrasts most favourably with their treatment before the war and with their treatment even a year ago."

And he says further on—

> "I have every reason to believe that the Chamber of Mines has this important matter under its constant and anxious consideration."

The Secretary of State, as your Lordships will see, has supplemented these local efforts by reminding Lord Milner that he must have a Return made to him of every mine where the death rate is over fifty per 1,000, stating the causes of the deaths and whether the recommendations of the doctors with regard to the treatment of the men have been carried out. We hope that the result of our efforts will be to improve matters in this regard. It is unwise to be too sanguine, but certainly we are justified in thinking that what we have done is bearing fruit. Let me remind your Lordships of the death rate for the first three months of last year and for the corresponding months of this year. For the month of January, 1903, the death rate was sixty-one per 1,000, this year it was fifty-nine, for the month of February last year, forty-four per 1,000, this year thirty-seven, for the month of March last year, forty-nine per 1,000, this year thirty-six, for the month of April last year, fifty-seven per 1,000, while this year it was only thirty-two. It is clear that special attention must be given to two points in regard to the treatment of natives. However healthy the men may be, they should not be recruited from semi-tropical districts and brought to Johannesburg in the winter months. That point is under the serious consideration of the Secretary of State who will see if something can be done to secure the observance of such a rule. It is also very important that weaklings should not be recruited. It cannot be denied that in their anxiety to get labour and to secure all the help they possibly could at the mines, the labour agents have recruited from people whose physique was not perhaps sufficiently strong to enable them to cope with the onerous work which mining imposes upon them. However willing natives may be to work, however willing they may be to go to the mines, it is clear that many of them, by constitution and physique, are not qualified to undertake what all admit is a very onerous task. It is our hope that by employing men who come from the more temperate region of Mancnuria we shall not only be able to raise the standard of physique amongst the men engaged in the work of the mines, but also enable the recruiters to discriminate in the indigenous supply in the future. With the higher standard of physique, coupled with the result of the improvements to which I have referred, we hope that the death rate—which I admit is a very high one—will be decreased, and that we shall be able to remove this cause of complaint and anxiety. I submit, my Lords, that on the whole—and it is on the whole that this matter must be judged—the treatment of the natives is good. As testimony in support of that submission, I turn to the verdict of Mr. Brownlee, the one man qualified to judge, the one man who summed up accurately the opinions of the various headmen. Mr. Brownlee's general verdict is this—

> "... the treatment is generally good. While there were two or three instances which came under our observation in which labourers had been ill-treated, yet we gathered that on the whole their treatment is good, and that the mine-owners and compound managers are anxious to make the treatment and condition of

the native labourers as congenial to them as possible. Various employers of labour expressed their determination to at once dismiss any European subordinate found guilty of in any way ill-treating native labourers, and the Government on their part have appointed a large number of inspectors, whose duty it is to visit the mining compounds and personally inquire into any cases of ill-treatment that the labourers may wish to bring forward."

It is on the calm, deliberate, and measured judgment of a humane man, an official well qualified to judge of the affairs of the natives, that the Government take their stand. The noble and learned Lord has attached some importance to the evidence collected by Mr. Brownlee; he cannot in fairness refuse to attach the same importance to the conclusions drawn by Mr. Brownlee from that evidence. Mr. Brownlee's conclusions constitute the case for the Government; but they constitute something more. They are the defence of a Crown colony; they are a warning and a protest against any attempt to formulate a general charge of inhumanity against a vast community of British colonists in South Africa — colonists who might reasonably consider themselves aggrieved by any imputations that might be made, and who, since they have no representation in the Imperial Parliament, look to their fellow-countrymen at home to safeguard them from those hasty charges and immature judgments which political and Party controversy may sometimes dictate to Members of both Houses of Parliament.

EARL CARRINGTON: My Lords, I ask permission to say a very few words on the subject which has been brought forward in a straightforward and apparently unanswerable speech by my noble and learned friend Lord Coleridge. The question has been asked—"What on earth is the use of bringing forward this question? There is no life in it, the agitation has practically died out, and it is a pure waste of time to discuss it." I would ask your Lordships to cast your eyes on the results of recent by-elections in the country. Last week a kinsman of mine, whose opinions are somewhat advanced, fought an urban and agricultural constituency, and was returned by a majority larger than that secured by any other representative of the division since 1885, and he tells me that though he had several other cards in his hand, the great card he had to play was the question of Chinese labour, in which the whole country was taking the greatest possible interest. I have listened very attentively to the speeches by noble Lords opposite in defence of what the Australians call the "pro-Chow" policy of the present Government, but it is very difficult to discover what those who still believe in the efficacy of Lord Milner's policy really think of the rather distasteful state of things at present obtaining in South Africa. Those speeches will be read by the ordinary Englishman, whether at home or across the seas, with a certain amount of genuine regret. There will be a personal regret that by the irony of fate it has fallen to the lot of the noble Duke, who worthily represents one of the greatest names in English history—a name associated with perhaps the finest period of the nation's history—to get up night after night, month after month, to minimise, palliate, and excuse the South African policy of His Majesty's Government, which it appears impossible to explain and very difficult to defend. There will also be a national regret that this great Government, who came into power under such glorious auspices, should have brought the condition of the whole of South Africa to the deplorable pass in which it appears to be at the present moment. I will not occupy your Lordships' time by saying anything on that point; I will simply quote the following words from a speech made by the present Colonial Secretary, Mr. Lyttelton—

> "Two years ago when South Africa was handed over by the military authorities to Viscount Milner, it was a wilderness with scarcely anything in it except blockhouses and wire entanglements."

That surely shows that there was wisdom in the statement of the last Tory Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Ritchie, when he said that the annexation of the two Dutch Republics would be an unmitigated misfortune to this country. After all, what has it ended in? It has ended in what we are told is the regrettable necessity for the introduction of Chinese labour. In to-day's paper we read that Chinese labour has arrived

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safely on the shores of South Africa; it has been jealously guarded from interference and from the representatives of the Press as if it were a foreign potentate; and it has been triumphantly sent up to work in the mines in the same manner as foreign potentates usually travel in foreign countries, viz., under an armed escort.

Now, my Lords, let me say one word, and one word only, on the question of flogging. The Chinaman, as everybody who has had anything to do with Chinamen knows, is a very astute individual, and he was evidently familiar with the contents of this Blue-book long before they were brought under the notice of His Majesty's Government, or of the people of this country. He knows perfectly well that he will have to work under Chinese gangers, Chinese overseers, and Chinese interpreters, he knows that so far as those positions are concerned no British need apply; he will be under his own flesh and blood, under overseers of his own nationality, and he knows perfectly well that those overseers, unlike the Secretary of State for the Colonies, are apt to carry out their contracts in the letter as well as in the spirit. I see opposite a noble friend of mine, Lord Redesdale, who knows these countries well, and he will correct me if I am wrong. The Chinese labourer has a distinct remembrance of the way in which these contracts are carried out in the "Flowery Land"; he has a vivid recollection of the bastinado; he has perhaps had experience of ear-twisting——

LORD REDESDALE: I assure the noble Lord I never was bastinadoed in my life.

EARL CARRINGTON: I mean that the Chinese labourer has perhaps had the opportunity of being bastinadoed, of having his ears twisted or his fingers pinched, and possibly he has had experience of the frightful practice which sometimes prevails in China, viz., the pulling out of toe-nails. It is therefore no wonder if he has become a convert to the policy which was fashionable six months ago—the policy of protection and preferential treatment with the mother country, and wisely determined to insist upon the introduction into the contract of an anti-flogging clause between himself and this country, so that his skin may escape the application of the "gentle stimulus of cowhide" to which reference has been made.

There is one other point to which I should like to refer. After all, can these regulations really be considered as the law of the land? I am speaking in the presence of noble and learned Lords who are great lawyers, and perhaps they will be able to give an opinion on this point. Is it not a fact that the law of England does not permit any man in this country to part with so much of his freedom and civil rights, even by a perfectly voluntary contract, as the Chinese labourer surrenders under his contract? Is it not an established principle of English law that punishment by imprisonment and forcible deportation cannot be agreed to be submitted to by contract, and also that a renunciation of the right to hold property, even by a perfectly voluntary contract, cannot be enforced, it being contrary to the fundamental principles of common law? That is the law of the land, but I suppose the law of the land is overridden by the Ordinance under which these Chinamen are brought into a British colony.

Then, my Lords, I would like to call attention to two or three statements which have been made with reference to the grievous mortality among the Kaffirs in the mines. We know that the death rate was seventy-one per 1,000 for the year 1903. I understand that those figures were for deaths of persons up to forty-five years of age.

LORD COLERIDGE: From eighteen to forty-five years of age.

EARL CARRINGTON: The mortality for that year was seventy-one per 1,000. Lord Harris, to whose knowledge and authority in these matters we all bow, acknowledges that that is accurate, but he refers to Mr. Haldane's Report and says that the death rate in English mines is thirty-three per 1,000. That is perfectly accurate, but the noble Lord omitted to tell the House that those figures are for men, not up to forty-five years of age, but between the ages of fifty-five and sixty-five. I do not wonder that thirty-three per 1,000 of those men die in the course of a year. If the noble Lord would go a step further and get for us the statistics of the deaths of miners between the age of sixty-five and eighty-five, he would probably find that the death rate was not thirty-three per 1,000 but 1,000 per 1,000 and that the whole of the miners between those ages were carried to the grave during that period. But, while we accept the noble Lord's statement on that point, I am sure he also will accept the statement of a man who knows what he is talking about. My hon. friend Mr. John Burns, speaking in the House of Commons, stated that the mortality among miners in this country was from five to ten per 1,000 per annum. Dealing with this argument, the noble Duke said, "Oh, that is all very well; the high figures that have been given were for last year, this year we have effected a great reduction in the death rate." We are very glad to hear it but what is that decrease? In the month of March this year the mortality was thirty-six as against forty-nine per 1,000 in the corresponding month of 1903, and in the month of April this year it was thirty-two as against fifty-seven in April, 1903. But that thirty-six and thirty-two is a terrible death-rate. If your Lordships will only consider that during the three-and-a-half years of the war the death rate was only thirty-six or thirty-eight you will see what a terrible death rate the present figures represent. I think it can hardly be a matter of satisfaction to His Majesty's Government that, even after the great improvement that has been made, the death rate should still be of such alarming proportions. Moreover, the most favourable figures we have had were for the summer time, the best part of the year, and the rate is bound to increase materially in the winter months. Lord Harris also spoke about scurvy, which he said was not caused by indifferent food; he pointed out that it had been determined that the disease could be communicated, that it would have to be reckoned as an infectious disease and dealt with accordingly. I know that doctors have brought forward that theory, but it is really not the case. I do not know whether any noble Lords have seen a bad case of scurvy; if they have they will never wish to see another. Scurvy is entirely due to bad food. I would call his Lordship's attention to another statement made by Mr. John Burns and not contradicted. In one case during nine months there were 240 deaths out of 1,600 boys, and 48 per cent. were caused by bad food. It was discovered that the boys had been fed on condemned Government stores. Twelve per cent. died of scurvy. There are 800,000 miners in England and Scotland, and I am certain I am stating the fact when I say that there has not been a single death recorded from scurvy in the mines of Great Britain during the last five or ten years.

LORD HARRIS: I am sure the noble Earl does not wish to misrepresent me. What I said was that it is proved by the Blue-book that large numbers of the natives arrive with scurvy on them, and that I had been informed by one of the doctors that he thought they would have to change their opinion that it was purely dietetic.

EARL CARRINGTON: That is what I called the attention of the House to. But the opinion of the best doctors in England is against that of the noble Lord's doctor. It is universally held in this country that scurvy is entirely due to bad food.

My Lords, the night is far spent, and I shall not detain your Lordships further, though I had a great deal more to say. I would only ask the House to believe that the reason we bring this most important matter forward time after time is not cant of any kind, it is not what is sometimes called "Exeter Hall" sentiment, and, above all, it is not in order to promote what Lord Harris, the chairman of the Consolidated Goldfields, was good enough the other night to call one of the most malicious agitations which has ever soiled the reputation of an Opposition. My Lords, this movement is simply the expression of an honest and conscientious conviction that Chinese labour is a dreadful thing to introduce into a British colony; it is the expression of the views of the great majority of Englishmen at home and abroad who are jealous of the honour of Old England, and who are determined, God helping them, to preserve intact and unsullied the good name and the great reputation of this country among the Christian nations of the world.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF AGRICULTURE AND FISHERIES (the Earl of ONSLOW): My Lords, I really must apologise for again addressing your Lordships on the subject of Chinese labour in the Transvaal, but I shall not detain you more than a minute or two. While I quite appreciate the motives which actuate the noble Earl who has just spoken, I am not quite clear as to what are the motives of certain other noble Lords who support him. Some time ago, when this subject was first discussed in this House, there was a belief that a general election was imminent, and that in this question a fine Party cry had been found. That election has been indefinitely postponed, but certain noble Lords appear to think that it would be a misfortune if this very useful Party cry were allowed to fade away from the minds of the people of the country, and I think that that is to some extent the reason why your Lordships' House is constantly being invited to discuss a subject which has been debated I might almost say *ad nauseum.*

My Lords, I am not going to enter into the question of Chinese labour in South Africa. That has been dealt with by my noble friend the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, and it forms, after all, but a very small part of the Resolution which the noble and learned Lord asks your Lordships to adopt. I think your Lordships should pause before accepting unreservedly the statement which has been put forward by the noble and learned Lord to the effect that the Government of the Transvaal and His Majesty's Government are not fully alive to the necessities, in the interests of the people of South Africa and the honour of this country, of seeing that the natives employed in the mines are meted out that treatment which it has been the proud boast of Englishmen is meted out to all natives wherever Englishmen bear rule. I would ask your careful attention to this Blue-book; I would ask you to look not only at the report of Mr. Brownlee, to which the noble Duke has referred, but also to the report furnished by the Department to Lord Milner. I will venture quote one or two passages, from which, I think, it will be found that the Government are fully alive to the necessities of the case and fully determined to see that the natives in the mines receive proper and adequate treatment. Matters are very different now from what they were in the days of the Republic. The Native Department reports to Lord Milner that natives in the mines labour under conditions in direct contrast with those hitherto prevailing either as regards accommodation, diet, sanitation, or hospital arrangements—

> "Hot coffee or other non-alcoholic stimulant is now issued to them, and blankets or coats are provided as wraps while passing from the shaft-head to the compound."

In the presence of noble Lords opposite who hold strong views on the temperance qnestion I hardly dare quote my next passage, but I am constrained to do so to show the great care which is lavished upon these men—

> "These experiments have justified the issue (of beer) which it was found easy to control, and this wholesome fluid is now an important factor in the labourer's diet. It is now regarded as conducive to better health and contentment, and its issue is now almost universal."

Imagine an employment in this country where the employer issued free beer to the men he employed. I really do not think the noble and learned Lord has any justification for the accusation he brought against the Government of the Transvaal. The Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies has expressed the regret which His Majesty's Government, in common with everybody else, must necessarily feel at the high mortality disclosed by the figures which have been published. But the rate of mortality is high in mines all over the world where the rock-drill is used. It is the case in Cornwall. If the noble Lord will look at the report of Mr. Haldane's Committee he will see that even with the Cornish miners in the Transvaal, who most carefully look after themselves, the mortality amongst those engaged in rock-drilling and in propinquity to rock-drilling is not less than amongst the natives. I think that is a proof that it is not the treatment of the natives, but the inherent unhealthiness of the occupation, which is the cause of the high mortality. My noble friend who is interested in South Africa has told your Lordships of the steps which are being taken by mine-owners to provide apparatus to minimise as far as possible the injury done by floating particles of rock in the mines. Hard words are often used of the capitalists who own the mines in South Africa, but none can say that they have ever been behindhand in putting down their money to do anything that the Government have said they ought to do, either to provide sanitation for those who work in the mines, or to improve the condition of those dependent upon them.

I will not at this late hour follow the noble Lord opposite through the statement which he made, but I do think it is a significant fact that the rate of mortality has fallen from over eighty per thousand to thirty-six, and even to thirty-two in the month of April last, and that that thirty-two included a number of deaths caused by the unfortunate breaking of a rope, through which a cage fell to the bottom of the shaft and killed ten or fourteen men. Had it not been for that accident, the rate of mortality would have been twenty-six only. That is a conclusive proof that matters are improving. But whether they are improving or not, it is the firm determination of His Majesty's Government that nothing shall be left undone to persuade the mine-owners to do everything possible to make the conditions of work for their men more favourable than they have been in the past. There has been a ready response on the part of the mine-owners and a willingness to do all that the Government have called upon them to do, and from what I know personally of Lord Milner I am confident that your Lordships may rest assured that no stone will be left unturned to see that everything is done for the welfare and comfort of the native labourers in the mines.

* **THE MARQUESS OF RIPON**: My Lords, in the absence of my noble friend Earl Spencer, who is detained at home through illness, I feel bound to make a few observations upon the discussion which has taken place. The noble Duke and the noble Earl opposite appeared to make it somewhat a matter of complaint that this matter should have been brought forward. The noble Duke said the question had been discussed and settled Parliamentarially several times. But I do not think noble Lords opposite have any right to make such a complaint at all. The House of Commons is not allowed to discuss this question at all. Happily we are free to speak in this House, and as long as we are so free we shall speak when we think fit. But, my Lords, surely no one can be surprised that attention should be called to the terrific—I can use no other word—death rate which obtained in the mines last year. I acknowledge that the returns up to the present time show an improvement, but the death rate is still much higher than it ought to be. It is certainly much higher than the death rate in English mines. The noble Earl spoke of the high rate in the Cornish mines, and referred to Dr. Haldane's Report, but he forgot to explain that the Report states that that specially high rate was due to the sickness of the men who had returned from the Transvaal, and I think it is a little hard to say that that is the average rate among English miners. I admit that in the Cornish mines the average rate is higher than in other mines, but I believe the average rate throughout the country is six per thousand. In the face of that, one cannot rest content with forty per thousand or even twenty per thousand in the Transvaal; there must be a further change.

I take it from noble Lords opposite that it is the desire and intention of the Secretary of State for the Colonies to reduce the present rate of mortality and I hope that the noble Earl, when he says that, means that the Secretary of State, having the power in a Crown colony, will enforce any arrangements that may be necessary in order to bring down the figure to what I may call a decent death rate. And I see some signs of that being done, because, though it is curious it has not been alluded to in the debate, last year a Mines Regulation Ordinance was passed by the Transvaal Legislature, under which regulations have been issued. The Ordinance, perhaps, is not a very strong one, but I hope its provisions will be strictly enforced, and that wherever it is found to be defective, more strenuous measures will be enacted. There is another reason for attending to sanitary matters in the mines at the present moment. Those of your Lordships who follow the subject will probably have seen in the papers this morning that some of the Chinese who have just arrived at Durban are suffering from a disease called beri-beri. This is a very serious disease indeed, which spreads with great rapidity, especially when people do not observe sanitary regulations, and the Transvaal Government will find it very difficult indeed to make the Chinese labourers cleanly. It is of the utmost importance that steps should be at once taken to deal with that disease, and therefore I venture to draw the attention of His Majesty's Government to the matter, though they are probably already considering what should be done in it.

With regard to the Resolution itself, my noble friend says that he regrets, and he asks the House to say that they regret, that the opinions of the self-governing Colonies have been disregarded in this matter. When I had the honour of addressing your Lordships some time ago, I took the opportunity of saying that I drew a clear distinction between the Australian Colonies and New Zealand and the South African Colonies themselves. I do not at all admit that the Australian Colonies have the same right of interference in this matter as has Cape Colony; but I am bound to say that, while I quite understand that there are many matters in which the Government might think they could not give way altogether to the views of the Australian Colonies, this is a question which excites the greatest interest in that Commonwealth, and is likely to arouse unpleasant feelings, and I think it would have been advisable to pay a little more attention to their views in this case. But the position of the Cape is very different. The Cape is the neighbour of the Transvaal, and the course which the Government are taking in regard to this question of Chinese labour will, I believe, be more fatal to the federation of South Africa than any other step which could be adopted. I hold that federation is the true remedy for the many evils of that part of the world; therefore, I deprecate, with all the strength of which I am possessed, any course which is likely to place the smallest impediment in the way of the policy which I believe ought to be followed in regard to South African affairs.

On Question, resolved in the negative.

House adjourned at a quarter before Eight o'clock, till To-morrow, half-past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Monday, 20th June, 1904.

The House met at Two of the Clock.

UNOPPOSED PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

PRIVATE BILLS [LORDS] (STANDING ORDERS NOT PREVIOUSLY INQUIRED INTO COMPLIED WITH).

Mr. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in the case of the following Bills, originating in the Lords, and referred on the First Reading thereof, the Standing Orders not previously inquired into, and which are applicable thereto, have been complied with, viz:—King's College Hospital Bill [Lords]; Manchester Ship Canal Bill [Lords]; Trafford Park Bill [Lords].

Ordered, That the Bills be read a second time.

Acton Improvement Bill. Lords Amendments considered, and agreed to.

Tynemouth Gas Bill [Lords]. Read the third time, and passed, with Amendments.

Clyde Navigation (Works) Bill. As amended, considered; to be read the third time.

Leyton Urban District Council Bill. As amended, considered. Ordered, That Standing Orders Nos. 223 and 243 be suspended and that the Bill be now read the third time.—(*Mr. Caldwell.*)

Bill accordingly read the third time, and passed.

Preston, Chorley, and Horwich Tramways Bill [Lords]. As amended, considered; to be read the third time.

Swindon Corporation Bill. As amended, considered. Ordered, That Standing Orders Nos. 223 and 243 be suspended, and that the Bill be now read the third time. —(*Mr. Caldwell.*)

Bill accordingly read the third time, and passed.

Tyneside Tramways and Tramroads Bill [Lords]. As amended, to be considered to-morrow.

Loch Leven Water Power Bill; Richard Jaeger's Patent Bill [Lords]. Read a second time, and committed.

Education Board Provisional Order Confirmation (Birmingham) Bill [Lords]. Read a second time, and committed.

MESSAGE FROM THE LORDS.

That they have agreed to—Amendments to New River Company Bill [Lords], without Amendment.

That they have passed a Bill, intituled, "An Act to empower the Urban District Council of Stretford to construct additional Tramways and other works within their district; and to make further and better provision for the good government of the said urban district; and for other purposes." [Stretford Urban District Council Bill [Lords.]

Stretford Urban District Council Bill [Lords]. Read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

PETITIONS.

ALKALI, ETC., WORKS BILL.

Petition from Sheffield, in favour; to lie upon the Table.

EDUCATION (SCOTLAND) BILL.

Petition from Assynt, for alteration; to lie upon the Table.

LICENSING BILL.

Petitions against; from Aldbrough; Annan; Barton; Blackburn (two); Bletchley; Boltby; Bondgate; Boughton; Brackley; Brandesburton; Bratton; Bristol; Brunswick; Carlton Miniott; Cleasby; Clifton; Cockerton; Cotherstone; Coventry; Croston; Cury; Darlington (two); Doddington; Eastleigh; Exeter (two); Fareham; Faversham; Gainford; Grainthorpe; Great Ayton; Great Horton; Greenstreet; Grimsby; Ingleby Arncliffe; Hackney; Halberton; Hanley; Hargreave; Heaton Park; Hebburn on Tyne; Hillam; Hutton Rudby; Kildale; Kington; Kingswinford and Dudley; Kiveton Park; Lee on the Solent; Littlehampton; Liverpool (two); Lynn (three); Mangotsfield; Meltham; Middleton Cheney; Middleton Tyas; Milbury Heath; Moldash; Moor Monkton; Neston; North Kelsey; North Summercotes; Nun Monkton; Nunthorpe; Oare; Palmersville; Piercebridge; Porchester; Portmahon; Reading; Rishton; Ronaldkirk; Saltfleetby; Sanquhar; Sarisbury Green; Sheriff Hutton; Skirlaugh; South Gosforth; South Kelsey; Stalbridge; Stockton on Tees; Stoke on Trent; Stourport; Stubbington; Summerhouse; Sutton under Whitestonecliffe; Swainby; Thirlby; Thirsk; Truro (two); Upsall; Vale of Euchan; Wavendon; Weardale; Westbury; Westerham; Whitehill; Wickham; and Winston; to lie upon the Table.

LICENSING BILL.

Petition from Maidstone, for alteration; to lie upon the Table.

VALUATION BILL.

Petition from Doncaster, for alteration; to lie upon the Table.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

LOCAL TAXATION (IRELAND) RETURNS.

Copy presented, of Returns of Local Taxation in Ireland, for the year 1902-3 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

PAPER LAID UPON THE TABLE BY THE CLERK OF THE HOUSE.

Inquiry into Charities (County of Wilts)—Further Return relative thereto [ordered 9th August, 1901: *Mr. Griffith Boscawen*]; to be printed. [No. 214.]

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

Belfast Re-valuation.

MR. JOSEPH DEVLIN (Kilkenny, N.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he can state the cause of the delay in replying to representations made to him by the Belfast City Council and other public bodies with regard to the re-valuation of Belfast; and whether, in view of the fact that an increase of £16,000, or 25 per cent. of the total, has been made in the valuation of licences as distinct from the structure of public-houses, he will advise the Commissioner of Valuation to remit this portion of the valuation.

(*Answered by Mr. Wyndham.*) I stated on Monday last † that I had considered the representations to which reference is made in the first part of the Question and that, with the exception of the suggestion relating to the immediate operation of the annual revision, which is now before the Law Officers, I found nothing in them to justify the postponement of the re-valuation. In reply to the second part of the Question, the decision of the Commissioner of Valuation that the licences of public-houses are rateable under the Irish statutes, as in England and Scotland, has been upheld by the Recorder of Belfast. I understand that a further appeal is in contemplation to the Superior Courts. It is not, therefore, practical for me to interfere in the matter, as suggested, even if it were expedient to do so.

Applications from Evicted Tenants on the Desertmartin portion of the Drapers' Company's Estate.

MR. CULLINAN (Tipperary, S.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that applications have been lodged with the Estates Commissioners from Ellen Brien and John Higgins, two evicted tenants on the Desertmartin, county Derry, portion of the Drapers' Company's estate; whether the greater portion of the estate has been sold under the Ashbourne Act, and negotiations are now in course of progress with the Commissioners for the sale of the remainder; and, if so, will steps be taken to make adequate provision for the evicted tenants

(*Answered by Mr. Wyndham.*) The application of the Drapers' Company in respect of this estate has not yet come before the Commissioners to be dealt with. Applications have been received from the two evicted tenants named and will be considered.

Applications from Evicted Tenants in County Waterford.

MR. POWER (Waterford, E.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he will furnish the names of those evicted tenants of county Waterwho have up to the present time made application to the Estates Commissioners for restoration to their former holdings, as also the titles of the estates with which they had been connected.

(*Answered by Mr. Wyndham.*) The Return is in preparation and will be forwarded to the hon. Member.

Return of Crown Agents' Business.

MR. AUSTIN TAYLOR (Liverpool, East Toxteth): To ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies when the Return of Crown Agents' business moved for by Address on the 2nd May will be laid upon the Table and circulated to Members.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Lyttelton.*) I hope to be able to lay this Return before the end of this month.

Mortality in South African Mines.

MR. TREVELYAN (Yorkshire, W.R., Elland): To ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he will publish a monthly or quarterly Return of the mortality in the South African mines, distinguishing between white, yellow, and black labourers, and the causes of death, whether accidental or otherwise.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Lyttelton.*) I will ask Lord Milner if I can be supplied with such a Return quarterly in a convenient form for publication.

MR. TREVELYAN: To ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether, in connection with the South African Mines (Mortality) Return, No. 205, he can complete the information ordered in the Return, by stating the mortality among white miners, artisans, and labourers on the Rand, and the natives in the Rhodesian mines; and whether he can issue the chief figures obtained in some conveniently tabulated form, so that the rates of mortality may be easily compared.

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† See (4) *Debates*, cxxxv., 1496.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Lyttelton.*) I have not yet received the information as to white miners, etc., on the Rand, but figures as to natives in Rhodesian mines are given at page 3. As soon as the statistics are complete the whole will be issued in tabular form.

White Labour liable to be superseded by Chinese in South Africa

MR. HERBERT SAMUEL (Yorkshire, Cleveland): To ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies if he will state what is the number of the white labourers employed on the mines of the Transvaal who will be liable to be superseded by Chinese labourers on the ground that they are employed on unskilled work of a kind on which Kaffirs have been or are employed.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Lyttelton.*) I am not able to make such a statement. The question, under the Ordinance, as to what work is usually performed in mines in the Witwatersrand district by persons belonging to the native races, is one of fact, and in the event of controversy will of course be decided by the Courts of Law.

Lord Dundonald and the Canadian Government.

MR. CHARLES DEVLIN (Galway): To ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies if the Earl of Dundonald has been relieved of his position as General Officer Commanding the Militia in Canada; and, if so, what were the reasons leading to this step; have any representations on the subject been made by His Majesty's Government to the Govenor-General of Canada with the view of preventing action in this matter by the Canadian authorities; and whether, in view of previous difficulties between the Canadian Government and General Officers Commanding the Militia in Canada, the mode of appointment of such officers has formed the subject of discussion between the Home and Canadian authorities; whether the Canadian Government have suggested a change in the procedure; and, if so, is it now the intention of the Government to make the changes suggested.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Lyttelton.*) It is the fact that the Earl of Dundonald has been relieved of his position as General Officer Commanding the Militia in Canada by the Canadian Government. The reasons are stated in an Order of the Privy Council of Canada which has appeared in the Press. No representations were made by His Majesty's Government to the Governor-General of Canada in the matter. The matter of the mode of appointment of General Officers Commanding the Militia in Canada has not been a subject of discussion, and no suggestions as to a change in the procedure have been made by the Canadian Government.

Education of Coolie Children in Ceylon.

MR. SCHWANN (Manchester, N.): To ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he will state how many children there are of school-going age belonging to the immigrant coolies employed on the tea and other estates in Ceylon; what would be roughly the total cost of providing vernacular education for these children; whether, as in British Guiana, the education of these children will be made a duty of the employers; and whether he will advise the Ceylon Government so to increase the present grants-in-aid that this duty will not press unduly upon the employers.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Lyttelton.*) I am not in possession of the information for which the hon. Member asks in the first part of his Question, and I am unable to make any statement on the subject pending the receipt of the report which I have been for some time awaiting from the Colonial Government, and for which I have again asked by telegram.

Cost of Police Force in Scotland.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.): To ask the Secretary for Scotland if he can state the total cost of the police force in Scotland for the year 1902-3, distinguishing the amount paid out of rates from the amount received from Imperial sources.

(*Answered by Mr. A. Graham Murray.*) I would refer the hon. Member to the Forty-sixth Annual Report of the Inspector of Constabulary [Cd. 2007], where he will obtain all the information available.

Mail Service between Ullapool and Achiltibuie.

MR. WEIR (Ross and Cromarty): To ask the Postmaster-General whether he has yet been able to arrange for a daily mail service between Ullapool and Achiltibuie between the months of May and October.

(*Answered by Lord Stanley.*) I have considered the question of affording a daily service between Ullapool and Achiltibuie during six months in the year, instead of three months, as desired by the hon. Member, but I regret to find that owing to the comparatively high cost of the post already, I should not be justified in incurring the additional expense which would be involved.

Postal Cash-on-Delivery System.

MR. RUNCIMAN (Dewsbury): To ask the Postmaster-General whether it is his intention to initiate a cash-on-delivery Post Office system luring this year or next.

(*Answered by Lord Stanley.*) The question of the introduction of a postal cash-on-delivery system is still under consideration, and I am not yet in a position to say when circumstances will admit of a decision.

Protection of Live Rails on Electric Railways.

MR. BELL (Derby): To ask the President of the Board of Trade whether his attention has been called to a recent fatal accident to a child at Jesmond, a fatal accident to Joseph Innes at the Manors Station on the 13th instant, an accident to James Hughes on the same date, and an accident to Philip Gilroy at the Newcastle Central Station on the 14th instant, all of them through coming in contact with the live rail on the electric section of the North Eastern Railway; and whether he will consider what steps are necessary, and what means can be adopted to protect such rails upon electric railways in existence and which may be constructed in future.

(*Answered by Mr. Gerald Balfour.*) The Board of Trade have received information from the railway company in regard to each of these unfortunate accidents. I may mention that in the last named case the injury appears to have been slight, not necessitating absence from duty. I have ordered an inquiry into the circumstances attending the fatal accident at Manors Station, and the report made by the Board's Inspecting Officer will receive careful consideration.

Income-Tax.

MR. McKENNA (Monmouthshire, N.): To ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer what are the enactments relating to income-tax in force now which would not have full force and effect with respect to the duty of income-tax proposed to be granted by the Finance Bill if Sub-clause (2) of Clause 6 were omitted from the Bill.

(*Answered by Mr. Austen Chamberlain.*) Many of the enactments relating to income-tax are contained in the Acts of 1842 and 1853, which in form are confined to the particular years in which they were passed. If, therefore, Sub-clause 2 of Clause 6 were omitted, such of the enactments in those Acts and in subsequent Finance Acts as have not been re-enacted in The Taxes Management Act, 1880, would not have full force and effect.

Liability of Colonial Firms with London Offices for Income-Tax.

SIR GEORGE BARTLEY (Islington, N.): To ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether, if a firm carrying on business in one or more places in South Africa opens an office in London, that firm becomes liable to pay income-tax on all or any part of its profit in addition to the taxes it pays in South Africa.

(*Answered by Mr. Austen Chamberlain.*) If the office in London were merely a branch office the firm would have to pay income-tax only on the profits made in this country. But, if the office in London were the head office and seat of direction of the business, the firm would in that case be chargeable with income-tax on the whole profits of the business.

Dum-dum Bullets for Indian Army.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL (Donegal, S.): To ask the Secretary of State for India whether the troops in the Indian Army or the British Army in India, or any of them, are provided with the Dum-dum bullet which was originally manufactured for the British Army in India, or with any other bullet of an expanding character; and, if the dum-dum bullets and other bullets of an expanding character are no longer supplied to the British Army in India, when did the change take place.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Brodrick.*) All Dum-dum ammunition now in stock in India is issued for practice only under stringent regulations. The general manufacture of this class of ammunition ceased in 1902.

Salaries of Staff of Ballynadooha Nationa School.

MR. JOHN CAMPBELL (Armagh, S.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that, in fixing the average income of the staff of the Ballynadooha National School, county Armagh, the Commissioners of National Education included the two years 1898 and 1899, although they had before them evidence that epidemics of scarlatina, measles, and whooping cough were prevalent during those two years; and whether, considering that the income of the principal teacher in the years ending 31st March, 1895, was £131 4s. 1d.; 31st March, 1896, £136 11s. 8d.; 31st March, 1897, £134 0s. 2d.; 31st March, 1898, £124 12s. 4d.; 31st March, 1899, £126 1s. 11d.; 31st March, 1900, £132 4s. 6d., he will have the average salaries revised either on the basis of the year 1900 or by substituting the years 1896 and 1897 for the two bad years.

(*Answered by Mr. Wyndham.*) I am informed that the income of the principal teacher of Ballynadooha National School for the years ended 31st March, 1896, 1897, 1898, 1899, 1900, was substantially as stated. The average income for the three years ended 31st March, 1900, was taken as the basis in fixing the consolidated salaries of all teachers, and the substitution in the calculation of such average income of any year previous to 1898 was not permissible. Cases, however, in which the rule as to the average income for the three years ended 31st March, 1900, was found to work inequitably, received special consideration. The claims of the principal and assistant teachers of this school for special consideration were very fully investigated by the Commissioners, and it was not deemed equitable to depart from the general practice in their case.

Alleged Violations of Licensing Laws at Fermoy, County Cork.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether his attention has been called to repeated violations of the licensing laws in Fermoy, county Cork; whether he is aware that John Murphy, the holder of a licence belonging to Messrs. Beamish and Crawford, of Cork, has been repeatedly fined; that he was summoned for an offence that, with two convictions endorsed on the licence, must have forfeited it; that the case was adjourned for six months in order that the licence might be transferred to his wife and the law evaded; that the licence was not transferred, and, on the case being heard, a fine was imposed; that on the 24th April last Murphy was again caught violating the law; that a summons was issued, but the case never heard; and, if so, whether it is proposed to give the police any assistance in their efforts to enforce the law.

(*Answered by Mr. Wyndham.*) It is the fact that Murphy was twice convicted of offences which were endorsed on his licence, one dated 28th February, 1898, and the other 7th March, 1900. On the 22nd March, 1902, he was again summoned for an offence under the Act. Had the justices at that time convicted him and endorsed the conviction, his licence would have been forfeited. Owing, however, to his extreme poverty, they adjourned the case till the 4th April, 1903, when they convicted him. But by that time five years had elapsed from the first endorsement, and its effect was thereby nullified. He was again summoned on the 24th April, 1904, but the case was adjourned for two months and is now pending. The Bench at Fermoy is an excellent Bench and gives every aid to the police in the enforcement of the law.

Uniformed Policemen on Irish Railway Platforms.

MR. SLOAN (Belfast, S.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if an order has been issued from Dublin Castle to the effect that all uniformed policemen are not to be permitted on any railway platform in Ireland; and, if so, will he state the reason for its issue.

(*Answered by Mr. Wyndham.*) No such order has been issued. The regulations in force for many years prohibited the attendance of police at railway stations unless they were specially ordered to be present by reason of the importance of the station, or some emergency necessitating their attendance. Inquiry showed that these regulations had not been uniformly observed, and on the 10th May the inspector promulgated an order designed to give effect to the intention of the regulations previously in force. This order does not prohibit the attendance of police at railway stations when their presence is required.

Suspensions in and Discharges from Enfield Small Arms Factory.

CAPTAIN NORTON (Newington, W.): To ask the Secretary of State for War if he will state what number of men at the Enfield Small Arms Factory have been suspended during the last month, what number were discharged, what number have been on short time, and what number have received less than £1 per week wages during the same period; what are the numbers at present working in the Big Room, and how many are on short time; what number were working in this room in June, 1903, and June, 1899, respectively.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Arnold-Forster.*) During the last month eight men have been suspended. There were ninety-one discharges in the same period, of which eighty-three were on reduction, the remainder being voluntary, etc.; 721 were on short time, of which 226 (over twenty-one years of age) received less than £1 per week. Assuming that by the "Big Room" large room No. 1 is intended, 293 is the number at present employed therein, of which 234 are on short time; 382 were employed there in June, 1903, and 279 in June, 1899.

Conspiracy in South Africa—Right to Deport.

MR. LLOYD MORGAN (Carmarthen, W.): To ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he has any official information showing that three men have been arrested in the Transvaal on a charge of conspiracy to murder Lord Milner, or any such charge, and that one of them has been already deported by the police; and, if so, can he state whether the one so deported is a British subject, and, if so, upon what grounds and by what law he was deported, and whether it is intended to bring the others to trial.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Lyttelton.*) I have no official information on the subject.

Imports into Transvaal viâ Delagoa Bay and the Cape.

MR. BUCHANAN (Perthshire, E.): To ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies what has been the amount in tonnage of imports into the Transvaal viâ Delagoa Bay and viâ Cape Colony, respectively, in January and December, 1903.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Lyttelton.*) I am not able to give these figures, but will inquire.

Shipment of Stores for Central South African Railways.

MR. BUCHANAN: To ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether the greater part of the general stores for the Central South African Railways, obtained through the Crown Agents, is sent through Delagoa Bay rather than through British ports; and what is the reason of this preference given to the Portuguese port.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Lyttelton.*) I understand that this is the fact. The Crown Agents act in such matters in accordance with the instructions of the railway administration which are specially given on every indent. The Crown Agents have not been informed by the railway authorities as to the reasons on which these instructions are based.

Corporal Punishment in the Navy.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: To ask the Secretary to the Admiralty what explanation, if any, is there of the fact that the birches with which ships of war and naval training ships are, in accordance with the King's Regulations, supplied from the dockyards for the flogging of boys and youths under eighteen, the infliction of twenty-four strokes on the bare flesh being permissible, are 9 ounces in weight; whereas the birches used by the police are only 4½ ounces in weight; and whether the Admiralty will assimilate the weight of the birch used in the infliction of floggings in the Royal Navy to the weight of the birch used by the police.

(*Answered by Mr. Pretyman.*) I find on inquiry that the Navy birch is actually lighter than that authorised by Civil Power for boys of corresponding ages. There is no intention to make an alteration in the approved pattern.

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE.

The Proposed Jewish Settlement in East Africa.

*MR. CATHCART WASON (Orkney and Shetland): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs if he has received any remonstrances from private individuals or resolutions from public meetings in East Africa against the lease, disposition, barter, or grant of lands in East Africa to any syndicate, association, or trust; if there are any reports from Sir Charles Eliot on the subject; and, if so, will he inform the House of their nature.

THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Earl PERCY, Kensington, S.): The only remonstrance addressed to the Foreign Office of the nature indicated is a telegram dated 2nd September, 1903, from the Planters and Farmers Association of East Africa stating that they protested against the proposed location of alien Jews in their midst. His Majesty's Government are in possession of the views of Sir Charles Eliot. As I have already informed the hon. Member, the Secretary of State does not propose to lay any Papers while the question is still under consideration.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES (Lynn Regis): Can the right hon. Gentleman say whether Sir Charles Eliot has resigned his post and is coming home?

EARL PERCY: Perhaps the hon. Gentleman will give notice of that Question.

The Uganda Railway.

*MR. CATHCART WASON: I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs if he will lay upon the Table of the House the last Report of Major Pringle on the East Africa Uganda Railway.

EARL PERCY: Major Pringle's despatch will be laid before Parliament, but it hardly appears worth while to lay the Report itself, which is lengthy and of a highly technical character.

British and Congo Free State Boundaries.

*MR. CATHCART WASON: I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether, seeing that it has been established by the Boundary Commission that territory hitherto supposed to belong to Great Britain is actually in the Congo Free State, the inhabitants of this territory on the States of Mount Ruwenzori and on the Penlihi River pass also under the rule of the Congo Free State; and, if so, will he take adequate means to secure for them their lands and freedom from slavery or outrage.

EARL PERCY: No steps will be taken to fix the boundary between the Uganda Protectorate and the Congo Free State until His Majesty's Government have received and considered the Report of the Commission which has recently delimited the boundary between that protectorate and German East Africa. Meanwhile it has been arranged with the Congo State that the *status quo* shall be maintained.

Cuban and West Indian Sugar.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES: I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs if His Majesty's Government have considered the effect of the reciprocity treaty between the United States and Canada, giving a considerable tariff preference to Cuban sugars over others, and have they come to any, and, if so, what conclusion as to its effect upon the export to the United States of sugar from the British West India Colonies; have they made any, and, if so, what representations on the subject to the United States Government; and, if so, what were those representations and what their result; and when will the correspondence be laid upon the Table of this House.

EARL PERCY: The Answer to the first paragraph is in the affirmative. The tendency of the preference will doubtless be to put British West Indian sugar at a disadvantage as compared with Cuban sugar in the markets of the United States. Representations have been made to the United States Government on the general effect of the Reciprocity Convention on the trade of the United Kingdom. The Convention of Commerce upon which these representations were based does not, however, secure most-favoured-nation treatment for the West Indian Colonies, and no reply has been received indicating the prospect of an arrangement more favourable to British trade.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES: The noble Lord says no reply has been received. Can he say what was the date of the despatch making the representations?

EARL PERCY: I cannot say at the moment.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES: Then am I to take it as an Answer to my Question that there has been no result, so far, from those negotiations?

Cholera in Persia.

SIR WALTER FOSTER (Derbyshire, Ilkeston): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether he has received information of a severe outbreak of cholera at Kermanshah, and of the infection of the districts Maidasht, Songur, Sarat, and Hamadan, in Persia; and whether he will take care that the quarantine arrangements at Bisitun, and on the Turkish frontier, are not unnecessarily injurious to British trade through Bagdad.

EARL PERCY: We are aware of the existence of cholera in all the districts except Sarat, as to which no information has been received. His Majesty's Minister at Teheran reports that the measures taken by the Persian authorities do not appear to be in excess of those allowed by the Venice Convention. Sir A. Hardinge asked for the suspension of these measures in the interests of trade when cholera seemed to be dying out at Kermanshah about a month ago; and will no doubt renew his endeavours when circumstances permit. The Turkish authorities at Bagdad have imposed five days quarantine at Khanikin on arrivals from Kermanshah.

Rules under the County Courts Act, 1903.

MR. BRYNMOR JONES (Swansea District): I beg to ask Mr. Attorney-General whether any rules of Court have yet been made under the County Courts Act, 1903; and, if not, can he say when they will be made and published.

THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL (Sir ROBERT FINLAY, Inverness Burghs): No rules of Court have yet been made under the County Courts Act. The making of such rules rests with the Committee of County Court Judges. The Act does not come into force until the 1st day of January, 1905, and it may be presumed that the rules will not be made before the end of the present session.

Dublin Postal Officials' Hours.

MR. NANNETTI (Dublin, College Green): I beg to ask the Postmaster-General if he is aware that officers have been compelled to return to duty in the Dublin sorting office after an interval of but five hours between two days duties; that recently the senior superintendent in Dublin refused to take a fatigue or sick note from an officer who pleaded his inability to attend with such a short interval for rest; and, if so, whether he will inquire into the matter and see that such conduct on the part of the superintendent in question is not repeated.

THE POSTMASTER-GENERAL (Lord STANLEY, Lancashire, Westhoughton): The matter referred to in the first part of the hon. Member's Question, as to the shortness of interval between certain sorting duties at Dublin, is dealt with in my Answer to-day to another Question of the hon. Member. It appears that on a recent occasion two officers who pleaded fatigue were instructed to take their turn for duty with other officers after an unavoidably short interval. They did not claim exemption on the ground of sickness; and they were not in a worse position as regards the length of their previous attendance than the other officers whose attendance was rendered necessary by the exigencies of the service.

MR. NANNETTI: I beg to ask the Postmaster-General if he is aware that the stringent instructions issued with reference to the nine clear hours at home are continually disregarded in Dublin: that this infringement is most frequent upon the arrival of an American mail, when impromptu arrangements are made for the attendance of the staff; that many officers who perform duty from 5 to 9 a.m. and from 3.30 to 7.30 p.m.

are on such occasions instructed to resume duty at midnight, and that in consequence they are practically on duty from 5 a.m. one morning till 7.45 on the following morning; and, if so, can he say if definite arrangements will be made to properly deal with the regular arrivals of such mails; and whether he will see that officers are allowed more than a bare five hours interval between two days duty, and that the right of the nine clear hours be extended on all occasions to the staff.

Lord STANLEY: All the duties in the Dublin office allow of a clear nine hours interval on ordinary occasions. The American mails are, however, irregular in their arrival, and it is not possible to forecast the arrangements necessary for dealing with the correspondence until the steamer touches at Queenstown. Under these circumstances I find that it has been necessary on three occasions since the 29th March last, the date of the hon. Member's last Question,† to call upon certain officers to attend, as described in the Question, some hours in advance of their ordinary morning duty. I may add that it is the practice to excuse such officers from the afternoon attendance of the same day, but that many have preferred to work this attendance as extra duty. I will inquire further whether it is practicable to devise some arrangements to relieve the staff of these duties; but it is evident that the irregular arrival of heavy foreign mails must give rise to variations in the regular arrangements for the attendance of the staff.

Belfast Sorting Office.

Mr. SLOAN (Belfast, S.): I beg to ask the Postmaster-General if he can state under what circumstances no cloakroom accommodation has been provided for the supervising staff in the Belfast sorting office; and will he give instructions for the necessary provision.

Lord STANLEY: I find on inquiry that the cloak-room provided for the supervising staff in the sorting office at Belfast was a few months ago appropriated for another purpose; and it has not yet been practicable to place at the disposal of the supervising officers the room which it was intended they should use in place of that given up; but the new room will be prepared for them as soon as possible.

Belfast Postmen's Duty.

Mr. SLOAN: I beg to ask the Postmaster-General if he will explain why two hours per day duty, involving attendance at the Quay, Belfast, is performed by town postmen, in addition to their ordinary duty, at a rate of pay below their ordinary rate; and why the regulation requiring that all extra duty be paid at rate and a quarter is not carried out in this case.

Lord STANLEY: The duty to which the hon. Member refers and which exists for only four months of the year is provided for under an allowance of 6s. a week, and should, therefore, be assigned to an auxiliary postman. It was so provided for until last year, when some of the established town postmen asked to be allowed to perform it and earn the extra money. This should not, however, have been permitted, and I have given instructions for the irregular arrangement to be discontinued.

Soldiers and the Post Office Savings Bank.

Colonel LOCKWOOD (Essex, Epping): I beg to ask the Postmaster-General whether, having regard to the discontinuance of military savings banks and the recent increase in the pay of the soldier, he will consider the advisability of taking steps to encourage soldiers to deposit money in the Savings Banks.

Lord STANLEY: I consider it most desirable to encourage, by any means in my power, the use of the Post Office Savings Bank for the deposit of money saved by soldiers out of their pay. Some steps have already been taken with this object. The Officer Commanding the 3rd Battalion Coldstream Guards suggested recently that some special facilities might be afforded, and arrangements were made for the attendance weekly of an officer of the Post Office to receive deposits after they had been collected by the regimental officers. The result has been satisfactory, for 135 new accounts have been opened in eight weeks in that battalion alone. I shall be prepared to make similar special arrangements in other cases where it may be desired; and I hope that any commanding officers who may wish to adopt this plan—on which, I think the House will agree, Colonel Surtees is much to be congratulated—or to be furnished with further information about it will communicate with me or the Controller of the Savings Bank. Since the Question was put down I have seen the General Officer Commanding the Home District who tells me he intends to do all in his power to get the regiments in his command to adopt the same system, and I am in hopes other General Officers Commanding may take the same course.

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† See (4) *Debates*, cxxxii., 962.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES: Does the noble Lord propose to extend this to all regiments, including those abroad, or to limit it to the Brigade of Guards?

LORD STANLEY: Certainly it will not be confined to the Brigade of Guards. I think I shall be able to put these facilities for placing money in the Savings Bank in the way of all soldiers when they receive their pay, though, of course, the conditions will vary according to the circumstances.

Imperial Postal Orders.

COLONEL LOCKWOOD: I beg to ask the Postmaster-General whether he can state what progress has been made with the scheme for interchanging postal orders with the Colonies.

LORD STANLEY: Proposals for facilitating the remittance of money throughout the Empire by means of British postal orders were made to all the Colonies and Dependencies in August last. Those proposals have been already accepted in the case of twenty-six Colonial Administrations; and the services will be established very shortly. There is reason to hope that notification of additional adhesions will be received before long. As matters stand at present, British postal orders are procurable for remittances to this country in India, New Zealand, Sierra Leone, Malta, Gibraltar, the Straits Settlements, Hong-Kong, British Guiana, Newfoundland, and at the British Post Office Agencies at Ascension, Constantinople, Smyrna, Salonica, and Panama; and they can be remitted for payment in New Zealand, Sierra Leone, Malta, Gibraltar, and at the British Post Office Agencies abroad. I fully recognise the advantages of an arrangement which will simplify the remittance of small sums of money by post, not only between the United Kingdom and the Colonies, but from any one part of the Empire to another; and, so far as the Imperial Post Office is concerned, every effort will be made to render possible the general adoption of the system.

Delay in Delivery of Irish Butter.

MR. JOYCE (Limerick): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether his attention has been called to the fact that a package of butter, weighing 1cwt. 0qr. 6lbs. gross, sent on 8th June from Limerick to Ramsbottom, viâ Holyhead, by passenger train, paying the higher goods rate to ensure quick delivery, was not delivered until 7 p.m. on the 10th, and then in bad condition; and, if so, will he cause inquiries to be made as to why the railway companies are allowed to exact such rates on Irish goods and at the same time to deliver as slowly as if the stuff went per goods train.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE (Mr. GERALD BALFOUR, Leeds, Central): I have communicated with the Great Southern and Western Railway Company on the subject of the hon. Member's Question, and have received a reply from which it would appear that the goods referred to sustained no delay whilst in their hands. The company are making inquiry of the English railway companies concerned, and promise a further reply. When I receive it I will inform the hon. Member of its contents.

School Teachers and Extraneous Duties.

DR. MACNAMARA (Camberwell, N.): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Board of Education whether his attention has been called to two recent letters written by corresponding managers of non-provided schools to applicants in each case for a vacant head-mastership, in the first case from the Rector of Euston, Thetford, Norfolk, dated 20th March, 1904, asking whether the applicant could play the organ, as this extra work was in that place an essential; and in the second from the Vicar of Alwinton, Rothbury, Northumberland, dated 31st May, 1904, stating that a man would be preferred who was a Churchman and communicant, and who would be able to play the harmonium at one of the Sunday services; and, if so, whether he will, in view of Article 15, Clause (1) of the Education Code for 1904, which expressly forbids the imposition of extraneous duties as a condition precedent to appointment, state what action, if any, the Board of Education proposes to take in these cases.

THE PARLIAMENTARY SECRETARY TO THE BOARD OF EDUCATION (Sir WILLIAM ANSON, Oxford University): I have inquired into the cases mentioned in the Question. In the first case the master who was appointed did not undertake any extraneous duties. In the second case the trust deed required the head teacher to be a member of the Church of England, and the information given on the subject of playing the harmonium was given in consequence of frequent inquiries made by applicants for the post of head teacher. It does not appear that in either case the performance of extraneous duties was made a condition of employment, or that the local education authority took any exception to the appointment, but the writers of the letters appear to have written them under some misapprehension as to the precise requirements of the Code.

Alien Immigration into America.

MR. TREVELYAN (Yorkshire, W.R., Elland): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether he can give the House the annual cost to the State and Federal Exchequers, for the last ten years, of the measures for regulating the immigration of aliens in the United States of America.

THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. COCHRANE, Ayrshire, N.): No, sir; I am afraid I cannot give this information.

Admiralty Shipbuilding Work in Belfast.

MR. CHARLES CRAIG (Antrim, S.): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty if any and, if so, what work is being done at present in the Belfast shipyards for the Admiralty.

THE SECRETARY TO THE ADMIRALTY (Mr. PRETYMAN, Suffolk, Woodbridge): The work which is at present being done for the Admiralty in the Belfast shipyards is the construction of machinery for H.M.S. "Hibernia," and the building of the coastguard cruiser "Squirrel." The building of the Admiralty yacht "Enchantress" and the construction of machinery for H.M.S. "King Edward VII." are also in hand, but are practically completed.

The Treasury and South African Railway Revenue.

MR. AINSWORTH (Argyllshire): I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether, having regard to Lord Milner's statement that after providing £250,000 for improvements, the railways will still have a considerable balance to the credit of the Treasury, he is now prepared to press for a settlement of the claims of Great Britain on account of the railways of South Africa.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN, Worcestershire, E.): The hon. Member's Question appears to be based upon a complete misapprehension of the financial arrangements of the colonies. The surplus revenue of the railways is credited to the Intercolonial Budget, but is insufficient to meet the expenditure charged against it. The balance is made good from the separate revenues of the two colonies. There is therefore no balance of revenue available from the railways for the purpose named.

MR. AINSWORTH: Can the right hon. Gentleman say how soon there is a prospect of the payment being made?

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: I can add nothing to what I have said.

Duty on Methylated Spirits.

MR. BRAND (Cambridgeshire, Wisbech): I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer if methylated spirits, when imported from our Colonies, pay a duty of 11s. 4d. per proof gallon, whilst methylated spirits produced at home pay no duty but receive a drawback of 4d. per proof gallon; and, if so, whether any alteration will be proposed in regard to these duties.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: If methylated spirit were imported from the Colonies, it would pay a duty of 11s. 5d. per gallon; but as a matter of fact there is none imported. Spirits used for methylation in this country are taken out of bond, duty free, and no allowance is given except in case of exportation, when an allowance of 3d. per gallon on the quantity of spirits methylated is given in respect of the Excise restrictions on the manufacture of spirit.

The Value of the Rupee.

MR. LOUGH (Islington, W.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India what is the present actual value of the rupee; and, seeing that the maintenance of the exchange value at 1s. 4d. is calculated to injuriously affect the export of Indian tea in its competition with exports of tea at similar prices from China and other silver-using countries, where there is no fixed standard, whether he can do anything to alleviate this alleged grievance.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Mr. BRODRICK, Surrey, Guildford): At the present price of silver the bullion value of the rupee is approximately 9½d. The suggestion that the maintenance of the exchange value at a higher level is injurious to the Indian tea trade in its competition with China is not in accordance with the opinion expressed in 1899 by the Committee on Indian Currency, over which the right hon. Member for Wolverhampton presided; nor is it borne out by such statistics of the export of tea from India and China as have been brought to my notice. There is no intention of modifying the Indian currency system.

The Tibet Mission.

CAPTAIN NORTON: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India whether he is aware that the General in command of the Tibet escort is now about 200 miles away in the Chumbi Valley and the Political Agent nearly 300 miles away on the Indian frontier; and if he can say under these circumstances who is to carry on negotiations with the Tibetan authorities.

MR. BRODRICK: It is the case that Colonel Younghusband left Gyangtse to consult with General Macdonald and to confer with the Bhutanese authorities who are in communication with the Dalai Lama at Lhasa. They are now both on their way back to Gyangtse. During Colonel Younghusband's temporary absence, Mr. Wilton, Assistant to the Commissioner, and Captain O'Connor, Secretary to the Commissoner, have remained at Gyangtse. They are in a position to deal with any communication that may be received from the Tibetan authorities.

CAPTAIN NORTON: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India if he can state what relief, if any, is being sent to the 700 men now besieged at Gyangtse, in Tibet; and, seeing that 20,000 animals and men are now required to keep open the lines of communication, can he say approximately what amount of additional transport will be required when the rainy season begins this month.

MR. BRODRICK: As I stated on the 31st May in reply to a Question by the hon. Member for West Denbighshire,[†] the Government of India have taken steps to send forward such reinforcements as it considers necessary for the safety of the Mission. These steps include the provision of transport. The reinforcements are far advanced towards Gyangtse.

CAPTAIN NORTON: The right hon. Gentleman does not say what the reinforcements are, nor what amount of extra transport will be required.

MR. BRODRICK: I think it better I should not do so in this House.

CAPTAIN NORTON: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India if he can say whether the Commander-in-Chief in India was consulted with reference to the escort sent to accompany the Mission to Tibet and gave his approval.

MR. BRODRICK: The Answer is in the affirmative.

[†] See (4) *Debates*, cxxxv., 435.

Mr. LAMBERT (Devonshire, South Molton): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India when the ultimatum sent to Lhasa expired; whether any arrangements have been made with Russia as to the advance to Lhasa; and when any forward movement will be made by the force now at Gyangtse.

Mr. BRODRICK: The 25th June has been approved by His Majesty's Government as the date on which the Mission is to be authorised to proceed to Lhasa, if by then the Tibetan Government has not sent a competent negotiator with the Amban to Gyangtse; and the Mission will act on these instructions if the Tibetans fail to comply with our request. The Russian Government has been informed of the intentions and policy of His Majesty's Government.

Mr. FLYNN (Cork County, N.): Before this expedition proceeds further will the sanction of the suzerain Power, China, be obtained?

Mr. BRODRICK: The suzerain Power has been kept informed of our operations.

Mr. BRYCE (Aberdeen, S.): When will the Government be able to lay before Parliament the communications which have passed between them and the Russian Government on the subject?

Mr. BRODRICK: I do not think that is a subject on which to lay Papers—at least, at the present time—but the Foreign Minister has, throughout, kept the Russian Ambassador fully informed of what this Government are doing.

Indian Railways.

Mr. RANDLES (Cumberland, Cockermouth): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India whether the Report on Railways by Mr. Robertson has been considered; and, if so, what steps are being taken to carry out the policy recommended in the Report both as to development and improved facilities on existing railways.

Mr. BRODRICK: The Report on Railways by Mr. Robertson is still under consideration. I am unable to say at present to what extent Mr. Robertson's recommendations will be acted upon.

Mr. RANDLES: Does the right hon. Gentleman remember that a very similar Answer was given about twelve months ago?

Mr. BRODRICK: The question is a very complicated one, and necessitates much consideration.

The Indian Viceroy's Council.

Sir MANCHERJEE BHOWNAGGREE (Bethnal Green, N.E.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India if, in providing for the addition of a member to the Council of the Governor-General of India under the Indian Councils Bill, it is his intention to place the new member in charge of a Department of Commerce and Industries; and whether the new member will make it his special duty to organise a special system of technical and industrial education in India.

Mr. BRODRICK: I would refer my hon. friend to the Answer which I gave on the 9th inst. to the hon. Member for Ross and Cromarty.† The establishment of a secretariat for Commerce and Industries is under consideration, but has not yet been finally decided upon. Should such a secretariat be established, it would no doubt give attention to the question of technical education.

Mr. SCHWANN (Manchester, N.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India whether, in the Bill he has recently introduced to amend the Viceroy's Council, he will take the opportunity to provide that at least one representative and experienced Indian member shall be appointed to the Viceroy's Executive Council; and whether he is aware that a representation to this effect was contained in the Minority Report of the Royal Commission on Indian Expenditure.

Mr. BRODRICK: I am aware that a representation to the effect named in the Question was contained in the Minority Report of the Royal Commission. It is open to the Crown to appoint an Indian member to the Viceroy's Council if deemed desirable, and His Majesty's Government are not prepared to limit the choice of the Crown in this matter.

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† See (4) *Debates*, cxxxv., 1210.

East Indian Accounts and Estimates.

MR. HERBERT ROBERTS (Denbighshire, W.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India whether he will state when the Explanatory Memorandum on East Indian Accounts and Estimates, 1904–5, will be presented to Parliament.

MR. BRODRICK: The Memorandum is in preparation, and I hope that it may be presented to Parliament early in July.

White Estate, County Clare.

MR. SHEEHY (Meath, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the Estates Commissioners have sanctioned the sale in the Land Judge's Court of the White Estate, in Clare, although the farm held by Michael Moloney, an evicted tenant, has not been sold to him; and whether, seeing that Moloney has been excluded from buying by the Receiver demanding two and a half years arrears of rent and costs, in addition to the price which was placed on the farm, the Commissioners have power to withhold their sanction of the sale, or can they in any way assist Moloney to purchase his farm on terms similar to those agreed to between the occupying tenants and the Receiver.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. WYNDHAM, Dover): This estate was not dealt with by the Estates Commissioners. I am informed that the greater portion of the estate has been sold to the occupying tenants through the Land Judge's and Land Commission Courts.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.): Do I understand that this estate was sold under the Land Act?

MR. WYNDHAM: It was not sold through the Estates Commissioners at all.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL: By what process was the money found if not through the Estates Commissioners?

MR. WYNDHAM: If the hon. Gentleman wishes to raise administrative points perhaps he will put the Question down.

The Charge against Constable Anderson.

MR. CHARLES CRAIG: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland on whose suggestion was the constitution of the Court to investigate for the second time the charges against Constable Anderson altered so as to include District Inspector Hetreed; did Sir Antony MacDonnell suggest, approve, or sanction this change; is District Inspector Hetreed the same officer who was formerly stationed in Limerick during the attacks made upon Dr. Long, and against whom complaints were made to the authorities that he had declined to afford adequate protection to the Protestants in Limerick; why was this officer specially sent from the depot to investigate this case; and who is responsible for the selection of this officer for such a duty.

MR. WYNDHAM: The Court, as originally constituted by the Inspector-General on 30th October, consisted of District Inspectors Berne and Gregory. Subsequently it came to the knowledge of the Inspector-General that Mr. Berne was on leave, and, being unwilling to cause him expense and, inconvenience by requiring him to return before the completion of his leave, he selected another officer, Mr. Hetreed, in his stead, because, as he has informed me, Mr. Hetreed being at the depot where only a few recruits remained could more easily be spared than an officer in the country. Sir Antony MacDonnell was not consulted, and neither he nor anyone else made any suggestions on a matter which was entirely for the Inspector-General. Mr. Hetreed was stationed in Limerick at the time of the attacks on Dr. Long, but I am not aware that complaints were made of the character mentioned in the Question. If made, they were not justified. I may observe that when Mr. Hetreed left Limerick in 1902 he was presented with an address subscribed to by persons of all religious denominations, including Dr. Long himself.

MR. CHARLES CRAIG: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether any suggestions were made to the Inspector-General of Constabulary to hold a second inquiry into the case of Constable Anderson after his acquittal had been directed by his county inspector and confirmed by the Deputy Inspector-General, Mr. Singleton; and, if so, by whom; to whom were the complaints of the Rev. Denis O'Hara, P.P., addressed, and did these complaints influence the authorities in their decision to hold a second inquiry; what grounds were suggested for reversing the findings of the previous inquiry; and did Sir Antony MacDonnell sanction or approve of such grounds, if any.

Mr. WYNDHAM: There was no second Court of Inquiry. The first inquiry was an investigation, not on oath, ordered in August by Acting County-Inspector Monson, and carried out by District-Inspector Shankey. His report, together with the written statements taken by him from a number of persons, was submitted to the Inspector-General on the 5th September. On the 11th September Assistant Inspector-General Singleton, by direction of the Inspector-General, gave his decision, viz., that there was not sufficient cause for transferring Constable Anderson but that he might have a Court of Inquiry if he desired it. On 9th October County-Inspector Brooke, who in August saw no reason for transfer, having returned from leave, interviewed one of the persons, Carr, who subsequently gave evidence at the Court of Inquiry. He reported, "I have now seen him, and from what he tells me there can be no doubt that the constable was in the act of having immoral intercourse with the girl when discovered by him," though in common justice I must say that that was not borne out by the evidence given by Carr at the inquiry. Assistant Inspector-General Singleton replied, "This report alters the case, and the file will be laid before the Inspector-General when he returns." The Inspector-General on that report on the 21st October directed a Court of Inquiry to be held. The letters from the Rev. Mr. O'Hara were addressed to District-Inspector Shankey.

Mr. SLOAN: Whose suggestion did the county inspector adopt?

Mr. WYNDHAM: This was a matter of discussion in the district. I do not suggest that Father O'Hara was not anxious that this man should be transferred—he was anxious, and wrote letters to that effect. I think notice was properly taken of the new report.

Mr. CHARLES CRAIG: Was the evidence of Carr not taken at the preliminary inquiry?

Mr. WYNDHAM: He made a statement in general terms, and not on oath.

Mr. SLOAN: Has it not been the practice——

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order! Further Questions on this subject should be placed on the Paper.

Mr. CHARLES CRAIG: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the medical certificate in the case of Constable Anderson was submitted by him to the Inspector-General in the month of January last as part of the evidence of his innocence; and whether Constable Anderson was informed officially that the offence negatived by the certificate was not the offence charged against him, and that his dismissal was unaffected thereby; and, if so, was this decision arrived at with the approval of Sir Antony MacDonnell.

Mr. WYNDHAM: The medical certificate was not communicated to me in the first instance. It accompanied Mr. Mannion's letter of the 2nd January, addressed to the Inspector-General, who, in replying to Mr. Mannion, on the 23rd January, stated that the Court of Inquiry recorded as their opinion that while the facts proved in evidence fully substantiated the charge of immoral conduct, they did not consider that any actual intercourse took place. The Inspector-General's draft reply was submitted to Sir Antony MacDonnell, who offered no objection to its issue. Had the letter been before me, I should, as at that time advised, have concurred in the Inspector-General's opinion.

Mr. SLOAN: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he can state who ordered the first, second, and third inquiries in the case of Constable Anderson; who selected the president of the second Court; and will he explain why the president, who was first selected for the second Court, was rejected and District Inspector Hetreed appointed in his place.

MR. WYNDHAM: I have stated by whom the first investigation was ordered. The second investigation, which was on oath, was the Court of Inquiry and there was no second Court. By the "third inquiry" I presume my hon. friend alludes to my action when I was first cognisant of the matter in the month of February. I asked for the opinion of my legal advisers, and submitted to the Inspector-General for his consideration the view that since (1) actual intercourse was not urged on oath in respect of the facts deposed to as having occurred on the 4th June; since (2) Constable Anderson after that date and up to October 9th was for four months free to continue his courtship of this young person; since (3) seven months after the 4th June medical evidence was submitted of the character I have indicated; it was at least as probable that the facts deposed to were consistent with an innocent interpretation as that they were conclusive evidence of an attempt at seduction. I should not have pressed that view, in a matter of discipline, against the opinion of the Inspector-General. But he concurred with me in it. Then, and then only, I recommended Anderson's reinstatement with his complete assent. I believe we took the right course, and my belief is confirmed by the fact that Anderson has married the young woman. I wish to associate myself with a statement made to me by the Inspector-General, which I quote in his words. "The reckless and unscrupulous statement in certain newspapers that the confidence of the Royal Irish Constabulary is shaken in the justice they get at headquarters is absurd. I confidently assert that it is untrue, and that never in the history of the force were the men more satisfied with the way they are treated than they are now."

The Irish Agricultural Department

MR. DELANY (Queen's County, Ossory): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether a position connected with transit work was recently created in the Veterinary Branch of the Agricultural Department, and, if so, whether he will state who is the official appointed to this position, what is his salary, qualifications, and previous experience.

MR. WYNDHAM: No position of a permanent character has been created. An officer has been temporarily employed by the Department to assist in the collection of information respecting railway rates. He has had twenty-five years experience of railway work, and is paid £3 a week.

The Irish Development Grant.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the proposal embodied in the Development Grant Bill, now before the House, by which the sum of £150,000, now lying to the credit of the Fines and Fees Fund in Ireland, is to be used for other purposes, will not necessitate a demand upon the ratepayers and make good at least a part of this sum to the Petty Sessions Clerks' Fund.

MR. WYNDHAM: The sum of £150,000 forms part of the moneys standing to the credit of the Fines and Fees Fund. These moneys are invested in stock to the inscribed value of £170,258. The withdrawal of the sum of £150,000 will not necessitate any demand upon the ratepayers. The proposed allocation will only affect the revenue of the Department to the extent of the withdrawal of the dividends payable on the stock, but this withdrawal will be made good by increasing the amount transferred annually to revenue from the proceeds of the duty on dog licences, and there will still remain a substantial sum available for distribution among local authorities. The local authorities will, it is calculated, receive about £12,000 a year in relief of rates instead of £17,000, as previously, the difference representing a loss to local rates of only one-eleventh of 1d. But they may not even lose this, as steps have been taken to enforce the Dogs Act throughout the country with greater rigour, which will result in corresponding benefit to the revenue of the Department. With respect to the balance of the invested funds, which it is not proposed to divert, I am considering the question of introducing legislation securing the balance for the purposes of the superannuation and retiring allowances of the registrar of the Department and his staff.

Law Officers and Local Government Inquiries.

MR. MOONEY (Dublin County, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that at the recent Local Government inquiry on the appeal of the Rathmines Commissioners from the decision of the Dublin County Council, the Rathmines Commissioners were represented by the Solicitor-General, who raised a point of law upon the validity of which he may, as a Law Officer, have to advise the Local Government Board; and, if so, will he say whether this is in conformity with the usual practice.

MR. WYNDHAM: It is a fact that the Solicitor-General represented the Rathmines Urban District Council at the recent inquiry. The Local Government Board has a law officer of its own, and has absolute authority to select what counsel it pleases to represent it in Court on any particular occasion, and to send important cases to any senior counsel it may select. It is only on large questions of law affecting the country generally that the Board submits its own legal adviser's opinion for the consideration of the Law Officers of the Crown. Should the question raised in the case be referred to the latter of course the Attorney-General will alone advise.

The Waterford Railway Guarantee.

MR. O'SHEE (Waterford, W.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether in reference to the sum of £93,000, which the Great Southern and Western Railway Company of Ireland repaid to the Treasury rather than carry out the undertaking to construct the Fermoy to Cork direct line, he will recommend that said sum be applied to relieve the ratepayers of the county and city of Waterford from the annual charge of £4,000 still paid by them in respect of the guarantee for the County Waterford Railway, on which such sum of £93,000 was originally lent by the Treasury; is he aware that the ratepayers of the county and city of Waterford have paid nearly £400,000 since 1874 on foot of the guarantee for the railway, and that the Waterford County Council recently passed a resolution asking that the grant of the £93,000, made by the Treasury for railway development in 1898 should be applied to relieve the ratepayers, since there is no prospect of its being applied in the way then intended for their benefit and the benefit of the South of Ireland generally.

THE FINANCIAL SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY (Mr. VICTOR CAVENDISH, Derbyshire, W.): It is not correct to say that the sum of £93,000 was repaid by the Great Southern and Western Company of Ireland to the Treasury rather than carry out the undertaking to construct the Fermoy to Cork direct line. The £93,000 was paid by the Fishguard Company to the Treasury in respect of the sale of the Treasury interests in the Waterford, Dungarvan, and Lismore Railway, and in discharge of the principal and interest on the Board of Works loan. The construction of the Fermoy to Cork line and of the Rosslare to Waterford line was an obligation undertaken by the Fishguard and Rosslare Railways and Harbours Company under the Treasury agreement scheduled to the Company's Act of 1898, in consideration of which the Treasury agreed to ask Parliament, if the obligation were duly fulfilled, to vote the sum of £93,000 for repayment to the Fishguard Company. The obligation as regards the Cork and Fermoy line has not been carried out. If, however, Parliament should sanction (as it was asked to do by a Bill introduced by the Fishguard Company in 1898) the substitution of another scheme for that of the direct line from Fermoy to Cork, the Treasury would have to consider whether the £93,000 should be repaid in that event also. But the £93,000 is only a loan repaid, and there is no power to apply it to relieve county rates. I may add that the amount paid in the past under the county guarantee is overstated by about £100,000.

Belfast Poor Law Officer's Superannuation.

MR. JOSEPH DEVLIN: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether his attention has been drawn to the correspondence between the Local Government Board for Ireland and the Belfast Board of Guardians with reference to the superannuation of Mr. J. C. Neeson, clerk of the union of Belfast, and to the fact that the Local Government Board has decided that Mr. Neeson's salary and emoluments of office amounted on an average of three years to £1,764 9s. 10d., and that as an existing officer under the Local Government Act of 1898 he was entitled to a retiring allowance of £1,145 18s. 4d., which was thirty-nine-sixtieths of £1,764 9s. 10d.; whether he is aware that the actual amount paid to Mr. Neeson by the guardians was only £500 per annum, including £200 for the preparation of jurors' lists; that the difference, amounting to £1,264 9s. 10d. between that sum and the amount on which the Local Government Board has decided that his superannuation is to be calculated, was made up of sums of money paid to Mr. Neeson by the Belfast Corporation and the Belfast Harbour Board, and as registrar of births, deaths, and marriages, over which sum the guardians had no control; and that the decision of the Local Government Board has been unanimously condemned by the guardians; and, if so, whether in view of the dissatisfaction felt by the ratepayers under the circumstances, steps will be taken to ensure that this whole matter shall be the subject of a fresh and more complete inquiry before a final decision has been given upon it.

MR. WYNDHAM: The guardians awarded Mr. Neeson a retiring allowance equal to thirty-nine-sixtieths of the salary and emoluments of his office. They subsequently asked the Local Government Board to state what was the amount of the salary and emoluments. The Board was advised that the duties performed by Mr. Neeson for the Corporation and Harbour Board were imposed upon him by statute as clerk of the union; that any sums received by him in respect of these duties were part of his emoluments as clerk, and pensionable by the guardians, and that the sums received by him as registrar of births, deaths, and marriages were also pensionable by the guardians. The Board communicated this advice to the guardians; it did not fix the amount of the pension. The question for decision is one of law, and upon this it is of course open to the guardians to take an independent legal opinion.

Land Act, 1903—Compensation to Planters.

MR. DELANY: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that the Estates Commissioners have informed Mr. Thomas M'Cormack, evicted tenant, Limahoe, Queen's county, that they have no power to make an advance for the purpose of compensating a tenant for leaving his holding; and if so, whether, seeing that the planter in this case is willing to surrender the holding if reasonable compensation is paid, he will insert a clause in the Land Act Amendment Bill to remedy this defect in the Purchase Act of last session.

MR. WYNDHAM: The point of law raised by the question is of more importance than the particular case, on the details of which I have no information. I will look into both, and communicate with the hon. Member. My intention was that Section 12 should cover the purchase of an interest in a holding "generally for the purposes of the Act."

Estates under Receivers in Ireland.

MR. O'SHEE: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he will grant a Return relating to estates over which a receiver has been appointed by the Chancery Division of the High Court of Justice in Ireland, in the same form as that recently issued in reference to estates in the Land Judge's Court.

MR. WYNDHAM: The Return recently issued comprised estates in the Land Judge's Court in respect of which absolute orders for sale had been made. I am not aware that the further Return suggested would serve any useful public object. If the hon. Member will communicate to me his reasons for desiring it, I will inquire into the practicability of giving the Return.

Mr. Daniel M'Cartie's Estate.

Mr. MURPHY (Kerry, E.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that the estate of Mr. Daniel M'Cartie, at Headfort, near Killarney, is still under the control of the Land Judge's Court, and that the proceedings for sale have been blocked constantly for frivolous causes; and, if so, whether he could request the Estates Commissioners or the Congested Districts Board to negotiate for the purchase of this estate, which is of a character suited for the operations of the latter Board; and can he take steps to expedite the sale to the tenants.

Mr. WYNDHAM: The Estates Commissioners will inquire whether the case of this estate is one in which they should issue a request under Section 7 of the Land Act.

Mr. MURPHY: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that these proceedings have been pending for several years.

Mr. WYNDHAM: The Estates Commissioners will deal with the great body of work before them as rapidly as they can.

Mr. Daly's Tenants at Tynagh.

Mr. ROCHE (Galway, E.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he has received a copy of the resolution passed by the Portumna District Council or Board of Guardians calling his attention to the Tynagh tenants of Mr. Daly for agreeing to give twenty-five and three-quarter years purchase for land which was offered for eighteen years purchase on a former occasion, and calling on the Estates Commissioners not to sanction the sale, in the interest of the ratepayers, without inspection, as from their knowledge of the district they are convinced the land is not security for the money; and, if so, whether he will direct the attention of the Estates Commissioners to the transaction.

Mr. WYNDHAM: I have seen the resolution. The police have been unable to verify the statement that the landlord offered to sell on a former occasion at eighteen years purchase. In any case the terms now voluntarily agreed to are satisfactory to the parties concerned, and were arranged, I understand, by the parish priest. The Estates Commissioners will be guided in their action by the provisions of the Land Act.

Mr. CULLINAN (Tipperary, S.): Will special attention be directed to this, as it is a typical case?

Mr. WYNDHAM: I really do not propose to do the Estates Commissioners' work in this House. They are perfectly competent to discharge the duties imposed upon them by Parliament.

Atnell Estate, County Tyrone.

Mr. T. W. RUSSELL: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that the tenants on the Atnell Estate, county Tyrone, came to an agreement in January last with the receiver (C. E. Fair) for the purchase of their holdings at Sheskinspull at a reduction of 25 per cent. off the existing rents; and if he can explain why Mr. Fair, acting for the Lord Chancellor, is now threatening legal proceedings to recover the rent due last November, and ignoring the agreement to which he was a consenting party.

Mr. WYNDHAM: I shall be glad if the hon. Member will give further notice of this.

Mr. T. W. RUSSELL: I will put it down for Thursday.

Comyn Kenny Estate, County Galway.

Mr. ROCHE: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether his attention has been directed to the case of several tenant purchasers under Acts previous to 1903 in the neighbourhood of the Comyn Kenny Estate, county Galway, which has been purchased recently by the Congested Districts Board; and, if so, will he take steps to enable these tenant purchasers to have their uneconomic holdings increased without requiring them to resell their purchased holdings to the Congested Districts Board, so that the whole of the increased holding should be security.

MR. WYNDHAM: The point raised in this Question cannot be answered without a fuller knowledge of the facts than are at present before me. I am making further inquiry in the matter. Of course, when the Congested Districts Board acquires the estate referred to, it will consider the question of the enlargement of uneconomic holdings.

Belfast Valuation.

MR. JOSEPH DEVLIN: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that the Select Committee on the Irish Valuation Acts recommended the abolition of the present system of hearing and deciding appeals from the Commissioner of Valuation, and the substitution therefor of a different tribunal, and that notwithstanding this recommendation the Commissioner is pressing the hearing of the appeals under the system which the Select Committee declared to be unsatisfactory; and, if so, whether he proposes to introduce legislation on the lines laid down in the Select Committee's Report; and whether he will make provision for the further suspension of the operation of the revaluation of the city of Belfast until such time as Parliament has been afforded an opportunity of giving effect to the recommendations of the Committee.

MR. WYNDHAM: It is not possible to suspend the hearing of the appeals even if it were desirable to introduce legislation. The new valuation, I have already explained, cannot come into operation until the year 1905. The decisions of Sir John Barton, which have been mainly objected to, are those in which he has, in respect to the valuation of licensed premises, adopted the principle recommended by the Royal Commission on Local Taxation, and the Select Committee on Irish Valuation Acts. The latter Committee did not recommend the abolition of the present system of hearing and deciding appeals from the Commissioner of Valuation. On the contrary, the Committee stated it was difficult to suggest anything better. The Committee held that an appeal as at present should continue to the Recorders or County Court Judges, with whom it was recommended two assessors should be associated.

Galway Model School.

MR. CHARLES DEVLIN (Galway): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he can state the average attendance at the model school of Galway from the first to the last day of the year 1903; and the total amount of aid and subsidy given to that institution during the same period.

MR. WYNDHAM: The average attendance for the year 1903 was ninety-five. The expenditure out of public funds was £482 11s.

Imprisonment of Roscommon County Councillor.

MR. JAMES O'KELLY (Roscommon, N.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he has seen the resolutions passed by several representative bodies in the county of Roscommon, dealing with the sentence recently imposed on Mr. Patt Webb, county councillor, which resolutions ask for a repeal of the law empowering magistrates to inflict imprisonment without the option of a fine, to which sentence there is no appeal; and whether he proposes to introduce the change requested by these resolutions into the law in Ireland.

MR. WYNDHAM: On Monday last I replied to Questions addressed to me on this subject by the hon. Members for South Donegal and South Roscommon.†

Irish Poor Law Reform Commission.

MR. JOSEPH DEVLIN: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the Poor Law Reform Commission have as yet formulated their Report as the result of their sittings in the provinces of Ulster and Leinster; and, if not, can he say at what date the Report on these provinces may be expected.

MR. WYNDHAM: The Commissioners do not propose to issue Reports according to provinces. They consider it would be open to objection to deal with the matter except as a whole and until all the evidence affecting Poor Law administration, generally, has been received and carefully considered. I may add that the Commissioners will this week have completed their inquiries in twenty-three out of the thirty-two counties in Ireland.

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† See (4) *Debates*, cxxxv., 1478 and 1495.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

MR. BRYCE: I desire, on behalf of the Leader of the Opposition, to ask the First Lord what business he proposes to take on Thursday and Friday. Perhaps, he will also now tell us when the statement of the Secretary for War will be made.

THE PRIME MINISTER AND FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (MR. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): As regards the business for the week we propose to take Irish Estimates on Thursday—first the Vote for the Board of Agriculture, second the Vote for the Board of Works, and third the Vote for the Local Government Board. On Friday, I propose to put down as first and second Orders two Irish Bills which the Government are very specially desirous of dealing with—the Irish Land Bill and the Irish Labourers Bill. I cannot make any statement as to the date on which the Secretary for War will make his announcement to the House.

MR. JOHN REDMOND (Waterford): Has it been communicated to the right hon. Gentleman that it is the unanimous wish of the Irish Party that the Labourers Bill should be taken first, and will he, under those circumstances, see his way to put it first on the Paper?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I should be sorry to give a dogmatic refusal, and perhaps it may be made a matter of negotiation through the ordinary channels.

SELECTION (STANDING COMMITTEES).

Mr. HALSEY reported from the Committee of Selection, That they had discharged the following Member from the Standing Committee on Law, and Courts of Justice, and Legal Procedure: Mr. Helder; and had appointed in substitution: Sir Harry Samuel.

Report to lie upon the Table.

WORKMEN'S TRAINS.

Ordered, That the Minutes of Evidence taken before the Select Committee on Workmen's Trains in the last session of Parliament be referred to the Select Committee on Workmen's Trains.—(*Colonel Bowles.*)

MR. SPEAKER stated that he had been honoured by a proposal of the University of Oxford to confer upon him the honorary degree of Doctor of Civil Law, which would, if accepted, render necessary his attendance at Oxford on Wednesday next, and he ventured to ask the House to dispense with his attendance and to permit the Chairman of Ways and Means to take the Chair as Deputy Speaker on that day.

The House signified its assent, for which Mr. Speaker returned his thanks.

ADJOURNMENT.

MR. CATHCART WASON, Member for Orkney and Shetland, rose in his place, and asked leave to move the adjournment of the House for the purpose of discussing a definite matter of urgent public importance, viz., "the danger to the peace of East Africa arising out of the steps now being taken with the sanction of His Majesty's Government for the establishment of an Alien Settlement in East Africa on lands now in the occupation of Native populations;" but the pleasure of the House not having been signified, Mr. Speaker called on those Members who supported the Motion to rise in their places, and not less than forty Members having accordingly risen:—

The Motion stood over, under Standing Order No. 10, till this Evening's Sitting.

NEW BILLS.

COUNTY OF SUFFOLK BILL.

"To make better provision for the Administration of Justice at Sessions of the Peace, and for the transaction of county business in the county of Suffolk," presented by Sir Cuthbert Quilter; to be read a second time upon Monday next, and to be printed. [Bill 234.]

NEW WRIT.

New Writ for the County of Surrey North Western or Chertsey Division), in the room of John Arthur Fyler, esquire (Chiltern Hundreds).—(*Sir A. Acland-Hood.*)

FINANCE BILL.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[MR. J. W. LOWTHER (Cumberland, Penrith) in the Chair.]

Clause 1 :—

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON (Tower Hamlets, Poplar) said he did not think the Committee was in a position to consider the tea duty until they knew what the effect of the other proposals in the Bill would be. There was a deficit of £5,500,000 from the previous year, and a deficit of £3,800,000 for the coming year; and the Chancellor of the Exchequer proposed to borrow to meet the former, and to impose extra taxation to meet the latter. This he proposed to do partly by direct and partly by indirect taxation. He did not object to the proposal of the Chancellor of the Exchequer in regard to the amount he was going to raise during the coming year, but he did not think the best method of raising the revenue had been chosen. Last year they thought that the right hon. Gentleman's predecessor had remitted too large a proportion of direct taxation and too small a proportion of indirect taxation, and what he desired to impress upon the Committee was that on the present occasion the right hon. Gentleman was proposing to raise an equal amount by direct and indirect taxation. Considering the very large remission of direct taxation last year, he did not think indirect taxation ought to bear any of those burdens this year, which ought to be borne by direct taxation. His reason for postponing this clause was that until they knew the decision of the Committee in regard to the income-tax they were not really in a position to decide the question of the tea duty on its merits. This was the only opportunity that would be given them of discussing the respective merits of the tea duty and the income-tax and whether an extra penny ought not to be put on the latter. If this clause were passed before they had discussed the income-tax, and the Committee decided that the income-tax should be only raised by one penny, they would be in a difficult position, because they would have voted so much towards the deficit, and it would not be necessary to press for the additional penny on the income-tax. On the other hand, if the right hon. Gentleman could show conclusively to the Committee that it was impossible to impose an additional penny on the income-tax, and that no other source of revenue was open to him, it would make a difference to them in considering the tea duty. On the ground that they were called upon now to propose an addition to the duty on tea which they believed could be met by the alternative of a penny on the income-tax; and because they were prejudiced in discussing the merits of the tea duty until they knew the result of the Budget as a whole, he begged to move the postponement of Clause 1.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Clause 1 be postponed."—(*Mr. Sydney Buxton.*)

THE CHAIRMAN: It will not be possible for the hon. Member to raise the income-tax, but he can move to reduce it.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN, Worcestershire, E.) said the hon. Member's object appeared to be to raise the question whether the whole of the increased taxation which was necessary this year should not be charged upon the direct taxpayer instead of a proportion of it being placed upon the indirect taxpayer; and he also complained that to ask the Committee to discuss the tea duty before the income-tax prejudiced the merits of the discussion on the tea duty and the figure at which he proposed to place the income-tax. It would be perfectly clear to the Committee that if he had put the clause relating to the income-tax first, exactly the same process of reasoning would have enabled the hon. Member to argue that the income-tax clause must be postponed because they could not allow the income-tax to be fixed at 1s. until they had decided whether or not they were going to increase the tea duty. These proposals must be taken as a whole. When they came to the tea duty there were Amendments on the Paper which raised the particular question which the hon. Member for Poplar wished to discuss, namely, whether there ought to be any increase in the tea duty at all. He thought it would be to the convenience of all parties that they should come to the point as soon as possible instead of debating matters which really did not advance their discussion. He was quite prepared to justify his proposal to increase the tea duty as soon as he was allowed to do so. He hoped the question would be discussed on its merits and in its proper place, instead of having a discussion on a proposal to postpone the clause which necessarily limited the discussion in which they were engaged.

*MR. McCRAE (Edinburgh, E.) said the Chancellor of the Exchequer had said that if they had discussed the income-tax first precisely the same argument would apply. That was not so, because it was indirect taxation they were opposing and not direct taxation. The right hon. Gentleman knew this very well. If they once committed themselves to the tea duty it would be impossible for them to go back on the decision. Another reason for postponing this clause was that it was quite possible that the right hon. Gentleman might not require all the money he had budgeted for, because, apart from the question of the deficit, which was a subject of difference between them, he thought those who looked into these proposals and compared them with the estimated expenditure must be led to the conclusion that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had underestimated the produce of the revenue. Of course he quite admitted that, after the experience of last year, the Chancellor of the Exchequer was quite justified in taking a very moderate view of the increases under the different heads of estimate, but notwithstanding this he felt confident that the right hon. Gentleman would have a larger revenue than he had budgeted for; and besides this a considerable saving was anticipated under the head of Army reform.

THE CHAIRMAN: Those arguments are not relevant to the postponement of this clause, although they might be relevant to a Motion to cut down the amount. The hon. Member is now proceeding to argue upon the merits of the proposal, and he is not in order in so doing.

*MR. McCRAE said those were reasons which he thought should induce the Committee to postpone Clause 1 until they came to those other heads of taxation, more especially with regard to direct taxation. After they had discussed that question, and in view of the fact that many of them were of opinion that the income-tax was reduced too much last year, he put it to the right hon. Gentleman that a fair and full case had been made out for the postponement of this clause.

MR. FLYNN (Cork County, N.) said the right hon. Gentleman had not only been unfair to the hon. Member for Poplar, but he had actually misrepresented his argument. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had stated that if the income-tax had been placed in Clause 1, the same argument could have been advanced, but the direct opposite was the case. They could not discuss now the question of the income-tax, and the question before them was the broad general principle as to whether it was a proper and feasible course for the Chancellor of the Exchequer to inflict this huge burden upon indirect taxation. Those who represented Irish constituencies had a grievance of a much larger and a more forcible kind, because their great complaint was that indirect taxation was levied on Ireland out of all proportion to the justice or reason of the case. The proportion in Ireland was 75 per cent. of indirect and 25 of direct taxation.

THE CHAIRMAN: Order, order! The arguments which the hon. Member is using are arguments in favour of cutting down the amount, and they are not relevant now.

MR. FLYNN contended that it would be far better to put the income-tax in the forefront and postpone this clause to a later period.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES (Lynn Regis) said he confessed that he did not see sufficient reason for the postponement of this clause; but on the contrary, he saw some good reasons for taking the opposite course. Some hon. Members opposite desired to deal with the income-tax, but they could only do that by moving to reduce it. It was to the interests of hon. Members opposite that they should keep the tea duty as high as possible, because that would give them a better chance of taking something off the income-tax. The accredited modern method of drafting a Bill was to put the whole crux of the measure into the first clause. It was a fact that the great objection of hon. Members opposite was not so much to the income-tax but more especially to the tea duty, and therefore it was the right thing to do to place this tax in the first clause of the Bill. He thought hon. Members, if they were candid, would admit that his arguments showed that instead of being advantageous to them to postpone this clause it would be disadvantageous, and therefore he should vote against the proposal made by the hon. Member for Poplar.

MR. McKENNA (Monmouthshire, N.) thought the hon. Member for King's Lynn had relied too much upon the letter of the law in this matter. It was perfectly true that they could not introduce a new tax, but any hon. Member might move a reduction with the object of getting an expression of opinion in favour of an increase. It was desirable that they should have some mode of considering the alternative before they committed themselves to this particular proposal. They had only got a certain amount of money to raise, and if they raised £2,000,000 of this amount by the tea duty it would be idle to propose a reduction of the existing taxation in order to get an expression from the Committee in favour of a new tax to find money which was not wanted. The Committee in considering the other proposals in the Budget ought to have their hands free from any commitment in regard to the duty on tea. He suggested that Clause 1 should be postponed not only until the other clauses in the Bill before the Committee had been dealt with, but until all the new clauses had been disposed of, and then they could take a broad view of the best means of raising the money they required. This Motion was not a mere formal proposal, for it was a definite matter of principle that this Committee should not tie its hands in discussing the various methods by which the money might be raised. Why should they settle the tea duty first of all? On the Opposition side of the House they thought that it was desirable that the Government should put in the forefront of the Finance Bill not indirect but direct taxation. It was upon direct taxation that they mainly relied for their necessary income, and this year it was more important than ever that direct taxation should stand first. He hoped that his hon. friend would press this matter to a division.

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON (Dundee) said that what had been said went to show the way in which the House tied its hands in this matter. The Chancellor of the Exchequer said that all the clauses ought to be taken as part of one scheme. It was quite true that every proposal now put forward by the Chancellor of the Exchequer must be accepted as it stood, or at all events the taxes could only be diminished and could not be increased. Consequently those who wished to postpone this clause would find themselves hampered and tied by the Rules which governed the proceedings in regard to this Bill. As his hon. friend had stated, if changes were announced by the War Office this week that might do away with the necessity for the increase of the tea duty altogether. The tax which he disliked most of all was the tea tax, and it was because he regarded this tax as the worst of all in the Budget that he thought they should proceed to deal with it last of all.

MR. WHITLEY (Halifax) supported the Motion of the hon. Member for Poplar on the broad ground of principle. He thought when a Budget was being framed it ought first to be decided what taxes were to be put upon the rich and, after that, only put the balance of taxes which it was absolutely necessary to raise, upon the poor. The Chancellor of the Exchequer in bringing forward this Budget had taken exactly the opposite course, and had first imposed the burden upon the indirect taxpayer and then taxed the rich to make up the balance. He looked upon the clause they were now discussing as an illustration of the way the present Government looked at taxtion as a whole. They first asked themselves, "How much dare we put upon the poorer classes of the community" and then said, "We will ask the income-tax payer to pay the residue." The Motion for the postponement of this clause was not a mere matter of form, but was the embodiment of a very substantial principle. Taxation ought to be so placed upon the people that the burden might be imposed where it could be best borne, and the smallest possible remainder placed upon the poor through their necessaries of life. He hoped the Motion for postponement might be carried and might be taken as a precedent of the method to be adopted in proceeding with the Budget in the future.

Question put.

The Committee divided:—Ayes, 132; Noes, 207. (Division List No. 157.)

AYES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N.E.)
Ainsworth, John Stirling
Allen, Charles P.
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Black, Alexander William
Blake, Edward
Boland, John
Brunner, Sir John Tomlinson
Bryce, Rt. Hon. James
Buchanan, Thomas Ruburn
Burke, E. Haviland
Burt, Thomas
Buxton, Sydney Charles
Caldwell, James
Cameron, Robert
Campbell, John (Armagh, S.)
Causton, Richard Knight
Churchill, Winston Spencer
Clancy, John Joseph
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Corbett, A. Cameron (Glasgow)
Craig, Robert Hunter(Lanark)
Crombie, John William
Cullinan, J.
Davies, M. Vaughan (Cardigan)
Delany, William
Devlin, Chas. Ramsay (Galway
Devlin, Joseph (Kilkenny, N.)
Dewar, John A. (Inverness-sh.)
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Donelan, Captain A.
Doogan, P. C.
Doulgas, Charles M. (Lanark)
Elibank, Master of
Ellice,Capt E.C(SAndrw'sBghs
Ellis, John Edward (Notts.)
Farquharson, Dr. Robert
Flynn, James Christopher
Foster, Sir Walter (Derby Co.)
Fowler, Rt. Hon. Sir Henry
Freeman-Thomas, Captain F.
Fuller, J. M. F.
Gilhooly James
Gladstone, Rt.Hn. Herbert Jn.
Grant, Corrie
Grey, Rt. Hon. Sir E. (Berwick
Hammond, John
Harcourt, Lewis V.(Rossendale
Harcourt,RtHn SirW(Monm'th
Hayden, John Patrick
Hayter, Rt. Hon. Sir Arthur D.
Hemphill, Rt. Hon. Charles H.
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Hutchinson, Dr. Charles Fredk.
Jacoby, James Alfred
Jones, D. Brynmor (Swansea)
Jones, William(Carnarvonshire
Kennedy, Vincent P.(Cavan,W
Kitson, Sir James
Labouchere, Henry
Lambert, George
Law, Hugh Alex. (Donegal, W.
Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cornwall)
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Leese, Sir Jos. F. (Accrington)
Leng, Sir John
Lewis, John Herbert
Lloyd-George, David
Lough, Thomas
Lundon, W.
Lyell, Charles Henry
Macnamara, Dr. Thomas J.
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
M'Arthur, William (Cornwall)
M'Crae, George
M'Kenna, Reginald
Markham, Arthur Basil
Mooney, John J.
Morley, Charles (Breconshire)
Morley, Rt.Hn.John (Montrose
Moulton, John Fletcher
Murphy, John
Nannetti, Joseph P.
Nolan,Col.John P.(Galway, N.)
Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South)
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
Nussey, Thomas Willans
O'Brien, K. (Tipperary, Mid.)
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Brien, P. J. (Tipperary, N.)
O'Connor, James (Wicklow,W.
O'Kelly, Jas. (Roscommon, N.)
O'Shee, James John
Palmer, Sir Charles M.(Durham
Perks, Robert William
Pirie, Duncan V.
Power, Patrick Joseph
Rea, Russell
Reckitt, Harold James
Redmond, John E. (Waterford)
Rigg, Richard
Robertson, Edmund (Dundee)
Robson, William Snowdon
Roche, John
Runciman, Walter
Russell, T. W.
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Schwann, Charles E.
Seely, Maj.J.E.B.(Isleof Wight
Shackleton, David James
Shaw, Thomas (Hawick B.)
Sheehan, Daniel Daniel
Sheehy, David
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Soames, Arthur Wellesley
Spencer, Rt.Hn.C.R(Northants
Strachey, Sir Edward
Sullivan, Donal
Taylor, Theodore C. (Radcliffe)
Tennant, Harold John
Thomas, D. Alfred (Merthyr)
Tomkinson, James
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Ure, Alexander
Wallace, Robert
Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan)
White, Luke (York, E. R.)
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
Wilson, J.W.(Worcestersh.,N.)
Woodhouse,Sir J.T(Huddersf'd
Young, Samuel
Yoxall, James Henry

Tellers for the Ayes—Mr. Dalziel and Mr. Soares.

NOES.

Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster,Rt.Hn.Hugh O.
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John

Mr. Whitley.

Bain, Colonel James Robert
Balcarres, Lord
Baldwin, Alfred
Balfour, Rt.Hon. A.J.(Manch'r
Balfour, Capt. C. B. (Hornsey)
Balfour, Rt. Hon. G. W. (Leeds
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Bartley, Sir George C. T.
Bentinck, Lord Henry C.
Bhownaggree, Sir M. M.
Bignold, Arthur
Bill, Charles
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Bowles, Lt.-Col.H.F(Middlesex
Bowles, T.Gibson(King's Lynn
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Butcher, John George
Campbell, Rt.Hn.J.A.(Glasgow
Carlile, William Walter
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Cavendish, V.C.W. (Derbyshire
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Chamberlain,Rt Hn.J.A(Worc.
Chapman, Edward
Coates, Edward Feetham
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Cohen, Benjamin Louis
Colston, Chas. Edw. H. Athole
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Craig, Charles Curtis(Antrim,S.
Cross, Herb. Shepherd (Bolton)
Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Dalkeith, Earl of
Davenport, William Bromley
Dewar, Sir T.R.(TowerHamlets
Dickson, Charles Scott
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers
Durning-Lawrence, Sir Edwin
Dyke, Rt.Hn.Sir William Hart
Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
Elliot, Hon. A. Ralph Douglas
Fardell, Sir T. George
Fergusson,Rt.Hn.Sir J.(Manc'r
Fielden, Edward Brocklehurst
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
Fisher, William Hayes
Fison, Frederick William
FitzGerald,Sir Robert Penrose-
Fitzroy, Hn. Edward Algernon
Flower, Sir Ernest
Forster, Henry William
Foster, P. S. (Warwick, S.W.)
Galloway, William Johnson
Gardner, Ernest
Garfit, William
Gordon, J. (Londonderry, S.)
Gordon, Maj. E.-(T'r Hamlets)
Gore,Hn G.R.C.Ormsby-(Salop
Gore, Hon. S.F.Ormsby-(Linc.)
Gorst, Rt. Hon. Sir John Eldon
Goschen, Hon. George Joachim
Goulding, Edward Alfred
Graham, Henry Robert
Gray, Ernest (West Ham)
Greene,Sir E.W(B'rySEdm'nds
Greville, Hon. Ronald
Gunter, Sir Robert
Hain, Edward
Halsey, Rt. Hon. Thomas F.
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Haslett, Sir James Horner
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Heath, James (Staffords., N.W.
Heaton, John Henniker
Hermon-Hodge, Sir Robert T.
Hoare, Sir Samuel
Hogg, Lindsay
Hope, J.F.(Sheffield,Brightside
Hornby, Sir William Henry
Houldsworth, Sir Wm. Henry
Howard, Jn. (Kent,Faversham
Hozier, Hn. James Henry Cecil
Hudson, George Bickersteth
Hunt, Rowland
Hutton, John (Yorks., N. R.)
Jebb, Sir Richard Claverhouse
Jeffreys, Rt. Hon. Arthur Fred.
Jessel, Captain Herbert Merton
Johnstone, Heywood (Sussex)
Kennaway, Rt.Hn.Sir John H.
Kenyon, Hn. Geo. T.(Denbigh)
Kenyon-Slaney, Col.W.(Salop.)
Kimber, Henry
Knowles, Sir Lees
Lambton, Hn. Frederick Wm.
Laurie, Lieut.-General
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
Lawson, J. Grant (Yorks., N.R.
Lee, A. H. (Hants., Fareham)
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Leveson-Gower, Frederick N.S.
Lockwood, Lieut.-Col. A. R.
Loder, Gerald Walter Erskine
Long, Col. CharlesW.(Evesham
Long, Rt.Hn.Walter(Bristol,S.
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas, Reginald J.(Portsmouth
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
Macdona, John Cumming
Maconochie, A. W.
M'Arthur, Charles (Liverpool)
M'Iver,Sir Lewis(Edinburgh,W
Malcolm, Ian
Manners, Lord Cecil
Martin, Richard Biddulph
Massey-Mainwaring, Hn. W. F.
Melville, Beresford Valentine
Meysey-Thompson, Sir H. M.
Middlemore, Jn. Throgmorton
Mitchell, William (Burnley)
Molesworth, Sir Lewis
Morpeth, Viscount
Morton, Arthur H. Aylmer
Mount, William Arthur
Muntz, Sir Philip A.
Murray, Rt. Hon. A. G. (Bute)
Murray, Charles J. (Coventry)
Murray, Col. Wyndham (Bath)
Myers, William Henry
Nicholson, William Graham
Palmer, Walter (Salisbury)
Parker, Sir Gilbert
Peel, Hn.Wm.Robert Wellesley
Pemberton, John S. G.
Pilkington, Colonel Richard
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Plummer, Walter R.
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Pretyman, Ernest George
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Purvis, Robert
Quilter, Sir Cuthbert
Randles, John S.
Rankin, Sir James
Rasch, Sir Frederic Carne
Ratcliff, R. F.
Reid, James (Greenock)
Renshaw, Sir Charles Bine
Richards, Henry Charles
Ridley, Hon. M.W.(Stalybridge
Ridley, S.Forde (Bethnal Green
Ritchie, Rt.Hn.Chas. Thomson
Ropner, Colonel Sir Robert
Rothschild, Hon.Lionel Walter
Royds, Clement Molyneux
Rutherford, John (Lancashire)
Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford
Samuel, Sir H. S. (Limehouse)
Sassoon, Sir Edward Albert
Scott, Sir S. (Marylebone, W.)
Seely, Charles Hilton (Lincoln)
Shaw-Stewart, Sir H.(Renfrew)
Simeon, Sir Barrington
Sloan, Thomas Henry
Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
Spear, John Ward
Stanley, Hn. Arthur (Ormskirk
Stanley, Edward Jas.(Somerset
Stanley, Rt. Hon. Lord(Lancs.)
Stirling-Maxwell, Sir John M.
Strutt, Hon. Charles Hedley
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Talbot, Rt.Hn.J.G.(Oxf'dUniv
Taylor, Austin (East Toxteth)
Thorburn, Sir Walter
Tollemache, Henry James
Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
Tritton, Charles Ernest
Tuff, Charles
Tufnell, Lieut.-Col. Edward
Valentia, Viscount
Vincent, Sir Edgar (Exeter)
Walrond, Rt.Hn.Sir William H
Warde, Colonel C. E.
Webb, Colonel William George
Welby, Lt.-Col. A.C.E(Taunton
Whiteley, H.(Ashton und.Lyne
Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
Willox, Sir John Archibald
Wills, Sir Frederick
Wilson, A. Stanley (York, E.R.
Wilson, John (Glasgow)
Wilson-Todd, Sir W.H.(Yorks)
Wodehouse, Rt Hn. E.R.(Bath
Worsley-Taylor, Henry Wilson
Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B. Stuart
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George
Wyndham-Quin, Col. W. H.
Younger, William

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Sir Alexander Acland - Hood and Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes.

MR. J. H. LEWIS (Flint Boroughs) moved an Amendment to reduce the tea duty. He said the Amendment was to bring the form of the clause back to the form in which it was presented to the Committee in former years, and, read with other Amendments of which notice had been given, the exact effect would be that the tea duty for the coming year instead of being 8d. would be 6d. per pound. He thought the Committee must agree, at all events, that this was an extremely moderate and reasonable proposal. A few years ago the whole trend of public opinion was in favour of the absolute abolition of what were known as the breakfast table duties. The late Mr. John Bright devoted a very great amount of attention to this question. He wondered what Mr. Bright would say of this clause if he were alive to-day. They had receded very considerably from the standard set to them of policy and of consequent economy in those early days. He had no doubt that the desire of the public was still for the abolition of the breakfast table duties, but it must be admitted that the enormous growth of expenditure during the past few years made any proposal of that kind absolutely impracticable. He wished to draw the attention of the Committee to the fact that the duty proposed to be levied on tea now was higher than any duty which had been levied on that article during the last forty years. In the circumstances he thought they had a right to make the strongest possible protest in their power against the raising of the duty this year from 6d. to 8d. In 1865 the tax was reduced from 1s. to 6d., and in 1890 from 6d. to 4d., and it remained at that figure until the war, when it was raised to 6d. When the war was over the reasonable expectation of the public was that war taxation would be taken off, or at the very least that the taxation imposed during the war would not be increased. But here was an increase amounting to 25 per cent. on a commodity which was of universal use, and which was largely used by the poorest of the poor. It was a commodity which was already taxed to the extent of about 100 per cent. of its value. He thought they had a right to protest against leaving on war taxes in time of peace, and they had a still stronger right to protest against any increase of war taxation in time of peace.

He was afraid that one effect of this increased duty would be that to some extent the increased taxation would defeat its own ends, because it would restrict the purchasing power of the working class and diminish the amount of tea imported into this country. He thought that experience proved pretty conclusively that that would be the case. In 1896 the consumption of tea in America was 93,000,000lbs.; in 1898, during the war a war tax was imposed on tea, and the result was that in 1899 the consumption of tea in America had fallen from 93,000,000lbs. to 72,000,000lbs. That showed the effect an increased tax upon tea had upon consumption of tea, and indicated the sort of danger which threatened the tea industry in India and Ceylon from whence we had obtained nine-tenths of our tea imports. For years previous to 1900 the average annual increase in the amount of tea on which duty was paid was 5,000,000 lbs.; but since the duty was raised in 1900 there had been no increase, and that showed that the additional tax imposed had prevented any increase of the amount of tea on which duty was paid. Perhaps, in order to strengthen his position, his hon. friend the Member for Islington would allow him to quote some figures that that hon. Gentleman had given to the public outside this House. In 1901, duty was paid on 238·3 million lbs.; and in 1903, 229·2 million lbs.; or a falling off of 9 million lbs. At the same time the amount of tea imported from foreign countries had risen from 9·08 million lbs. in 1901 to 14·9 million lbs. in 1903. The direct effect, apparently, of the increase of the tea duty had been to stimulate the consumption of foreign products and discourage the consumption of British products—a rather curious reverse of the kind of fiscal policy now entertained by the Government. In 1901 the consumption of tea was 6·16 lbs. per head of the population; but in 1903 it had fallen to 6·03 lbs. per head.

The imposition of the new tax must necessarily check the consumption of tea and affect very greatly the great tea industry founded in Assam and Ceylon. There were £30,000,000 sterling of British capital invested in India and Ceylon. India was one of the very poorest countries in the world. He remembered that during a debate on India there was a dispute as to whether the average income per day of the people in India was ¾d. or 1½d. That showed how miserably poor that country was. The tea industry served a double purpose. It relieved the congestion of the population in some parts by drawing labour from the plains to the hills, and it provided employment for large numbers of people. Within the last few years India had suffered from pestilence and famine and the country had been drained of its slender resources, and he considered that the British Parliament ought to do nothing to discourage a great industry. He hoped the Chancellor of the Exchequer would not for a moment suppose that he imagined that the tax would be more prolific because it was increased 25 per cent. His argument was that it would restrict consumption, that that would in turn restrict production, and so the great tea industry would be adversely affected. The tax would also be extremely discouraging to the tea planters in Ceylon. The history of the tea industry in that colony was very interesting. He remembered when he was there twenty years ago the whole island was practically in the Bankruptcy Court. A fungus had destroyed the coffee plants just as the phylloxera destroyed the vines in France. The planters faced the position with courage and cheerfulness. They did not come whining to the British Parliament for help, but decided to start the tea industry; and although they paid twice as much for Cingalese labour as the planters in the North of India paid for coolie labour, they had developed the industry to an enormous extent, although within the last year or two it had not been so prosperous as before. By putting an additional tax on tea the Government would strike a very heavy blow at what was now the staple industry of Ceylon. He believed there was no more loyal part of the King's dominions than Ceylon. It was said that it had been held by a brass band, and the planters during the South African war equipped a force themselves. Both natives and planters engaged in this industry deserved more consideration at the hands of the House than they were receiving at present under this clause.

He should like to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer why tea had been selected for this great increase in taxation. At the present time a duty of three-halfpence was levied on coffee, and 1d. on cocoa. 28,500,000 lbs. of coffee and 45,000,000 lbs. of cocoa were imported into this country, chiefly from foreign countries, whereas the tea that we drank came largely from British possessions. He was not suggesting that the Chancellor of the Exchequer should have put a tax on coffee and cocoa; but he had a right to ask why the right hon. Gentleman had selected tea for the whole increase of the duty? While this House properly took an interest in the industries of India and Ceylon, its main concern must be with the consumer at home. How could the right hon. Gentlemen the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in a time of peace, justify to the House the addition of so large an amount of taxation upon the working classes of the country? There was a much greater claim for remission of indirect taxation than of the income-tax. He wished it were possible for the working classes to realise what they did pay in indirect taxation. These taxes were easily collected, because people did not realise equally how much they paid through them, as they realised an increase of 1d. in the £1 on the rates. When these poor people were told how much they paid through indirect taxation they did not believe it; and he contended that if they did realise it there would be a revolution in the country. So long as they did not realise it, the boundless extravagance which had characterised the expenditure of the present Government would be continued. Then, he held that this tax was a direct discouragement to temperance in the country. After all, whatever might be said against tea, the drinking of it did not ruin homes, produce beggary, send people to the workhouse, or lead to crime. We did not find paupers who attributed the loss of their property to drinking tea. Therefore he thought they might have had some better proposals than those which encouraged the undue consumption of intoxicating liquors and discouraged the consumption of harmless beverages. Above all, why should an article of consumption found in the homes of the poorest of the poor all over the United Kingdom, and especially in Ireland, have been selected for increased taxation? He was certain that if hon.

Members were free to vote without fear of consequences the sense of the Committee generally would be in favour of his Amendment.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 1, line 16, to leave out the words 'In lieu of.'"—(*Mr. J. H. Lewis.*)

Question proposed, "That the words 'In lieu of' stand part of the clause."

*MR. HERBERT SAMUEL (Yorkshire, Cleveland) said he would not repeat the arguments of his hon. friend but would confine himself to the question. What was the burden of taxation which was now laid on the working classes of this country? In the earlier stages of the discussion on the Budget, his right hon. friend the Member for Haddingtonshire appealed to the Chancellor of the Exchequer to appoint an expert Committee to investigate the question of the real incidence of taxation on the various classes of the community; and he very much regretted that the right hon. Gentleman had refused to appoint such a Committee. Under these circumstances, they had to depend on their own researches. They were like doctors who were dealing with a malady without having diagnosed it. That necessary investigation which was required in order to enable the Committee to deal adequately and scientifically with the problem of taxation had not been undertaken. It was often assumed that as long as the State raised its revenue, half by direct and half by indirect taxation, a certain measure of justice was done as between the wealthier and the poorer classes. That was elevated to the rank of a principle of national finance. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, however, whose mind was always lucid, clearly stated that as far as he, at all events, was concerned, he recognised that there was no such principle whatever; and that the fact that direct and indirect taxation were about equal in volume was merely a coincidence, or very little more. There were many, however, who assumed that because this equality existed between direct and indirect taxation the burden on the average poor man was therefore the same as the burden on the average rich man. He thought the Committee ought to divest their mind of that idea. They should aim not at an equality amount of revenue at the Exchequer, but an equality of burden on the individual taxpayer. There was one principle, apart from land taxation, which stood to some extent on a separate basis, which commended itself to political economists and students of public finance in the allocation of taxation; and that was that each class and individual should, as far as was possible, be made to contribute to the revenue in proportion to its or his ability to pay. The present system of taxation of the country was very far indeed from conforming to that rule. They were left to their own researches; and he, for one, had spent many long days in investigating this problem.

The results at which one arrived were somewhat surprising. Taking an average working-class family receiving average wages, and consuming an average amount of taxable commodities, he found that they would pay, not an income-tax of 8d. in the £, as the income-tax on other classes used to be a few years ago, nor of 1s. as it now was, nor even of 1s. 4d. as it was during the war, but of no less than 1s. 7d. in the £ on their wages. In order to arrive at that conclusion it was necessary that two assumptions should be made. One was that it was the consumer who paid indirect taxation. It was universally admitted by political economists, so far as the long run was concerned, that, if a tax were not imposed, prices would be lower or the quality of the articles supplied would be better. The second assumption was that an average working-class family consumed an average amount of taxed commodities. Probably of spirits they would consume rather less; of beer rather more; of tea probably more; wine must, of course, be excluded from the calculation and coffee also, since the working-classes consumed but little. The extra duty on coal would also, not enter into the category at all. The assumption that an average working-class family consumed an average amount of taxed commodities was borne out by the budgets of expenditure which had been collected by the Board of Trade and by political economists. It was also supported by Lord Welby, than whom few men knew more about questions of indirect taxation.

He said in 1901 that four-fifths of the taxation on articles of consumption was paid by the working classes. Sir Robert Giffen, in his evidence before the Labour Commission, said that four-fifths of the population belonged to the working classes; and if four-fifths of the population paid four-fifths of the indirect taxation, it was obvious that an average working man's family did consume an average amount of taxed commodities. If that were accepted, they reached the fact that such a family paid in indirect taxation £7 5s. a year.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer, in answer to a Question which he put, stated that the taxes on tea, sugar, dried fruits, tobacco, beer and spirits would amount in 1904–5 to £65,100,000. According to the census there were just under 9,000,000 families in the United Kingdom; and dividing the amount of taxation by the number of families that gave a sum of £7 5s. per family paid by indirect taxation, which was equivalent to 1s. 7d. in the £ of the average wages of such families. He would not take any extreme case such as a farm labourer or any specially poor class of the population. He would take the average wages of a working-class family; and for that he went to the Labour Department of the Board of Trade. The President of the Board of Trade had stated, in answer to another Question, that the average annual earnings of the adult male wage-earners employed in the principal industrial and agricultural occupations in the United Kingdom in a year of average employment might be approximately estimated at £70 per head. Sir Robert Giffen said that the average family wages of a working-class family were rather more than £80. He would put it at £90 in order to be on the right side. The amount paid in indirect taxation was on that sum equivalent to 1s. 7d. in the £. It was quite true that rather more than half the indirect taxation was paid on beer and spirits, which were to the working classes more or less luxuries. Some hon. Gentlemen argued that because much taxation was raised by duties on beer and spirits and tobacco that, therefore, it was no taxation at all; and that the working man need not pay it if he did not choose to consume beer and spirits and tobacco. But they were dealing, not with an ideal population consisting of teetotalers and non-smokers, they were dealing with the British nation as it was, which, as a matter of fact, did smoke a great deal and did drink a great deal, being not yet converted to the principles of his hon. friend the Member for the Camborne Division, or, as regarded smoking, to the principles of his hon. friend the Member for Appleby. That being so, the fact remained that the working classes did pay the taxes on beer and spirits; and that they were consequently so much the poorer because of those taxes having been imposed. His hon. friend had truly said that there was little resentment against this taxation because it was not generally known. If a tax collector were to visit each year every working-class household and demand £7 5s., or if there was a deduction of 1s. 7d. from every £1 earned in wages, then, undoubtedly, there would be very fierce and bitter resentment; and there would soon be more economy in our administration and a rapid and sweeping reform in the financial system of the country.

It had been said by Colbert that the art of taxation consisted in so plucking the goose as to get the maximum quantity of feathers with the least possible amount of hissing; and that was a principle which had evidently to some extent animated the financiers of the country in the past. That was, however, very far short of the ideal at which public financiers should aim and very different from the maxims by which statesmen should be guided. Since 1899 the present Government had added £15,000,000 to the amount raised by indirect taxation. They had added 2·7 millions sterling to beer and spirits; £2,000,000 to tobacco; and no less than £10,000,000 to sugar and tea. That increase in indirect taxation was equal to 32s. 8d. per family per annum, and from tea and sugar alone it was equal to 22s. 2d. In other words, the right hon. Gentleman had taken for the purposes of the Government one week's wages from every working class family more than was taken five years ago. He would now turn to the taxation paid by the middle and wealthier classes. They paid indirect taxation the same as the poorer classes. They paid, in addition, the duties on wine and coffee and they paid the income-tax. Putting all those taxes together, and allowing for the abatements in the income-tax, one found that an income of £200 paid 1s. in the £; that an income of £500 also paid 1s., that an income of £1,000 paid 1s. 2d.; that an income of £5,000 paid 1s. ½d., while the workman's income of £90 paid 1s. 7d. Those figures were, of course, only approximate; and on the assumptions that the consumer paid the indirect taxes and that the average working-class family consumed an average amount of taxed articles. No one would assert for a moment that the working classes should not pay their fair portion towards the revenue of the State, but they would all admit that it was not fair to tax a man whose earnings were £90 a year 1s. in the £, if a man whose income was £5,000 a year was also taxed only 1s. It was still less fair to tax a man who earned £90 a year 1s. 7d. in the £, if the man with £5,000 a year only paid 1s. In our taxation there was a system of graduation, but it was graduation the wrong way. He submitted that the facts he had put before the Committee were sufficient to justify their asking for an inquiry into the incidence of our taxation. Such an inquiry would, he believed, show the urgent necessity for the revision of our whole system. In the meantime it was their duty to oppose this increase in the duty on tea, which would worsen the inequality already existing. It was evident that the whole of the social legislation of this House was largely nullified by the great progressive increase of taxation which was placed on the shoulders of the working-class population. With one hand we tried by our laws dealing with housing, with education, with temperance to raise them out of the swamp of poverty; with the other we imposed fresh burdens of taxation upon them which pushed them down still further into the slough. So long as this heavy taxation continued and increased, so long would they do much to stultify their efforts in the cause of social reform.

Sir CARNE RASCH (Essex, Chelmsford) said the speech of the hon. Member who moved the Amendment reminded him of the lady, introduced into the speech of the right hon. Member for West Monmouth, in his 1894 Budget Bill, who paid income-tax all her life without knowing it. He never saw the monstrousness of this extra duty on tea. It only amounted to about 1s. a year per head of the population which was not an enormous tax. After all, the working classes were the masters in this matter; they sent the Government to power in 1900; they voted for the war. Nobody could deny that it was popular with them. It was all very well to say—

> "Men laugh and jest until the feast is o'er;
> Then comes the reckoning, and they laugh no more."

But it was not a very brave thing upon the part of the working classes or their representatives in this House to vote for a war and then when it came to paying the expense of it, try to evade their liability.

*__Mr. LOUGH__ (Islington W.) said as the hon. Member had said, the working classes had returned the Party opposite to power in 1900, but it was to be hoped they would soon have an opportunity of reconsidering that decision, and, when they had, they would no doubt take these tea duties into account. His hon. friend had spoken in the interest of the poor consumers of this country, and as many others would no doubt speak from the same point of view, he would not traverse the ground. Then there was the question of the distributors. He had introduced two deputations of distributors to the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer. One was a deputation from the distributors of dry tea—a business with which he himself was connected, and the other represented that great new trade which had grown up in providing cheap food for the working and lower middle classes, which supplied liquid tea in cups. As tea was sold at a halfpenny or a penny a cup in many of these new coffee taverns, it was impossible to re-adjust prices so that the tax should be passed on to the consumer. Therefore, these tradesmen had a very serious grievance. However, the Chancellor of the Exchequer gave the utmost attention to the representations of both, and if he could do anything to readjust the burden of this duty he would do so.

He would say nothing further upon that. The most serious things in this matter was the interest of the growers of tea throughout the Empire. That point, no doubt, had been touched upon by the mover of the Amendment, but he had not said anything that would at all allay the dismay and alarm with which that great class, the growers, viewed this tax. There should be with regard to the duty on any commodity in the mind of every Chancellor of the Exchequer a figure beyond which taxation could not go without endangering the revenue received therefrom. In the opinion of the growers the tax of 6d. stood in that relation to tea; any increase upon it would result in disaster and would not be profitable to the Empire. In support of this view he would ask the House to consider the history of the 6d. duty on tea. For forty years this tax had never been more than 6d., and it was interesting to see how this House dealt with this matter in 1863, in the days of perhaps the greatest Chancellor of the Exchequer of modern times, Mr. Gladstone. At that time tea was already a great article of consumption in this country. We used 90,000,000 lbs. at a duty of 1s. 5d. per lb., and the revenue from that was just over £6,000,000, the same revenue which the right hon. Gentleman received to-day. All this tea came from foreign countries except 2,000,000 lbs. which came from India where tea growing was an infant industry. This industry was then passing through a great crisis and seemed to be passing away altogether. It looked as if it would have to be abandoned. Mr. Gladstone's eye fell upon this industry, and he was no doubt supported by Mr. Cobden in the drastic way in which he dealt with the tea duty. In the first year it was reduced by 5d., and in the next by 6d., leaving the duty at what it was before this tax was proposed. This sweeping reduction of the tea duty by 11d. a lb. might be contrasted with the niggling policy of recent years. It was a beautiful illustration of the system of taxation which had built up the wealth of this country. Mr. Gladstone was a true Imperialist, who had his eye on the real methods by which the interests of the Empire might be developed and consolidated and the investments of merchants and producers protected. The result of all this was perhaps the most romantic chapter in the annals of English trade. In 1863 India produced 2,000,000 lbs., in 1873 21,000,000; in 1883, when Ceylon had commenced to contribute, 62,000,000; in 1893 240,000,000; and in 1903 355,000,000, surely a most remarkable development of commerce. At the present time, the tea industry of India and Ceylon was not languishing. It passed through bad times like other businesses, but nobody thought of abandoning it. He hoped the Committee would not forget the figures which had been brought forward by the mover of the Amendment to show the result of the present duty, and what the effect of raising it to 8d. would be. His hon. friend had shown that the raising of the duty to 6d. had checked the supply of tea from these countries; that it went down some millions of pounds. Before then it was increasing by 5,000,000 lbs. a year.

With these figures in their mind he would ask the Committee to contrast the action of the two Chancellors. In 1864 Mr. Gladstone made a proposal which had the result of inducing our own Empire to begin producing an article which had hitherto come from foreign parts, and now the present Chancellor of the Exchequer was making a proposal which had the opposite effect of driving trade from our own Empire, and inflicting a heavy blow upon an industry in which a huge amount of capital had been invested. The right hon. Gentleman had given expression to certain ideas which were very ominous to the producers of tea. He had stated that the people were "saturated" with tea, and that the same development could not be expected in the future as had taken place in the past. But that was the argument of all Chancellors of the Exchequer, whenever through their greed or folly they injured a trade, they laid the blame on Nature instead of on their own actions. There were many parts of the country in which greater development was possible. Ireland consumed more tea in proportion to population than any other part of the Kingdom. Every year 50,000 or 60,000 people were driven out of the country; but he looked forward to the time when under proper conditions the population of Ireland would be allowed to increase.

Every million by which the population increased would mean an additional consumption of 8,000,000 lbs. of tea. But the population of Great Britain was also increasing every year, and the consumption of tea had not nearly reached its maximum, so that it was quite easy to imagine an increase of 50,000,000 or 60,000,000 lbs. of tea in ten years. In any case, it was not the business of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to give a blow to an industry and then say the consequent decline was not his fault. When they came to consider why this particular tax had been selected the reason was obvious. It was because the advisers of the Chancellor had told him that every additional penny on tea brought in £1,000,000 to the Exchequer. The same used to be said of the income-tax, but tea was a much more delicate and subtle subject of taxation, and the marvellous way in which the industry had grown suggested that it might with equal ease be damaged, and if this took place each penny would not produce the expected return. How far was this policy to be carried? Would the tax be raised to 10d. or 1s. or even 1s. 5d.? The Committee ought not to pass from the subject without obtaining from the Chancellor of the Exchequer a statement that would console the minds of the people engaged in the industry. The least the right hon. Gentleman could do was to promise that the tax should be of a purely temporary character.

*Mr. MARTIN (Worcestershire, Droitwich) said there was another point more interesting than any yet dealt with in connection with this examination as to whether the tax was really oppressive, and as to who should bear it. It seemed to him that the real people who were grinding down the poor were the wealthy wholesale tea dealers who were charging exorbitant prices for their wares. He once asked a friend of his who was a wholesale tea dealer what was the highest price he had ever paid for tea, and his answer was that it was one of the secrets of the trade which he would rather not divulge, and, when he asked him if he had ever paid 8d. he made the same reply. As a matter of fact, he (the hon. Member) believed ordinary good tea was about 4d. or 6d., and, allowing a margin of 1d. and adding a tax of 6d., they brought the prices to 1s. 1d., leaving, at the 2s. which was charged to the public, a profit of 11d. or over 45 per cent. If the tea were put up to 8d. the cost would then be 1s. 3d., which would leave a profit of 9d., or about 32 per cent. There was thus, as far as they knew, a very large profit to the wholesale distributors of tea, and he thought the trade could quite well afford an extra 1d. or so, and that there was no reason why they should grumble over it. Even if they paid the full increase of 2d. per lb. their profit would still be something like 25½ per cent., which ought to be enough to pay to the wholesale and retail dealers. He therefore maintained that there was a large profit; and unless there was some attempt on the part of the wholesale dealers to reduce the price to the consumer, they had no right to cry out. No doubt it would be hard on the poorer people, to whom an extra 2d. was a great consideration, but he did not think the wholesale dealers had made out any case why they could not pay the additional 2d. or at all events some part of it. He considered the Committee would devote their time more usefully to the consideration of this point than to the question of the general incidence of taxation, and as to how far direct and indirect taxation ought to be borne by the same individual. He had often suggested—but he had never found anyone willing to undertake the task—that a Return should be made showing the percentage of taxation borne by persons spending £2 a week and £1,000 or £10,000 a year; and he considered such a Return would be most useful.

Mr. SOARES (Devonshire, Barnstaple) said he did not pretend to know precisely the proportion of profits that were divided between the wholesale tea dealer and the planters; but he knew that the tax would increase the price of tea 2d. per lb. or more, and would be a heavy burden on the poor, and it was because of this that he opposed it. The previous Friday afternoon he walked over to the Park and he was struck, as he always was, with the wealth, luxury, and extravagance which one saw on all sides there; and he was perfectly certain that if one had asked any of the elegantly dressed ladies what the price of tea was and whether it had been increased in consequence of the tax, very few would have been able to tell them anything about it, unless they happened to be the wives of Members of Parliament. Even in this House, although they saw a general election was imminent, and were therefore compelled to be economical, none of them had curtailed their consumption of tea, and he had not heard that hospitality on the Terrace had in any way been curtailed. He was quite sure that during the season not one single cup of tea less would be consumed in London drawing-rooms because of the tax. It was, however, quite a different matter with the poor. The other day he was staying in the North of England, and he asked a poor woman what she thought of the Budget. She said the village grocer had put the price of tea up 2d. per lb., and she announced her intention of getting even with him by making three-quarters of a pound go as far as one pound had hitherto done. This meant that the poor woman, her husband, and children, would consume less tea in the future than in the past. He therefore maintained that the tax was burdensome to the poor and did not press heavily on the rich. Then let them take another section of the people—those in receipt of outdoor relief. He was a guardian of the poor, and he knew perfectly well that not one penny more was being given in outdoor relief because of this tax, and yet ½d. or 1d. per week to those people was of the very gravest importance. Many of them lived largely upon weak tea and bread and butter, and they would feel this tax very much indeed. It was really almost a farce when one remembered that it was this Government which promised them old-age pensions. Instead of giving them old-age pensions they taxed their tea. He knew, too, from experience that the tax would be a heavy burden upon the agricultural labourers. Most of them were in receipt of low wages and a penny per week made a lot of difference to them. They were large consumers of tea. They drank it in the morning, most of them took it with them in bottles and drank it with their mid-day meal in the fields; and then they drank it again when they arrived home at night. All these people would have to pay more for their tea. Then there was that large section of women who worked at home—sempstresses, and so forth. Those anæmic women had to take a certain amount of stimulant, and temperance people recommended them to take tea, and undoubtedly this class would feel the tea tax as a very severe burden. They were people without votes who were compelled to suffer in silence, and they would feel this burden very severely.

SIR JOHN GORST (Cambridge University) said the hon. Member for Islington was quite right in saying that this tax on tea would interfere with the tea industry. Any tax was injurious to those who produced the particular article taxed, and it lessened the consumption and the amount produced of that article. His sympathies were with those who consumed tea in this country, and there was no doubt that the tea duty pressed very heavily upon the workpeople of this country. He did not object to a tax of this kind being put on as a war tax, because it was most important that every person in the country should be made acquainted with the cost of going to war. The hon. Member opposite had truly said that the South African War was a war which the people approved of and that its cost should be brought home to every working man in the country. That he did not complain of, but the war concluded more than two years ago, and this tea duty was not now being imposed as a war tax but as a part of the ordinary taxation of the country. The Chancellor of the Exchequer with very great courage said on the debate on this Bill that he did not see his way to any possibility of retrenchment, and he expressed similar sentiments the other night when he said that so long as they were determined to keep up such an enormous Army so long would it be impossible for the Chancellor of the Exchequer to propose any remission of taxation. Although the poor and the rich alike had war taxation imposed upon them, yet when the war was over the remission was immediately given to the rich and withheld from the poor, although equal quantities of direct and indirect taxation were put upon the shoulders of the people. When the war was over direct taxation was remitted to a very much greater extent than indirect taxation. Consequently the rich people got the remission first although the poor expected it first. The pre ent system of taxation was a rough attempt to equalise the taxation upon rich and poor. In former days Chancellors of the Exchequer, both Liberal and Conservative, worked upon the principle that they ought to raise an equal amount of revenue from direct and indirect taxation. The late Lord Derby laid it down as a canon of finance that if the Government remitted a certain amount of direct taxation they ought to remit an equal amount of indirect taxation; and Lord Derby further said that when they remitted indirect taxation they never put it on again. Now they were constantly increasing indirect taxation. Working men with small incomes paid a very much larger proportion to the Chancellor of the Exchequer than a man with £5,000 or £6,000 a year or a man with £500 or £600 a year. As a matter of fact, the present system of taxation pressed more heavily upon the poor than the rich. The principle which was accepted by most statesmen was that a man ought to be taxed according to his ability to pay, and a perfectly fair system was that every man should pay the same proportion in taxation to the State. Some people held the doctrine that every man should be secured the bare means of subsistence free from taxation and that taxes should be imposed only upon superfluities. That was called Socialism by some people, but the responsible Minister in this House worked upon the principle that the ideal system of taxation was that in which everybody paid the same proportion of the money over which he had command.

The hon. Member for Essex said very truly that the people did not object to this tea duty, and that they had the remedy in their own hands but they did not apply it. To some extent that was true, but if the mass of the people of this country were sufficiently enlightened and instructed and made aware that they paid a greater proportion of taxation than the rich, he was not quite so sure that they would stand it. The people did not know this fact, and their leaders did not tell them. Where were the representatives of the working classes during this debate? He saw one of them present, and he hoped the hon. Member for Clitheroe would give them his views upon this question. The hon. Member behind him had spoken of the profits made by the wholesale dealers in tea, and he seemed to think that a great part of this tax would be paid by the wholesale dealers. That might be perfectly true in regard to the tea sold to the richer classes, but it was not true of the tea consumed by the poor. The poor people got their tea mostly from co-operative societies and they bought their tea mostly from the Co-operative Wholesale Society, which was the biggest importer of tea in Great Britain. This large wholesale society distributed tea in the Midlands and in the North of England amongst the poor, and the consumer could not by any possibility escape paying his full share of the tax. The Co-operative Wholesale Society was bound to charge the extra price, and the Committee might take it that the great mass of the working population did pay directly the tax which was imposed upon tea. The question the Committee had to decide was whether the poor were paying too much or not enough of the taxation of this country. He earnestly recommended to the Chancellor of the Exchequer that if they had to continue raising this enormous revenue he ought to make some official inquiry in regard to the proportion to be borne by working men who had very small means and who often had great difficulty in making both ends meet, and the proportion to be borne by the richer classes of the community. There was one reason why he was especially suspicious in regard to this tax, and it was because they had been told that under certain conditions in the future the tea duty was to be done away with. That was why they were a little suspicious that an increase in the tea duty was now being made with that object. The time might come when the Unionist Party, after being purged of men like himself, would become a united Party and would do away with the tea duty. If the Chancellor of the Exchequer would assure them that this was a perfectly genuine business and that this tax was being put on solely for revenue purposes, the Committee would much more readily be likely to accept his proposals. Although the House might this year allow this additional burden on the poor, he hoped that before next year, and before any proposal was made to further increase indirect taxation which was already so high, some inquiry would be made to see whether or not the working classes of this country did not pay a wholly undue proportion of public burdens.

*SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT (Monmouthshire, W.) said he wanted to state in a few words why he would vote against the increase in the tea duty. In dealing with the question of taxation both in and out of this House he had consistently maintained that indirect taxation fell much more heavily on the class least able to bear it than any other form of taxation. They were face to face with declarations made in various quarters that there was a disposition now to reverse the policy by which the indirect taxation of this country had been consistently reduced by the Chancellors of the Exchequer one after another; reduced so that the comparative burden of indirect taxation should be less and not greater than it was. They had recently a declaration of the most formidable character by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, namely, that he saw no prospect of the reduction of the expenditure of this country. The expenditure of this country, he believed, at this moment was more than the country was able or ought to be called upon to bear. If that were true, it was quite certain that when the Chancellor of the Exchequer admitted that the expenditure would not be reduced they might conclude that it would be increased. There was and must always be a normal moderate increase in the expenditure of this country consequent on the growth of its population, and the expansion of its resources. But the expenditure of this country had far exceeded any reasonable amount due to either of these causes. If that were so, it was quite plain that the most serious question for everybody in this country was how it was going to be met. The hon. and gallant Member for Essex had said that this proposal was the result of the Khaki war. That was quite true. The hon. and gallant Member said that the people of this country liked the Khaki war. He himself was one of those who did not like it. The hon. and gallant Member said that the people of this country had the matter in their own hands if they did not like the consequences of the Khaki war. Well, had they it in their own hands? That was the point he was going to deal with. As far as he could see the people were going to take it into their own hands, and there were symptoms that they did not like the consequences which had come upon them from the cost of the war.

They were told that there were to be large contributions from the Transvaal. The large contributions were not to be found. He never believed in these contributions. He had always maintained in this House that we never would get them, and he was sorry to say that it seemed to him that there were very sound grounds for the prediction he made on that subject. That being the case what was to be the direction of the future policy of taxation in this country? It was adumbrated that it was to be in the direction of increased indirect taxation. He could recollect the day when Mr. Gladstone took off the tea duty. He recollected the popular feeling that was created among the humbler classes of this country by the greater cheapness of the commodity of tea. It was one of the greatest blessings that ever was bestowed upon the people of this country next to the abolition of the duty upon corn which was so much felt by the working classes. War always meant the imposition of taxes, but they always expected when the war was over that there would be a remission of taxation. There was a remission of taxation in the year after the war. But what was the character of that remission? The remission of direct taxation was largely out of proportion to the remission of indirect taxation. That was the first indication of the policy that was going to be pursued. Now they had this proposal to increase the tea duty in the second year after the war. He protested against that policy and he would vote against it. That policy was called scientific taxation. It meant a general increase in indirect taxation. Put in plain words that was what scientific taxation meant. They were now in the second year after the war, when people had a right to believe that they would have a further remission of war taxation. Instead of there being a further remission there was an increase in taxation. He thought they ought to take every opportunity of protesting against such a policy as that. Nobody pretended that the tea duty did not fall on the consumer. He was sure the Chancellor of the Exchequer would not maintain that for a moment. From that point of view, and believing it to be unjust that after the close of the war there should be a great increase of indirect taxation, he would certainly vote against this increase of the tea duty. It was a great injustice to the growers of tea in India, and from that point of view it required serious consideration. He objected to the increase of the duty because tea was largely consumed by the humbler classes of the country. The hon. Member for Islington had said truly that there was no part of the United Kingdom where it would be more felt than in Ireland.

Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said he would not vie with the right hon. Gentleman as a prophet. The right hon. Gentleman had truly said that from the beginning he had expressed his disbelief in the receipt by this country of any contribution from the Transvaal towards the expenses of the late war. The Government regretted that it had not been possible to obtain that contribution as early as they had hoped and expected, but for his part he saw no reason to abandon the expectation because it had been delayed, and he still expected that they would receive the contribution that was originally anticipated though at a later date. The right hon. Gentleman alluded to a speech he made the other night at the Mansion House, and said that this tax had assumed a certain added gravity because of the nature of the observations he then made. The right hon. Gentleman quoted him as having said that there was no prospect of any reduction in our taxation.

*Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: In our expenditure?

Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said that was not exactly the meaning he intended to convey. He was alluding to some remarks of a previous speaker's as to the high level at which many of our taxes now stood, and he said he saw no prospect of any such reduction of taxation as would bring these taxes down to such figures as he had spoken of, in our present circumstances. He did not wish to be held as saying that no reductions in expenditure either in regard to the Army or Navy or of particular parts of the Civil Service were possible; but he did say that, having regard to the natural and inevitable growth to which the right hon. Gentleman had just alluded, no great reduction in expenditure could be expected as long as we had to maintain our defences and preparations upon the scale which was now required by the situation in the world. The discussion on this Amendment, which raised the question of whether there should be any increase in the tea tax or not, had travelled over a rather wide area. He would deal first with those critics who had said that the proportion of indirect taxation he was now imposing was unfair to the indirect taxpayer. Whilst it was, no doubt, true of certain indirect taxes, and of this tea duty amongst others, that they did press with greater severity on the poor than they did on the rich, he did not accept the view that that was true, or necessarily true, of all indirect taxation. He could conceive a tax upon an article of luxury, which was also an indirect tax, that would fall almost wholly on the rich and not on the poor. He quite admitted that that was not the case with the tea duty, which fell with greater severity upon the poor than on the rich. In his proposal to raise the tea duty it was not fair to take it only by itself. He was raising as much by direct taxation as by indirect. It must be remembered that indirect taxation fell on the whole community, though with greater force on the poor, while direct taxation, such as the income-tax, fell only on a very small class of the community. The right hon. Gentleman and others complained that his right hon. friend who preceded him in the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer gave an undue proportion of relief to the direct taxpayer last year and an insufficient relief to indirect taxation. At any rate, the right hon. Member for Croydon was not open to the suspicion which the right hon. Member for Cambridge University cherished as to the motive which impelled him to increase the tea duty. That right hon. Gentleman was, he believed, a great admirer of the financier on the other side of the House, whose orthodoxy was beyond criticism. When that decrease was made the reason for it was that during the war the direct taxpayer had been called upon to pay more than his peace proportion of the increase that was necessary. There was a rule of finance that, at the first call of war, recourse must be had to the direct taxpayer, and during the course of the war the direct taxpayer would have his burdens increased out of proportion to those of the general taxpayer, and it was in recognition of the additional sacrifices he had to make that his right hon. friend gave a larger proportion of the relief which was at his disposal to the direct taxpayers. The right hon. Member for Cambridge University said that the remissions of, or additions to, direct and indirect taxation ought always to be in the same proportion; but that was impossible because indirect taxation must vary with the amount of dutiable goods consumed. Changes in the habits of the people might very seriously affect the produce of a particular tax and upset the balance so laboriously built up between direct and indirect taxation. He could, at any rate, say that the estimate of the revenue which had been framed—and which he still thought, with a little more experience than he had at the moment when he had been obliged to frame it—was a very fair estimate for the year, and that he had brought the proportions of direct and indirect taxation back to the point they occupied before the war, that was to say, to a point more favourable to the indirect taxpayer than at any preceding period when the right hon. Gentleman who criticised him was responsible for the finances of the country. Fortune was not always kind, and none of them knew whether the Government would be allowed to remain in office to carry out those schemes of reform which they had framed for the benefit of the country. He did not say that there were not good things in store for the benefit of the taxpayers—more death duties and such like—but he maintained that the proportions fixed between direct and indirect taxation, be they right or wrong, were the proportions which prevailed before the war, and were more favourable to the indirect taxpayer than in any previous year. That he believed was settled.

The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Cleveland raised a difficult question. The proportion of half-and-half of which the hon. Member had spoken was purely arbitrary, resting on no principle, and having no merit except that it was easy to remember. He agreed with the hon. Member that we must look further to the capacity with which the people could bear taxation, but he thought it was wise also to consider, as Colbert argued, in what manner the revenue which it was necessary to raise could be raised most easily. The mover of the Amendment said that if all the facts were known as to the present taxation, he believed that there would be a revolution. He differed from the hon. Gentleman; but, assuming that his statement was accurate, he was not certain that a system which produced a revolution was not to be preferred to one which enabled the revenue to be collected easily and without any sense of injustice in any section of the community. The hon. Member for Cleveland had taken a great deal of trouble to make a calculation as to the amount of taxation borne by the working classes and what proportion of their income they were obliged to pay to the Exchequer. That was a subject of great interest but also one of extreme difficulty. He himself was very anxious to obtain more accurate ideas on this subject than he had when he first went to the Treasury, and he had hoped that he would have been in a position to frame some estimate sufficiently trustworthy for him to give to the House as the basis for discussion on this matter. He had, however, been warned by every one of his responsible advisers—men who had had great experience and had devoted much study to this question—that they had no more difficult subject of inquiry and that there was no calculation that they were prepared to give him which would be at all trustworthy, or at all fit to be placed before the House or which it would be safe to give. He did not say that they had exhausted all means of arriving at the truth; but he did say that he could not accept the figures of the hon. Gentleman; nor did he think that the averages taken, as he had taken them, settled the question. The hon. Gentleman himself admitted that an average of what was paid by the whole taxpayers would be no measure in this matter. Amongst the working classes circumstances differed as widely as between the working classes and the class next above them, or between the middle classes and the higher classes. What they could calculate was the amount of taxation which was taken compulsorily, whether they would or not, from members of this class per head. He distinguished between those taxes from payment of which a man could not escape—taxes on articles of consumption, in which he would include tea and sugar, and taxes on alcohol and tobacco, which were also largely paid by the working classes. But surely, when they were considering what was the capacity of the people to pay and whether they were unduly burdened, the taxation taken on something in the nature of a comfort or luxury was a very material point. If they looked at what was taken from articles of necessity, including all except alcohol and tobacco, it amounted to no more than 7s. 3d. per head. He did not think that that was a demand too great to make considering the amount that had to be raised altogether to meet general expenditure. He confessed he found it difficult to reconcile the argument of the hon. Gentleman that there should be some material decrease in the taxation, with the desire that the burden of this great expenditure should be brought home to every voter in order that public opinion might be roused to check its growth. For his part, when regard was had to the enormous proportion of expenditure which now went specially to the benefit of the poorer classes in the community, when regard was had to the fact how vitally they were interested in the proper administration of the great spending Departments, and that they would suffer most by any failure on the part of this country to keep command of the sea, he was not afraid to appeal to his countrymen, to whatever class they belonged, that they should bear whatever expense was necessary. And he did not hold that any Member of this House need be afraid to appeal to his constituents on that basis.

The right hon. Gentleman opposite said that, of course, this tax would be borne by the consumer in this country. To that extent, however, it lessened the complaint of the tea growers of other countries, of which they heard a great deal. He did not say that the tea grower would be entirely unaffected because the tax would fall on the consumer in this country; as it was perfectly true that if there were a great reduction in the quantity consumed that would obviously affect him. But how would it affect him? Surely, by reducing the demand for his tea. He would then have a supply greater than his demand; the price would fall; and, to that extent, the consumer in this country would cease to pay the duty. He thought that that would not be contradicted by any of the statesmen whom his right hon. friend the Member for Cambridge University had yoked to his cart. He was not without sympathy for the tea growers in India and Ceylon.

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT said that if the demand decreased the tea growers would lose the capital they had expended.

Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said, although that was really no answer, he might make one observation upon it. He thought capital was liquid and that it could be removed from one industry to another.

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT said capital in a plantation could not be removed.

Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said that if the right hon. Gentleman would consult the manufacturers as to how much capital they could get out of their business if they ceased to be able to produce a profit he would alter his opinion. That, however, was not material to his point. The right hon. Gentleman said that if tea planters ceased to produce they would lose their capital. But they would have every stimulus not to lose that capital and not to cease to produce. What he was pointing out was that if that occurred the price in this country must fall, and the consumer would be relieved of the tax. He did not, however, think that that was going to happen. He did not think that the consumption of tea in this country was going to be changed so as to materially affect the imports of tea. Hon. Members had quoted the figures of the imports of tea for individual years. That was, he thought, a very misleading and dangerous way of treating the figures; because, necessarily, no account was taken of the stocks in the hands of dealers and grocers at the beginning of the year. It was much safer to take an average, say of a period of three years, and then to compare periods. He had had the figures taken out from as far back as 1859 right up to the close of 1903; and it would be seen from them that there was a steady growth in the consumption of tea in this country in spite of the increase of duty in 1900; and he believed that the increase in the imports would continue in spite of the increase which he was now obliged to impose. It was suggested by several hon. Gentlemen that the increase in the tea duty was peculiarly unfavourable to the growers in Ceylon. He thought the figures hardly bore that out. It was suggested that the effect of increasing the duty on tea was to cause a greater quantity of China tea to be imported, which would replace Ceylon-grown tea. If hon. Members would examine the figures more carefully they would find that, so far as Ceylon tea had been displaced in the home market, it had been displaced by Indian tea and not by China tea. There was no decrease in the importation of Ceylon tea in 1900; the decrease began in 1901, and continued in 1902 and in 1903; but that decrease was accompanied by a very marked rise in the importation of tea from British India. There was one other observation he would make which had been overlooked by hon. Gentlemen. There had been a falling off in the amount of tea brought into this country for re-export; and that had affected the figures. More tea was being shipped direct from Ceylon to other countries than was the case formerly. The re-exports of Ceylon tea from the United Kingdom to other countries fell between 1901 and 1903 by over 2,000,000 lbs. The import figures should, therefore, be corrected to that extent before they could judge as to what the rates of the whole consumption had been. He thought he had now dealt with all the points which had been raised.

He would not go into the question concerning distribution, to which allusion had been made by the hon. Gentleman the Member for West Islington, because the hon. Gentleman said that he proposed to raise it again. As regarded one observation of the hon. Gentleman, namely that the tax pressed very heavily on the sellers of liquid tea—coffee-house owners and others—it was evident from the case they put before him that they were accustomed to make tea practically produce the whole profit of their business. They sold meat and bread at prices which left them no profit, and which barely paid the expenses that were being incurred; they even supplied condiments—salt, pepper, and vinegar—to people who brought their own food; and the fact was that the ½d. cup of tea had to pay the whole cost of running the establishment, apart from the bare cost of the other materials, and they were getting out of tea all their profit. Of course, if that was the case, there were other ways in which they could redress the injury put upon them by the higher taxation of tea than by simply raising the price of the cup of tea; and it was unfair to argue that no Finance Minister should ever touch tea because it would cut out all source of profit in a business in which all the profit was taken out of tea. He did not propose an increase in the tea tax with any pleasure. He did not consider it as being in itself an admirable or desirable thing. He came to it rather by a process of exclusion; but having to raise revenue, and under the conditions with which they were confronted, he did not think there was any fairer method of distribution than a proposal to increase the duty on tea, coupled with an increase of 1d. in the £ on income-tax. He thought he had now said all that need be said in connection with the speeches which had been delivered. He had been obliged to repeat himself to some extent; but he hoped the Committee would forgive that, because, after all, this was not the only time they had discussed the question, and he had had to reply previously to many of the arguments which had been advanced.

*Sir HENRY FOWLER (Wolverhampton, E.) said that the Chancellor of the Exchequer in commencing his speech, referred to a remark which had fallen from the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Monmouthshire with reference to a report which appeared in the newspapers of a statement made by the right hon. Gentleman at the Mansion House. He did not think that the Chancellor of the Exchequer really qualified the character of that announcement or in any way altered its meaning. The right hon. Gentleman at the Mansion House said that the scale of taxation required by the present condition of the world did not admit of any material reduction from its present standpoint. That was exactly the point on which he wished to join issue with the right hon. Gentleman, because, in his opinion, the present scale of expenditure was not required by the present condition of the world, but was required by the present policy of His Majesty's Ministers. That was a very different thing from the present condition of the world. Later in his speech the right hon. Gentleman brought up again the old story of the Navy; and he said he was quite sure that the constituencies would not respond to any reduction in necessary Navy expenditure. That was not the question at issue.

Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said he was very glad to hear it, because the proposition was made by several speakers on the other side of the House.

*Sir HENRY FOWLER said he did not quite agree. The question was a question of principle; not the application of the principle; and there was no controversy between the two sides of the House with regard to the country not grudging any necessary expenditure on the Navy for the proper protection of the country and of its vast trade. The controversy was as to extravagant and unnecessary expenditure on the Army; and, in discussing that, they should always remember that the Chancellor of the Exchequer was not only maintaining but increasing taxation. This was not war taxation. This was a peace Budget; it was peace taxation intended to form a permanent part of the ordinary revenue. No doubt the war led to expenditure, because it called the attention of the country to certain deficiences in its military administration. But that in no way justified this exceptional taxation, which was to be a permanent increase; nor could it be justified on the ground that all classes of the community had to pay their share. He agreed with the Chancellor of the Exchequer that no question of principle was settled by the classification into direct and indirect taxation. Direct taxation did not mean taxation affecting a certain specific class, but taxes collected at the least possible cost in a direct manner with no deductions in consequence of their imposition. Indirect taxation was an attempt to delude people into the payment of taxes of which they were not conscious, and involved a larger expenditure upon collection and on various details of trade arising from that mode of collecting revenue. A statement of so much per cent. on this side and on that, and that there was a perfectly fair balance between the two did, not touch the issue set out in the remarks of the hon. Member for Cleveland. It was the equality of burden and the class of person on whom the burden fell that was the question raised. No doubt a poll-tax would be the most direct form of taxation if it could be levied; but, of course, that was out of the bounds of possibility; but if you take from a man's income a certain amount and take from a person of larger means a like amount, the burden is not equalised when you apply a rule of three sum to the large and small incomes; the burden is the capacity of the man to pay that amount. Taxation on the poor was not harsh because it was indirect; but because the burden on the poor man was greater, and it was harsh when the tax was imposed upon a necessity of life. The present Government had imposed taxation on necessities of life; first there was the tax upon corn and now the right hon. Gentleman had increased the tax on tea by 50 per cent. Nobody knew whether the corn tax was meant to be permanent or temporary until, through the attitude adopted by the right hon. Member for Croydon, it was treated as a temporary tax and got rid of, but now the right hon. Gentleman dealt with another necessity of life second only to corn, and he proposed to make the tax permanent. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had laid down a distinction between necessaries and luxuries, and had said that there were certain things that people could do without and if they were taxed you taxed luxuries, but in putting a tax on tea he taxed what was a necessity of life to the Irish peasant.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: I expressly excluded tea.

*SIR HENRY FOWLER: Then why did the right hon. Gentleman increase the taxation? A duty on tobacco was a tax on a luxury, but the right hon. Gentleman dealt with tea, and an addition of 2d. was made on tea—2d. on 4d, an increase of 50 per cent. for war purposes, while the tobacco duties which had been reduced by 6d. a year before, a reduction from which the consumer got no proportionate advantage, were never raised to a war level. The real objection to this tax was that it was demanded for expenditure the country ought not to be called upon to bear, and when the country had the opportunity he did not doubt that in that sense a verdict would be pronounced. If such expenditure was necessary, then let taxation be levied on those best able to bear it. Had the Chancellor of the Exchequer proposed an equivalent increase in the income-tax his proposal would have met with the strongest if not successful opposition.

MR. MCKENNA said the Chancellor of the Exchequer had justified his proposal to put half the amount required on direct and half on indirect taxation, by saying it was a convenient method, and easy to remember. Coming, as the proposal did, so soon after the reductions made by the right hon. Member for Croydon, when he took four times as much off direct as off indirect taxation, upon the ground that in the first instance the war taxes had been practically drawn from direct taxation, he was, he confessed, astonished at that statement of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. He had a very distinct recollection of the speech made by the right hon. Member for West Bristol, when Chancellor of the Exchequer, in introducing his Budget. The right hon. Gentleman then said—

> "There is another thing; during the last four years the proportion in which our revenue has been derived from direct and indirect taxation has not varied. The portion of it derived from direct taxation is rather less—a slightly increasing proportion—than that derived from indirect taxation, but there has been no material variation. I think those proportions are fair. We shall endeavour as far as may be to see that this proportion shall not be materially varied."

That was to say, in imposing fresh taxation for the war, the right hon. Gentleman put it equally on direct and indirect taxation; and he pursued the same system in 1901. When taxation which was taken off last year had to be re-imposed, surely it was only just that it should be re-imposed in the same proportions by which it had been reduced. It was absurd to say now that in time of war the direct taxpayer was the first resource of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, when, in fact, the direct taxpayer was not the first resource in 1900. Discussion on the tea duty was not a new thing in the House of Commons. There had been discussions every year, certainly, since Mr. Burke described tea as the most important article of our trade. He had not looked up the whole of the debates which had taken place upon tea, but he had looked up some of the pregnant observations of some of the right hon. Gentleman's predecessors, which the right hon. Gentleman might wisely follow. Both the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Monmouthshire and the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol had had observations to make during the last ten or twelve years on the subject of tea, and if the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer had taken their experience as a guide he would not have hastened with unwise speed to touch the tea duty at this moment. In 1894 the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Monmouthshire had to face a situation of great difficulty; trade was very bad and he had to face a deficit. He found the tea duty at 4d., but he did not propose to raise it. The right hon. Gentleman said—

> "Next as to tea. Here there has been an excess of £101,000 over the receipt in the preceding year, and an increase of 6,000,000 lbs. or 3 per cent. on the whole consumption."

The conditions were so satisfactory as not to warrant him in interfering in any way with the tea duty, which then stood at only 4d. He would now turn to some observations made by the right hon. Member for West Bristol in 1896. He then found the tea duty still at 4d. and he showed there was an increase in that year over the preceding year of no less than

£158,000 of revenue and that the consumption had increased by nearly 10,000,000 lbs.

In 1897 he had the same tale to tell of a large increase of consumption and a large increase of revenue. In 1898 and 1899 the story was the same, so that during the period between 1894 to the close of the century there was a continuous increase of revenue from tea and a large increase in the home consumption. That was while the duty stood at 4d. In 1900 there was the war. The duty was increased to 6d., and the receipts largely increased, but with regard to the increase the Chancellor of the Exchequer said that a part of it was doubtless due to premature withdrawals from bonds. In 1901 there was an increase of £1,000,000 on tea beyond the estimate, but that again was accounted for by forestalments. In that year the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol, having to find a new source of revenue, said—

> "I turn to tea. Tea is already taxed up to 75 per cent. of its value. Tea is the produce mainly of India and Ceylon—a produce in which our fellow-subjects at home and abroad are deeply interested, and a trade which, owing largely, I think, to overproduction, is at present in a by no means satisfactory condition. I do not think we ought to increase the duty on tea."

That was when the duty was 75 per cent. of the value, and when an estimated deficit of £55,000,000 had to be faced. To-day the proposed duty of 8d. was 100 per cent. on the average price of tea, and 120 per cent. on the price of the ordinary cheap tea. In the face of these facts was the present Chancellor of the Exchequer wise in departing from the advice and practice of so distinguished a predecessor, and in asking the House to disregard the fact that such an increase of duty was a great obstacle in the way of a trade now chiefly done with our own Colonies? In 1902 the Chancellor of the Exchequer, speaking as to the advisability of imposing any fresh duty on tea, said—

> "Then, Sir, I come to tea. I have listened to the pitiful cry of our fellow-subjects, the tea producers in India and Ceylon, and bearing in mind that tea, which is almost a necessary of life, is already taxed to 75 per cent. of its average value, I confess I should be sorry to increase that tax."

He asked the Committee to compare the treatment meted out to our Colonies by a free-trader who listened to the pitiful cry that came from India and Ceylon, and the treatment proposed to be meted out by an avowed protectionist and advocate of colonial preference. In 1903 the then Chancellor of the Exchequer, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Croydon, did not refer specially to tea, but he followed the wise policy of his predecessor and left it alone. The Chancellor of the Exchequer now said that there had been some confusion as to the consumption of tea, and had suggested that if a triennial period were taken it would be found that during the last three years there had been a substantial increase. But was it fair to take the total consumption of tea without having regard to the large increase in population? Surely the figure to be taken was the consumption per head of the population.

Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: That is what I was dealing with.

Mr. McKENNA said that in that case he was afraid the right hon. Gentleman's figures were wrong. As he was informed, the consumption per head in the year 1900 was 6·07 lbs.; in 1901, 6·16; in 1902, 6·06; and in 1903, 6·03, so that in the two years after the imposition of the increased duty there was a considerable decline. Having regard to the fact that the duty was not at once felt, owing to the large stocks of tea in hand, he submitted that it was not fair to take the whole of the year 1901 as a taxed year. If allowance were made for that fact, it would be found that since the increase of the tax there had been an appreciable reduction in the consumption per head of the population. The right hon. Gentleman had also stated that, while it was true that the consumption of tea from Ceylon had largely declined during the last few years, the consumption from India had made an important increase. He was not certain whether the right hon. Gentleman meant that the total consumption from India and Ceylon combined had not declined. It might be true that in tea from India there had been an increase, but it was certainly not so large as to make up for the decrease of 9,000,000 lbs. from Ceylon. Side by side with that diminution in the consumption of tea from our Colonies there was an increase in the importation of China teas, showing that the tendency of an increase of duty was to injure our colonial trade, to reduce the consumption of tea at home, to impair the revenue, and to give a benefit to China teas which the Committee was not in the least degree called upon to confer upon them.

MR. RITCHIE (Croydon) said that the hon. Member had suggested that, in dealing with taxation last year, the Chancellor of the Exchequer was hardly justified in taking off so large an amount from the direct taxpayer as compared with the amount taken off the indirect taxpayer. Without going into the figures, his recollection was very clear that, so far from dealing unfairly with the payers of indirect taxation, the Budget provided for taking off only the amount of direct taxation to which the direct taxpayers were entitled, and that the amounts taken off the two classes of taxpayers were in direct relation the one to the other. The hon. Member had also said that the income-tax payer was always the first called upon to provide money for war purposes. Whether that was the case or not, the direct taxpayer was called upon during the progress of the war for a much larger proportion of the taxes that were required than the indirect taxpayer was called upon to pay. The best criterion for judging of the position of the direct and indirect taxpayer was to examine what was the proportion of taxation paid by each class before the war and after the Budget of last year. He had not the figures before him, but he was satisfied he was correct in saying that the indirect taxpayer was in a better position as compared with the direct taxpayer after the Budget of last year than he was at the commencement of the war. It was quite true that the amount taken off direct taxation was much larger than the amount taken off indirect taxation, but that was because the amount paid during the war by the direct taxpayer was far in excess of the amount paid by the indirect taxpayer.

MR. LOUGH said there was the coal tax.

MR. RITCHIE said they were talking about the burden on the taxpayer, and if the coal tax had had any effect at all on the taxpayers of the country, it had been rather to tend to a decrease in the price of that article than to increase it. It would therefore be an act of folly on the part of any financier to regard the coal tax as an element entering into a consideration of the burden falling on the direct and the indirect taxpayers. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had, in his view, pursued exactly the right course in putting practically an equal burden upon both classes of taxpayers. He had always contended after the remission of taxation last year that in any future remission of taxation the direct taxpayer had as strong a claim as the indirect taxpayer. With regard to what the right hon. Gentlemen had said as to the increase of 2d. in the tea duty not having decreased the consumption of that article, that was very easily understood. He had to look into the question of tea at the time of the preparation of the last Budget, and he found that, although there had been an additional duty of 2d. put upon tea, the wholesale price of tea had only gone up by one half-penny per pound. This was due to the fact that there had been an enormous development of the tea industry and an increase in the production, and consequently the prices obtained by the growers in India and Ceylon had fallen. It did not follow, however, that this additional burden now being imposed would not have the effect of decreasing the consumption of tea, and if it had that effect it would injure the growers both in China, India, and Ceylon. He regretted that his right hon. friend had felt bound to raise the additional sum required from indirect taxation by putting an increased duty on tea, but he was not disposed to find fault with him for so doing. He had no doubt his right hon. friend very carefully examined all the sources of taxation, and that it was only after this careful examination that he rejected the idea of putting a considerable additional amount of taxation on tobacco. Having regard to the way in which the tobacco duty was coming in, he thought it might have been better if the Chancellor of the Exchequer could have got all the money he wanted out of tobacco, but he was not at all sure that he could have done that without running the risk of losing revenue by a decreased consumption. No doubt his right hon. friend carefully investigated that matter before he came to the conclusion to adopt the taxation of tea, and he did not propose to find any fault with the course he had adopted.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE (Carnarvon Boroughs) said he did not want to enter into a controversy with the right hon. Gentleman as to the Budget of last year, but he would like to refer to what he had said about coal. Surely coal must be regarded as indirect taxation. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Croydon contended that the foreign importer paid some portion of the coal tax, but the Opposition held that that was a perfectly absurd proposition. He contended that the miner as well as the coal-owner was paying a share of this tax, and it must be put amongst the indirect taxes. Their complaint was that the indirect taxpayers were, by this Budget, put in exactly the same position as they were in at the worst period of the war, and that this was differentiating against the poor in favour of the rich. The poor man was left in exactly the same position as he was during the war. He had not received any benefit from the war, but those who had paid income-tax had a chance of receiving something back from Chinese and cheap labour, and consequently they ought to bear their fair share. This was just the time to put up the income-tax, because shares in South Africa were going up in the market. This was just the time when the direct taxpayer ought to be taxed, but the working man, instead of being benefited by cheap labour, was just the man who was being hit very hard by it. In those very carefully worked out figures quoted by his hon. friend, he had shown that a working man contributed in indirect taxation a sum amounting to something like one week's wages a year more than he contributed five years ago. That was a very serious matter, and it was time they considered it; and instead of increasing this form of taxation they ought to be seriously considering how they could decrease it. He remembered an hon. Member speaking from that Bench, from which all hopeless causes were pleaded, proposing to wipe off all taxation upon tea. Now they were considering a proposal to increase it to 8d., thus putting the tea tax at a figure at which it had not been for forty years. That fact ought to make the Committee pause before proceeding with this Budget.

The increase in indirect taxation hit two very worthy classes who could very ill afford to bear increased taxation at this or any other time. It first of all hit the working classes of this country. The additional duty on tea would mean that the working classes would have to drink an inferior quality of tea, and, in order to get the most out of it, they would allow it to stew. This Budget, therefore, was a Budget to encourage the stewing of tea. The workman's wife would pay just the same price for tea as before, and the Ceylon and Indian planter would be hit. The only result of this tax would be that the workman's wife would keep the tea stewing twice as long, and they would drink more tannin. That was what this Budget would do. It was a Budget to promote the consumption of tannin by the working men of this country, and therefore there would be more indigestion. There had recently been a meeting of Ceylon planters in the City, and at that meeting it was stated that one result of the increase in the tea duty would be a large increase in the consumption of a very cheap quality of China tea. A class that would be hit very hard were the Ceylon tea planters. They were a class who deserved a great deal of encouragement. It seemed to be assumed by hon. Members on the other side that they had a monopoly of sympathy with colonial trade. Not at all. On the Opposition side of the House they were in favour of encouraging colonial trade in every way legitimate, and they considered that this was one of them. Ceylon had made great efforts during the last few years in order to develop its tea industries. It had made an exceedingly plucky fight. What had been done during the last three or four years? This Government by increasing the duty on tea had struck a very hard blow at the Ceylon tea planters. An hon. Member on the other side seemed to think that they were not involved in it. They had a great meeting the other day, and they began by saying that it was for the enlightenment of the

Government. A perfectly hopeless task. They went on to say that during the last three or four years there had been no increase in their business. They said that the increase of the tea duty had practically put a stop to the development of Celyon tea planting. They said that during the war they raised no objection. Why? Because they believed that they were giving their contribution to what they considered a great Imperial cause. He believed they also contributed a large force to go out to South Africa. But they felt that when the war was over they were entitled to get their share of the remission of taxation which was their due as well as the due of every other man in the Empire, and they did not get it. On the contrary, instead of getting a remission the duty on tea was increased, and increased by a Government that believed in colonial preference. The Secretary to the Local Government Board, speaking on Saturday night, said this was a Government of disappointments. He did not agree with the hon. Gentleman. Nobody who knew the Government could be disappointed at anything they did. The proposal to increase the tea duty was a thing that required a good deal of explanation. It was a proposal to increase the tax on a colonial product. It was increasing the duty on a very important colonial industry, and he ventured to say that while they were doing that they were hitting hard a very deserving class in this country.

The right hon. Gentleman said that this was a tax which everybody ought to bear. He said that every class of the community ought to bear a share of the burden of taxation. Perfectly right, and if the working class encouraged war he was one of those who believed that they ought to bear a share of the burdens of that war. War ought not to be made easy for any class. But let them bear only a fair share. Contrast this with the indulgence shown to the gentlemen who really rushed the country into war—the mining magnates—in their financial transactions. When they were hard pressed in South Africa the £10,000,000 were remitted. Their fair share of the burden was not imposed upon them. But when it came to the question of the working classes, not merely was their taxation not remitted, it was put up; and when there was a claim put forward on their behalf that they should receive their share of remission the Government said, "Oh, you clamoured for the war, you, therefore, ought to pay your share of the burden." So did the others—and not only that, it was they who engineered it. The working classes went into it out of pure motives of patriotism, and that was more than could be said for the other gentlemen whose £10,000,000 had been remitted. He was not sure whether the Chancellor of the Exchequer's argument about the ease of the tax was one that ought to commend itself. It was the ease of that indirect taxation that had conduced to the enormous extravagance of the country, and a Chancellor of the Exchequer who really wanted to warn the people as to where they were rushing to would not want to seek out methods of easy taxation. The death duties had increased enormously the revenue of the country, and an extravagant Government, instead of using those duties for the purpose of promoting some beneficial reforms, used them to increase extravagance on military armaments and military expeditions. He would be perfectly ready, therefore, to increase the burden of direct taxation. Let every man know what he was doing. If he wanted war let him pay for it and know that he was paying for it, and he believed that the result would be to curtail the expenditure of the country and make the people of the country more interested in economy than they were at present.

SIR EDGAR VINCENT (Exeter) said he was glad to hear the hon. Gentleman opposite state his opinion that every class that was responsible for a war ought to bear its contribution towards it. The hon. Member had compared the present Budget proposals with the revenue raised at the height of the war, and said the direct taxpayer had been relieved. But the only fair comparison was with the period before the war, and as compared with that period, if the figures given by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Croydon were correct, the proportion had certainly not been altered in favour of the direct taxpayer. With the general criticism that if the expenditure of the

Government were not extravagant this tax would not be necessary, he was largely in sympathy, but he noticed that right hon. Gentlemen opposite were anxious to dissociate themselves with criticism of expenditure on the Navy. Surely, necessary or not—and he believed it to be necessary—there was no Department where the increase of expenditure had been more rapid than in that of the Navy, and if it was thought that the whole scheme of national finance was on an extravagant scale, no chapter of the Budget ought to escape rigorous examination. The belief in the necessity of a paramount Navy was not inconsistent with the belief that we did not get full value for our money. Theoretically, the standard of our Navy was that it should be equal to the navies of any two Powers, but that standard had been very largely exceeded. Although he did not desire to prejudge the result, and although he was a fervent believer in the paramount necessity of maintaining an efficient Navy, he wanted the expenditure to be brought under rigorous examination. It appeared to him that the general expenditure of the country could not very well be criticised in this debate. It did not seem to be germane to the proposal before the Committee, nor did he think that the result of criticism of that kind on such an occasion as the present was likely to be very productive of practical reductions. And if it were assumed for a moment that the expenditure which had been authorised by this House and the country was necessary, then no criticism of the present proposal appeared to him to be valid unless some more efficient substitute could be suggested. He had listened to the speeches of hon. Gentlemen opposite, but there was no general consensus of opinion in favour of a tax to substitute for the tea tax. Hon. Gentlemen opposite would not have a general tax on raw materials, they were not in favour of a general tax on luxuries, there was no agreement as to an increased duty on tobacco instead of tea. Therefore he was not disposed to vote against the Government proposal, because he believed that the revenue already fell short of the requirements of the country. He had stated on previous occasions that the revenue should be adequate, not only to pay all expenditure—both charges on revenue and capital—but that further provision should be made for the Sinking Fund than in any one of the last three years. In the absence of any definite proposal to substitute another tax for that on tea, he adhered to the belief that this proposed increase of the tea duty was justifiable and that it was necessary.

Mr. CHARLES DEVLIN (Galway) said that the Chancellor of the Exchequer wanted money and was bound to get it, and the right hon. Gentleman thought he could get it with least trouble by planting taxes on those who were already in the habit of paying most into the Exchequer. The increased duty on tea they were now asked to pay was due to the increased expenditure of the country. It was said that the people of this country justified that expenditure. They, in that quarter of the House, had not been very heartily in favour of those military expeditions which had been undertaken by the Government. With his colleagues he was grateful to hear the statement made by the right hon. Member for West Monmouth, who had consistently opposed many of the expeditions which had rendered necessary this huge expenditure. The right hon. Gentleman had also said that this tax would tell very seriously against Ireland; and once again he had given an example of his friendship for Ireland. The hon. Member for Islington had likewise brought before the Committee how heavily this tax would bear upon Ireland; and the right hon. Member for Cambridge University had invited hon. Members below the Gangway and the Labour Members on that side of the House to protest against it. It should be remembered that the labouring classes in the country had already protested against the increased tax. Ireland was struck more by it than any other portion of the United Kingdom for two reasons. First, because she was unable to bear more taxation than at present, being overtaxed already to the extent of £3,000,000 a year more than she should be; and, second, because it would press more heavily on Ireland than on England and Scotland, inasmuch as more tea was consumed in Ireland than in England or Scotland in proportion to the population. The Prime Minister on more than one occasion had said that he was opposed to a tax on food. It might be alleged that tea was not a food, but in the West of Ireland it was looked upon as a food. In fact, with bread, it was almost all the food the peasantry had. To raise the duty from 6d. to 8d. was a very serious matter; how serious would only be known when they had the results at the end of the financial year. The Chancellor of the Exchequer that afternoon admitted that this tax was going to bear especially on the masses of the people. Just imagine the position when a man went into a shop to buy a pound of tea and found that he had to pay 8d. for the tea and 8d. duty for those military expeditions of which they had heard so much that afternoon! That was a serious thing for a man earning 1s. a day and whose children were denied all the little luxuries of life.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer said that the money would be expended amongst the people in the dockyards and those engaged on public works. But in Ireland they would not rejoice at that, because there was no such expenditure there. No warships were built in Ireland, although there was one small dockyard, and there was some expenditure on the salaries of officials who only oppressed and repressed the people. They were told that the people of this country wanted the South African War and that they must pay for it. It was possible that England wanted the war, but it could not be said that Ireland wanted it, and was it fair that the Irish people should be called upon to pay the expenditure incurred there? He admitted that the reason for the Irish Members opposing the South African expenditure was the still higher reason that they hated the destruction of the liberties of two free Republics. They had to realise the fact that this tax which the Irish peasants would have to pay was equivalent to an income-tax of 2s. in the £1. An appeal had been made to certain hon. Gentlemen and to others who happened to be engaged in the wholesale tea trade to reduce their profits. Why not first ask Ministers to reduce their salaries? Why should not the Attorney-General, who received £20,000 last year, be asked to reduce his income and save expenditure. The position for the representatives of Ireland was almost hopeless. They made their appeal in this House and it was not heard. The Irish people were leaving their country year by year; the country was taxed to the extent of £3,000,000 more than it ought to be and there was no redress. Yet the Irish people were asked to bless the Union, because they were given a Friday afternoon on which to discuss two Irish subjects. He would not enter into the question as to the injury this tax would do Ceylon. His business was to enter a protest, as an Irish Member, against it, because tea, in his judgment, was an article which ought not to be taxed; and also because the tax fell very severely on his country; and further because he had no sympathy with the expeditions for which the money that would be derived from the tax was required.

*MR. SHACKLETON (Lancashire, Clitheroe) said that the inability of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to give to the House any figures showing the proportionate share of taxation paid by the working classes led him to think that another department of State was wanted, and that was an intelligence department. It was bewildering to think that a Government department could not get out figures which could easily be produced in any well-conducted business establishment. Surely that was a matter to which the Chancellor of the Exchequer might devote some attention. His hon. friend the Member for the Cleveland Division had estimated that the amount paid by the working classes was equivalent to 1s. 7d. in the £ of the wages earned. His hon. friend, however, fixed the average wages at 35s. What would happen when the wages were only 25s., 20s., 18s., or 16s.? The proportion would then increase in a terrible ratio, because all the wages would be spent on the necessaries of life. He thought the Chancellor of the Exchequer ought to pay attention to this matter; and that when another Budget was introduced they might be informed what was the proportion that each class was going to contribute. It appeared to him that the workman was the bottom dog all the time. Of course, direct taxation fell ultimately on the consumer. It could be proved that 20s. six years ago was only equivalent to 18s. at present. He had complaints coming directly to him; and he had inquired into the subject, and found that, taking an average co-operative society or private shopkeeper, there was 2s. in the £ increase in the price of commodities during the last five or six years. The Government seemed to have an idea that the South African War enabled them to do anything they liked. That was an entirely wrong impression. He happened to be in close connection with the working classes; and he declared that many of them did not know anything about the merits or demerits of the war. The fact that there were a number of acquaintances and relatives going to the war made them favour it; and when any ordinary man uttered a word against it "pro-Boer" was flung in his face. When the country voted for the present Government in 1900 did they give them power to impose this additional taxation? Under this tax the rich man who paid 4s. or 5s. per pound for his tea would only pay 2d., whereas the poor man who only paid 1s. or 1s 6d. per pound for his tea would also have to pay 2d. The proportion of taxation was altogether out of reason; and out of all proportion to the amount spent on the articles taxed. He had heard an hon. Gentleman opposite on another occasion criticise the expenditure on the Navy and say the Estimates this year were £9,000,000 more than what was required for a two-Power standard. It came to this, that the responsible Government of this country and its influential supporters differed as to the amount that was required to bring up the Navy to a two-Power standard and the country had to pay that £9,000,000 while the Government were figuring out whether it was wanted or not. As a working man he protested against this taxation and urged the Committee not to agree to the extra twopence on tea until they knew what money was actually required. If the Government insisted upon having the money, let them come forward with another tax that would not bear so harshly on the people.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN appealed to the Committee, now that this Amendment had been under discussion for some hours, to come to an early decision upon it.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON pointed out that the Amendment raised the whole question of direct and indirect taxation, and said that under the circumstances, and having regard to the importance of the discussion, he did not think the right hon. Gentleman ought to ask the Committee to come to a hasty conclusion.

MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton) expressed his concurrence with the view of the hon. Member for Exeter that before taxation was raised up to this point the Committee ought to be certain that there was no wastage. The hon. Member regarded with some dread any reduction of naval expenditure, but looking at what had taken place with regard to the Army in recent years there could be little doubt but that there was considerable wastage in both services. The hon. Member for Exeter then went on to say he was prepared to vote against the tax upon tea being raised because he did not think tea was a desirable article to tax, if it could be pointed out to him in what manner the money could be raised by any other means. It was well known that when a tax was brought forward in a Finance Bill they could not in Committee introduce another tax in its place. He never could understand the ruling, because Sir Erskine May, who was considered a very good authority on Parliamentary procedure, ruled the reverse. But if the Government had any difficulty in selecting a tax he would point out that there were many which were more fair to the poor than those in the present scheme. They might have a tax on licences, which were a monopoly. A tax could be raised in order to equalise the monopoly possessed by brewers, which would be no injustice to the brewers, and which would exceed in amount the revenue raised on tea. Then there was the progressive income-tax, which he would prefer. There was still another tax which either the Government or the locality might levy on land values, which would yield the £10,000,000 they got now from the people. Then there were the Transvaal magnates who owned so much and who had underwritten a large loan. Why did we not get that? Why should we tax the teapot of every wretched old woman in the country and let off these wealthy magnates of the Transvaal? The hon. Member for Droitwich had told the Committee that this was a fair tax because the wholesale vendor made such enormous profits that he was the proper person to pay this tax. But that was hardly so; he was told by a wholesale vendor that if he bought a tea at 6½d. per lb. he would add to that the duty of 8d. and he would add another halfpenny to make it level, that that would bring the price up to 1s. 3d., and that he would sell it at 1s. 4d., and that a tea costing 1s. 8d. with the duty added he would sell for 2s. It was absurd to suppose that another tax of 2d. could be put on tea and that it would not be paid by the consumer. It was perfectly certain that when such a tax was put on it must be paid by the consumer. The right hon. Gentleman was a banker. How would he apply this doctrine to the banking business? A banker made a great deal more per cent. on his capital than the importer of tea. This opened a large vista of taxation if we were to tax people according to their capital, and bankers would find such a tax press very hardly on themselves.

The right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham, in the scheme which he had placed before the country, suggested that taxation would be equalised by taking the tax off tea because it was necessary that a person must take a certain amount of bread and tea, and if he had tea cheaper he would eat less bread. No doubt every person had to take a certain amount of liquor to keep going. Those who drank a quantity of tea did not drink so much beer, and if they taxed tea very highly the tendency would be for people to drink more beer instead of tea. Therefore he was opposed altogether to this kind of taxation. He did not wish to exaggerate, but surely everybody knew that there were a number of poor old women whose only happiness in life was a cup of tea, and yet it was now proposed to raise the price of tea to these poor people with their miserable pittances. If all this money had to be raised they ought to see if it could not be raised in a more legitimate way. When this tax was put on it was said that it was only a war tax and that it would be taken off after the war was over, but instead of doing this the Government had doubled the tax. Therefore the Government had not carried out their pledge in regard to this tea duty. Possibly this tax would not be necessary at all, because he gathered from the Secretary of State for War that he had got some scheme for the re-organisation of the Army which would effect a very great economy, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer had not taken account of that economy in his Budget. Consequently it was possible that they would not require this extra money from the tea duty. When the Government had agreed amongst themselves and really settled what the scheme was to be, he was perfectly certain that they would stand to the statement that there must be a reduction in Army expenditure. That fact went to show that this tax was not necessary. The Government appeared to be levying this tax, overlooking the fact that a very great amount of tea came from India and Ceylon. Hon. Gentlemen opposite had been preaching the doctrine of retaliation. He wished to know how the Secretary of State for India was going to treat this matter? If the right hon. Gentleman did justice to India upon this question, he would tell his colleagues in the Cabinet that if they put an extra tax upon Indian tea he would have to advise the Indian Government to retaliate by placing a tax upon cotton goods. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had urged them to bring this debate to an end, but he thought hon. Members had every reason to look with the greatest suspicion in matters of finance to the proposals of the present Government, and they ought to examine exhaustively every Bill which they brought in. The Finance Bill was one of the most important Bills of the session, and it was practically the only one, unless they managed to get through their odious Licensing Bill. And yet, although they had only discussed briefly one of the most important proposals in this Bill, the Chancellor of the Exchequer said he thought the discussion had gone on long enough. He really believed that the right hon. Gentleman was capable of carrying things so far as to get up and move the closure. If he did, then the country would remember that this tax upon tea had been forced through the House of Commons by the closure.

MR. LAMBERT (Devonshire, South Molton) said he welcomed the statement made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer that he had not shut the door on economy in the future. The country was now looking forward to a very great reduction in our present gigantic expenditure. He had been comparing the taxation on tea in various countries, and he found that in this country the tax was rapidly mounting up and would soon reach the sum imposed by the most highly protected State on the Continent. Denmark, instead of 8d. on tea was only charged 4d., the tax in Germany was only 5½d., and in Spain it was equal to 6½d. in the lb. The United States was an enormous consumer of tea, with its population of 77,000,000, and there the commodity was admitted absolutely free from taxation, whilst our own people, who were probably the greatest tea producers in the world, were suggesting to other countries that tea was a proper article to levy taxation upon. This was what they had come to after nine years of this patriotic Government, whose object was to increase the production of the Colonies and bind them closer to the Empire. They were told that this tax was a legacy from the war, but for which it would not have been increased from 4d. to 8d., but he noticed that although one of the objects of the war was to consolidate the Empire, Canada was not taxed at all, and the burden was to fall on the poorest of the poor in this country. In Australia there was no tax on tea, whilst in New Zealand it was only 2d., and was it fair and reasonable that this country should bear the whole burden of taxation to maintain mighty armaments necessary to protect the Empire, whilst the tea drinkers of the Colonies were allowed to go scot free. The burdens of Empire ought to be distributed more reasonably all over the Empire. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had admitted that this was a tax upon a necessary of life, and he asked hon. Gentlemen opposite whether it was right, after nine years of the most perfect Unionist Government the country could be placed under, to double the tax upon one of the necessaries of life.

If our self-governing Colonies were producers of tea this tax would not have been imposed. The House would doubtless remember than when it was proposed to tax colonial wines there arose immediately a great outcry from our Colonies supplying them, and he was greatly surprised, having regard to the millions of capital invested in the tea plantations of India and Ceylon, that the Secretary for India was not present in his place to protest against the proposed additional taxation. The effect of the existing tax had been to bring into this country cheap, common China tea. Then the Chancellor of the Exchequer had told them that this tax would fall upon the consumer. The right hon. Gentleman might take a leaf out of his distinguished relative's book, and endeavour to place the tax upon the foreigner rather than the consumer. He protested against the taxation of the necessaries of life being increased in times of peace, and he thought some other sources of revenue should be found. He was in favour of taxing the foreigner if they could do it, but the right hon. Gentleman was proposing a tax which he admitted would fall upon the consumers, and upon the poorest class of the community. If his hon. friend pressed his Amendment to a division he should support him.

Mr. TOMKINSON (Cheshire, Crewe) said it had been asserted that this tax did not fall altogether upon the consumer, and that part of it fell upon the producer. He had no doubt that they would hear a great deal more about that argument before this question was settled. He could not see how it was possible to impose a tax of £2,000,000 upon an industry without hurting to some extent every person engaged in it. There would undoubtedly be a reduction in the consumption, and there would be a depreciation in the quality of the tea consumed. At the present time, but for this miserable Tibet expedition, they might have said that they were at peace with the world, and they could then have set their hands to reducing their great armaments, both military and naval, because he was of opinion that the standard set up for the Navy was too high.

And, it being half-past Seven of the clock, the Chairman left the Chair to make his Report to the House.

Committee report Progress; to sit again this evening.

EVENING SITTING.

EAST AFRICA (ALIEN SETTLEMENT).

Adjournment (under Standing Order No. 10).

*MR. CATHCART WASON (Orkney and Shetland) said he claimed on this subject to have almost special knowledge with regard to land settlement—and also with regard to its effect on the native populations. In his early days in New Zealand he had witnessed two important native risings in the course of which many unfortunate people lost their lives. All these things arose out of the inability of the native mind to understand our dealing and our way of utilising land. They did not understand in any degree whatever that simply for a few blankets or beads, or some trifle of that sort, or by fixing their names to a document they were parting with land over which they and their ancestors before them had roamed at will. In the colony, with which he was familiar, we never lived on anything approaching amicable terms with the natives until we fully recognised all the rights and privileges they had with regard to the land. Let hon. Members imagine if they could a large tract of land reaching from the Indian Ocean to the Albert Edward and Albert Lakes on the West, a country larger than France, bounded on the East by the Indian Ocean, on the West by the Albert Edward and Albert Lakes, on the South by the German boundary, and on the North by the Soudan and Abyssinia; a country of great possibilities; a country we owed to the great men who had gone before us, and who had made this country what it was, not with any idea of benefiting themselves by forming land syndicates and obtaining concessions, but for the benefit of the native population. It was in their names as well as his own that he ventured to address the House on this subject. In this country we had spent millions of money and thousands of valuable lives. Their idea was that this great territory was acquired for the benefit of humanity and of those who had from time to time been ruined by slave raids. One of the chief reasons for making the Uganda Railway was that the slave trade might be stopped, and it had been stopped. Through that railway we had acquired the country through which that railway passed, 570 miles in length. Every official in the country admitted the great future of that country. We sent over our best sons who lived under great disadvantages, with only a few black soldiers to protect them, yet such was the confidence with which they inspired the natives that he had seen them walking with only a stick in their hands among the native kraals, among men fully armed with all the weapons of their country. It was not for us here to enhance their difficulties and render their lives more insecure than they were at the present time. The natives, as a rule, were peaceful in their habits and travelled considerable distances with their flocks and herds, and the country was held for us by a few settlers whose safety depended on the fact that they represented British justice and order. But last year he had found the country seething with indignation at the proposition to make these settlements of Russian and Roumanian Jews. To his Questions on this subject he had received nothing but evasive answers. The noble Lord had refused to say where the settlement was to be.

THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Earl PERCY, Kensington, S.) said the conditions of the lease were not decided.

*MR. CATHCART WASON said that made the matter worse. He was not there to attack this Jewish settlement, or the Jews in particular. There was not a Member of the House who had not many friends among the Jews. What everybody in East Africa wished to know was, at whose instigation this thing was started; what was going to be made out of it; and who was its author? But no one had been able to obtain the slightest information. They attributed it not to the noble Lord or the Foreign Office, but to the late Colonial Secretary the right hon. Member for West Birmingham, who made a hurried tour in this country, and spoke of smiling homesteads and waving cornfields, and the happy sons and daughters of the British race who would settle there, but who apparently proposed finally to make over the whole country to a self-governing settlement of foreign

Jews. If the officials of the Government in East Africa had been consulted, he should have been the last to have brought this matter before the House, but as he understood they had not, he had been compelled to do so, because he was sure that if the noble Lord had had any official communications to place before the House he would have done so. If the noble Lord had appointed a small Committee of the House to have inquired into the whole matter that would have set, to some extent, the minds of hon. Members at rest. The noble Lord now admitted that he had read some remonstrances, but he might have said, with regard to the resignation of Sir Charles Eliot, whether the statement of the hon. Member for King's Lynn was correct. The hon. Member for King's Lynn had said in this House that Sir Charles Eliot had resigned, and if that was true the position was rendered much more difficult. To establish a colony of aliens whose thoughts and whose civilisation were not ours, and whose language was not ours, was a cruel wrong to inflict on this country. The difficulty of administration would be increased a thousand-fold if the suggestion of the noble Lord and the Foreign Office was adopted. How were our representatives to carry on and retain the confidence of the natives and control so many thousands of people as the noble Lord had in his mind if his idea were carried out. When the Return granted last year showing the number of concessions granted was laid on the Table of the House this concession was not among them, it was not then completed, but nothing could have been easier than to have started in a small way. If twenty or thirty people had been sent out and a little land given to them on which to make the experiment, a great deal of the difficulty would have been avoided, and there would not have been this outcry in East Africa. These land concessions and land syndicates were the curse of all our dealings with the natives. That was illustrated by the present state of affairs in German East Africa. There there was a great strife going on owing entirely to the stupidity of allowing concessions to be given without having regard to native rights. All the trouble in the Congo was due to the same fact. There were many thousands of Somalis in this protectorate and many thousands of Sudanese, and the peace of East Africa was by no means assured. If the Foreign Office could only forget the stupid blunder that led us into war with the Somalis, and could take the advice of the men who understood the country, we should have little to fear in the future. All these natives were greatly concerned in the welfare of their country, and if this concession was allowed to go through——

*MR. SPEAKER pointed out that the hon. Member was travelling rather wide of the Motion for adjournment, which was to call attention to a specific matter of urgent public importance, namely, "the danger to the peace of East Africa arising out of the steps now being taken, with the sanction of His Majesty's Government, for the establishment of an alien settlement in East Africa on lands now in the occupation of native populations." He must ask the hon. Member to confine his observations to that.

*MR. CATHCART WASON said it was difficult to express in a few words the object of bringing this matter forward, but the step taken by the Government in making this offer to this Jewish Syndicate constituted a very grave danger to East Africa, and the House was entitled to have some information on the subject. We spent £250,000 on the Uganda Railway and considerably more on the administration and the military forces of that country. This expense would be very largely increased, and we would have to largely reinforce the troops now there if the Government persisted in carrying out this insane and suicidal policy. It was not too late—and that was why he asked leave to move the adjournment of the House—for the noble Lord to appoint a small Committee of the House to take evidence and report on the matter. He for one should be perfectly willing that the noble Lord should appoint a Committee of his own personal friends on the Government side of the House. This was not a Party question in any sense. It was a question on which the honour and good faith of this country were founded. He could not help feeling very strongly indeed on this question. With regard to the question of colonisation, he should only like to say that no colony we had would ever dream of allowing such a settlement as this—a settlement of persons not speaking our own language, nor any of the dialects of the native population, and ignorant also of the native ways of living. Such an empire within our Empire was nothing short of suicidal madness. [AN HON. MEMBER: What is the settlement?] He did not know what the settlement was. That was what he wanted to know. The Government of this country ought to be above suspicion, and he regretted to say that on this, as on many other matters, their conduct had given rise to, among others, the question how far the doctrines of Tammany had got hold of them.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House do now adjourn."—(*Mr. Cathcart Wason.*)

*MAJOR EVANS GORDON (Tower Hamlets, Stepney) said the hon. Member had drawn a tragic picture of the results which he thought were going to follow upon what was, so far as he could understand, a wholly imaginary evil. He had taken great interest for various reasons in matters concerning the Jewish community, and what he understood to have happened was really this. Some years ago—he did not know from whom it emanated—an offer was made to the Jewish community of certain lands in East Africa, and that offer was first made public at a congress at Basle. It was there said that an offer of land for a settlement in East Africa for Jews from all the countries of Europe had been made by the British Government. There was great division of opinion on the merits of the proposal. The whole of the Jewish community recognised the generosity of the Government in making it, but a certain section of the congress — he believed all the Russians — withdrew as a protest against this proposal being taken up, and their argument was that to carry through this policy, and to establish this colony, would divert the funds and the energies of the great Zionist movement from their original object, which was of course Palestine, to East Africa, and that their funds and energies would not suffice to carry out both these objects. They thought that on the whole it would not be wise or possible to carry it through. On the other hand another section, headed by Mr. Israel Zangwill, a distinguished Jew and authority on the subject, thought that both objects might be carried out, and that the Zionist ideal so long held in Jewish minds could be maintained. These two sections came together so far as, he believed, to appoint a committee to inquire into the subject. The committee were to send three members to East Africa to look into matters there, to see what the nature of the country was, and to inquire whether there was any hope of the project being carried to a successful conclusion. While appreciating the offer of the Government, many Jews held the opinion that the expenses attaching to sending out families in any considerable number would be so enormous, and the difficulties of settling there so great, as to be almost insuperable. It must be remembered that the Jewish people were not agriculturists. Years of confinement in towns in all parts of Europe had taken away their agricultural abilities to a great extent, and the sending of them out to East Africa was thought in many quarters to be an experiment of very doubtful advantage. Be that as it might the committee had gone out to inquire, he did not know whether they had returned, but they had certainly never reported.

The hon. Member talked of a Jewish syndicate. He did not believe the question of any syndicate entered into the matter at all. It was a matter concerning the welfare of the Jewish people throughout the world. The hon. Member also talked about the honour and good faith of this country, the great size of the territory in East Africa, its great possibilities, and of its having been acquired for the benefit of humanity. He could not see that they were going away from these objects. Certainly it was for the benefit of humanity if they could do something at all events to provide a home for these people. Before anything had been done and before a single Jew had gone to that country, it was surely rather strong to say that East Africa was seething with discontent at the mere proposals which had been made. It was extremely doubtful whether any Jewish families could go there at all. If beginnings were ever made, they must be small, and the transport of hundreds of thousands of these people as the hon. Gentleman had suggested and the settling of them down in that part of the world, was a fairy tale. It was perfectly ludicrous to think that it could be done. It could only be accomplished by sending a few families at a time, and to talk of disturbance and the wrecking of the honour of the British Empire was, it seemed to him, a ridiculous exaggeration. Hon. Gentlemen opposite were scarcely consistent in protesting against this proposal in view of their action in connection with the Aliens Bill. Between 80,000 and 100,000 Jews came into East London, and the Government proposed not to exclude these people but merely to weed out the good from the bad. If this colony were ever established, the Jewish community themselves would be the first to take precautions that none but desirables should go there. The difficulties in connection with the proposal to send Jews to East Africa were very great, and to suppose that the country was being overrun in the way foreshadowed by the hon. Gentleman was quite beside the mark. It would be half a century before anything in the nature of a colony such as the hon. Gentleman had foreshadowed could be established. He hoped these words would set at rest what he believed to be a groundless fear.

Mr. TREVELYAN (Yorkshire, W.R., Elland) said he agreed with the hon. Member for Stepney that the proposal they were discussing had a great deal to be said for it. It appeared to him to be one that either the Jew hater or the Jew lover might approve of. The Jew hater might hope that many would go and settle in East Africa, and the Jew lover would naturally approve of a scheme by which a large number of that community might find an abiding place there. There was another reason why at the present moment they ought to welcome this proposal. It was a proof, and it was calculated to reassure the world, that the British Government was not affected by the wave of anti-Semitism which was passing over Europe. It was a good thing to hear the hon. Member for Stepney say something for a scheme like this, and also say that those in favour of the Aliens Bill were not actuated in any way by Anti-Semitic feeling. There was one argument used by the mover of the Motion which he could not understand. He said that the natives would seriously object to this incursion into their territory. He did not know why they should object more to Jews than to Christians. He should have thought if a community of that kind could be obtained that it was an excellent way of developing that part of East Africa, which he understood from reliable information contained extremely few natives. The rights of the natives to the possession of land might very well be safeguarded by any arrangement which was come to. The proposal had not been discussed in the House so far as he was aware, and he thought they were entitled to hear what the Government had to say upon it. He thought the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs might at least reassure the House on the questions which had been raised by his hon. friend with regard to the rights of natives. If it was true that Sir Charles Eliot had resigned his position owing to the circumstances connected with this proposed grant, he thought it was certainly an action of which the Government ought to give some account. As far as he understood the subject with the meagre information before him, he was afraid that he could not support the Motion.

Mr. HAVILAND BURKE (King's County, Tullamore) said the question before the House was one which did not admit of definition in law or logic. It came to this, virtually, that it was proposed to alienate with the sanction of the Imperial Parliament a great tract of territory to an alien race. He wished to make himself perfectly well understood. He should be the last to deny the immense contribution to civilisation, science, and art for which we were indebted to the Hebrew race, but at the same time let them never forget that a Jew was a Jew all the world over. Wherever they went the Jews remained a distinct race; and he believed that the institution of a Jewish community in East Africa, or anywhere else, would mean trouble in the near future. He believed that the Jewish race, for one reason or another, had been at the bottom of all our troubles in South Africa, and that they owned great English newspapers as absolutely as if those newspapers were edited by a Rabbi and printed in a synagogue. It was against the public interest of this country to do anything to strengthen the forces of Judaism as against Christianity, or even, he would say boldly, as against paganism. Any man who knew France or Frenchmen knew perfectly well that at the bottom of the Dreyfus affair, and in the hearts of many men who only half believed in Dreyfus, there was a determination to put down and smash Jewish influence in French politics and finance. He thought this proposal in regard to the settlement of Jews in East Africa was monstrous, extravagant, and unconstitutional, and opposed not only to the best interests of Christendom, but of civilisation at large. He should certainly vote against it as being an infraction of the rights and authority of Parliament.

* MR. SPEAKER: I think I ought to say before the debate proceeds further that the question before the House is not whether or not it is desirable that a Jewish colony should exist in East Africa. I should never have granted leave to move the adjournment of the House had I thought that that was the question to be discussed. I understood from the hon. Gentleman who moved the Motion that the Government were taking some definite steps now for the purpose of immediately carrying out the policy of planting a colony there, and that they were at the same time excluding natives from territory for that purpose. That is the only matter for discussion by the House. General questions about the Jewish race cannot be discussed now.

SIR GILBERT PARKER (Gravesend) said he would endeavour not to discuss the general question, but confine himself to the question of East Africa. The mover of the Motion had based his remarks entirely upon hearsay evidence. The whole case had been based on what someone had told or written to the hon. Member, or what someone saw in a newspaper. They had been told that the Governor of British East Africa had resigned or was resigning because he was opposed to this settlement by the Jews. He himself did not believe that the Governor had resigned on that ground, and he had just as good a right to believe that as the mover of the Motion had to believe otherwise, for he had not given one tittle of evidence in support of the statement. [AN HON. MEMBER: The Government have all the evidence.] He had personally no doubt that the representative of the Foreign Office would make the House understand the simple facts of the case. Anyone who knew business life knew that a board of directors would not disclose all the terms of an agreement while negotiations were in progress. That would only tend to hamper the negotiations. Might he suggest that the Government had a plan for the settlement of East Africa by alien Jews and that the House would have an opportunity of discussing the question in full when the scheme was ready for discussion. The natives had been brought into the question. Were the rights of the natives to be invaded? [AN HON. MEMBER: Yes.] His hon. friend knew nothing of the scheme, and, therefore, he could not say that the rights of the natives were to be invaded. The Motion was a very frivolous proceeding. Great care would be taken that the land was not handed over for ever, but that it should be secured eventually for those who would settle the land in the interests of British domination. The hon. Member opposite had spoken about people of various languages coming into the country. Was that a new thing in the settlement of the Colonies of this Empire? Had there not gone into Canada Norwegians, Swedes, French, Germans, Russians, Poles, Jews—people of all classes, and all creeds, but had this House ever entered a protest againt the settlement of a British Colony by people of various creeds and races?

MR. HAVILAND BURKE said that his point was that this was a people of one nationality speaking different languages.

SIR GILBERT PARKER said that that was hair-splitting. He wished once more to make a protest against the Motion for an object so frivolous in its nature and so objectless, on a statement based upon information which had no more authority than a conversation, he presumed, with officials in East Africa. He did not imagine that officials always were the best judges as to what was good for the settlement of the country. [OPPOSITION ironical cries of "Hear, hear."]

He presumed the House understood him to mean subordinate permanent officials in the colony. [OPPOSITION laughter.] Hon. Gentlemen opposite laughed, but he ventured to say that they had been the first in the House to criticise in the strongest manner the opinions of subordinate officials, and to claim that the Front Bench, representing the country, were the final authority. He looked with confidence to the statement to be made by the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs.

*EARL PERCY said he thought this was the most extraordinary debate to which in his brief experience he had ever listened. He had heard many Motions for adjournment described as an abuse of the forms of the House. He would not characterise this Motion in those terms, but it was avowedly based on an hypothesis, and an hypothesis which, as a matter of fact, had no foundation whatever. The hon. Member had a perfect right to object to a grant of land in East Africa to a Jewish syndicate and it was open to him to raise the question by moving the reduction of the Secretary of State's salary when they came to deal with the Protectorate Estimates; but he had involved the question of a grant of land to the Jews with a question of interference with the rights of natives in East Africa, which had no relevancy to the subject at all. The hon. Member seemed to think that he had treated him cavalierly in his replies to Questions on this subject. He was quite innocent of any such design. The hon. Member had first asked him what were the conditions of the alienation of land to an alien race in East Africa. He replied that there was no question whatever of an alienation of land, and that the conditions of the lease were still under the consideration of the Secretary of State and, therefore, he could not possibly make the conditions public. The hon. Member had repeated the Question since, and on every occasion had repeated it in the form "What are the conditions of the alienation of land?" The hon. Member also asked him whether he had received remonstrances from the settlers. There were several remonstrances which were published last year, but they were based on the same misconception. They had never contemplated any alienation, and he did not see what other answer he could give the hon. Member.

*MR. CATHCART WASON said the noble Lord might have said where the land was and what was its extent, instead of evading every Question on the subject.

*EARL PERCY said surely before the hon. Member moved the adjournment of the House he might at least have asked the categorical Questions whether he could inform him of the whereabouts of the land, whether there were any natives upon it, and whether their rights were likely to be affected.

MR. CATHCART WASON said he had done so repeatedly.

*EARL PERCY said the hon. Member's recollection did not coincide with his own. What were the facts of the case? In July of last year a representative of the Jewish Colonial Trust, representing at any rate one section of the Zionist movement, came to the Foreign Office and asked Lord Lansdowne whether he would be prepared favourably to consider the lease of a considerable area of land in East Africa, which they preferred should be near the railway, for the purposes of a Jewish colonial settlement. At that time there was a great dearth of applications from settlers for land in East Africa. It had been stated over and over again in debate on the financial position of the Protectorates that if they were ever to pay their way and if this country was ever to get back anything like value for the vast sums which had been expended upon those territories, the first requisite was to attract settlers and capital to the country. Under those circumstances, Lord Lansdowne said he was prepared favourably to entertain the proposition of the Jewish Colonial Trust, provided that a suitable area could be found and that they were prepared to accept conditions with regard to autonomy which would be satisfactory to the Secretary of State. The representatives of the Jewish Colonial Trust had already proceeded to East Africa with a view to examining the area which had been offered to them and seeing whether it would suit their requirements. Until they had got a report from those gentlemen it was absolutely impossible to take the House further into their confidence with regard to the details of the lease. He might say, however, that the House need not be under any apprehension that they had been indifferent to the claims of British settlers. They recognised that men of British race had a prior claim to the lands which could be most profitably developed along the railway line. But the lease of land which they had provisionally offered to the Jews was not on the railway line at all. It was in the area situated between Lake Victoria and Lake Rudolf, in the Kisumu province, where there were practically no natives at all. It was an absolutely undeveloped country and some distance from the railway, and the Jewish colony, if they were planted in that territory, were not likely to come into close contact with any European settlers at all. The motives which had actuated the Government had not been of a purely financial character; they had been inspired by those feelings of sympathy which ought to be felt by every Christian nation and which had always been felt by the British race for that persecuted and oppressed people. Whether the hopes of the Zionists rested on a reasonable foundation or not, no country would ever regret that they had not turned a deaf ear to an appeal from the Jews for assistance provided there was no fundamental reasons of State policy against it.

The native question, to which the hon. Member for Orkney and Shetland alluded, derived additional importance, he regretted to say, from the fact that it was in connection with it that Sir Charles Eliot had thought it his duty to resign the appointment he had hitherto held. The question of native rights had always been under the careful consideration of the Government, and no leases of land ever had been, or were, granted in East Africa without an express reservation of any right which the natives might have already acquired. The question had assumed a more critical aspect lately owing to the fact that, whereas at the time the Jewish Trust made their application there were very few applications from settlers, since then there had been a great inrush of settlers, and a large part of the most valuable land available near the railway had already been taken up. They had had very carefully to consider how far they could continue the grant of these leases without encroaching to some extent on the rights which the natives had exercised. The Masai tribe for instance had long grazed their flocks and herds—they were a pastoral rather than an agricultural people—over vast areas of the country, moving from one plot to another as the grass was exhausted. The Government could not lay down a rule that, because such indefinite rights existed, therefore, the whole of these large areas should remain sterilised and undeveloped for an indefinite period. They were under a moral obligation, however, from the standpoint of humanity as well as under the provisions of the Berlin Act, to see that the native tribes were not deprived of those means of livelihood which they had hitherto possessed, and the only course which seemed open to the Government was to intimate to Sir Charles Eliot that no fresh large leases of land were to be granted in the province of Naivasha in the neighbourhood where the Masai had hitherto grazed their flocks. Apart from a lease of about 320 square miles to the East African Syndicate, for the purpose of raising stock, and another smaller parcel of land which had been leased to a private proprietor, there was no large concession in that territory which, in accordance with their instructions, would be reserved for the present until they could examine the whole question in consultation with local experts who were on intimate terms with the Masai themselves, and make up their minds as to the policy which it was best to pursue under the circumstances. Those, he thought, were all the facts which it was possible for him to give to the House on this matter; and, as he gathered that the hon. Member was only interested in the question of the native rights, and as they had taken every precaution to safeguard those rights and to see that these leases to Europeans did not interfere with them, he trusted he would see fit to withdraw his Motion.

SIR JOHN GORST (Cambridge University): Why has Sir Charles Eliot resigned?

*EARL PERCY: Because he took a different view from the view we took as to the expediency of reserving a large area for the natives and refusing to grant any fresh leases in that area to Europeans.

SIR EDWARD GREY (Northumberland, Berwick) said he agreed that there was something extraordinary about this debate. He did not share the expressions of surprise and indignation which had been heard from hon. Members on the other side of the House nor did he think that his hon. friend the Member for Orkney and Shetland had abused the forms of the House by bringing this question forward. After the noble Lord's speech he did not suppose there would be a very strong desire to press the matter, but he thought his hon. friend was quite justified in moving the adjournment of the House. Everybody must feel that the noble Lord was not intentionally discourteous in answering the Questions of his hon. friend. But the House must remember that through the action of the Prime Minister a custom had been established and followed of not asking the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs supplementary Questions. That had made it more difficult to get information from the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs than in the case of any other Department. The mere fact that the administrator of this territory, a most distinguished public servant, had resigned, and that the reason was unknown, was sufficient to cause anxiety. The hon. Member for Gravesend said that anxious suspicions might not lead to just conclusions. The hon. Member had never been in opposition in the House. If he had been, he had no doubt that the hon. Member would not be so eager to say that the blind confidence of the supporters of the Government always led to just conclusions. Take, for instance, the case of Somaliland, next door to the East African Protectorate. Judging the Government by their past, anxious suspicion was much more justifiable than the attitude of blind confidence. It was in relation to the natives that the most serious question arose. Difficulties leading to native risings occurred when civilisation was pressed too fast upon the natives, or when white men going among them left their own civilisation behind and ill-treated them. The land question, bound up as it was with native custom, was an exceedingly delicate one. Something had turned on the point that it was a Jewish settlement that was contemplated. They all knew what Anti-Semitic feeling was, and what it gave rise to. But there was another view of the Jewish race, that of millions of persecuted people who had been, through generation after generation, scattered without homes and without hope; and he said frankly that if it was the intention to attempt to provide a refuge and a home for people of that description in the British dominions it would have his entire sympathy. Whether it was wise to make the settlement in this part of East Africa at this time was another matter. There was great difficulty in governing these territories in their present stage of development; and he could imagine an administrator, to whom the proposition was made that an alien community speaking another language should be put down there, saying it would introduce a complication which filled him with such apprehension that he could not, in view of all the other difficulties, be responsible for the good government of the territory. If Sir Charles Eliot had said that, he should say that that alone ought to have been enough to stop this project for a time, at any rate, until the country was more settled; but he gathered distinctly from the noble Lord that that was not the reason of Sir Charles Eliot's resignation. Was that so?

*EARL PERCY: Yes.

SIR EDWARD GREY: Sir Charles Eliot had not expressed an opinion of that kind?

*EARL PERCY: He did object to it.

SIR EDWARD GREY: If the objections were a matter separate from the resignation, it ought to be perfectly easy for the noble Lord, if there were difficulties in speaking about Sir Charles Eliot's resignation, to give the House in full the objections which Sir Charles Eliot had raised. Though he felt nothing but sympathy with what he understood were the motives for this settlement, he saw the possibility of great danger in introducing a new complication of this kind into the country, especially if land were to be leased. It was the essence of maintaining good relations with natives to avoid occasion for grievances in connection with the land and to keep the administration in the hands of trained officials who understood native customs. These were reasons for proceeding in this matter with great caution; and now that the House knew that objection was made to this proposal by somebody who was the administrator of this country, and not a subordinate official, as had been said, they were justified in pressing the Government not to proceed further with the scheme until the matter had been brought before the House again and the House were in possession of the objections which Sir Charles Eliot had raised. Over and over again something which had a perfectly innocent and harmless and perhaps even a laudable appearance had led to serious trouble in parts of Africa, the circumstances of which were not understood in the House, but were understood by the people on the spot. In the present case the people on the spot had doubts and apprehensions. So far from this being an untimely Motion, it appeared to him to be one of the few Motions brought forward while there was still time to prevent action which we might afterwards regret. The noble Lord had admitted that the scheme was entirely inchoate, that no steps had been taken; and he trusted the Government would give a pledge to take no further steps until they had laid full information before the House and the House knew exactly how matters stood with regard to the position of Sir Charles Eliot and the Government.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE (Carnarvon Boroughs) said the House had discussed the matter an hour and thirty-five minutes, and it was only in response to a Question put by his right hon. friend that they had discovered that the Motion for adjournment was completely justified. He had not been one of those who sympathised with the opposition to the establishment of a Jewish colony, but, in view of the answer given by the noble Lord, he thought the matter assumed much more serious proportions. As he understood, Sir Charles Eliot had raised objections to this settlement, and that was one of the reasons why he resigned.

THE PRIME MINISTER AND FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): No.

EARL PERCY said it would be more correct to say that Sir Charles Eliot expressed an opinion both ways. His last opinion was unfavourable to the scheme. Neither had anything to do with the resignation.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE said that if Sir Charles Eliot had expressed an opinion both ways he was a most worthy servant of the present Government, and he could not understand why he should have resigned. Had he been invited to take a seat in the Cabinet? The Government, he contended, were themselves responsible for what they were pleased to suggest had been a gross waste of time. It was the air of mystery which they had chosen to assume in regard to this matter that had been responsible for the whole of the trouble. The noble Lord contradicted his hon. friend when he said that he had asked for specific information with regard to the locality of this settlement. His hon. friend, however, did ask the noble Lord what were the conditions on which land was offered to the Zionists, the extent of the land, and where it was situated. Instead of giving a straight answer——

EARL PERCY asked if the hon. Gentleman would state the answer that he did give.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE said he had not got the noble Lord's answer; but, as far as he could remember, he put the Question off.

EARL PERCY said he stated then, as he had stated in the course of the present debate, that the exact conditions had not been settled.

***MR. CATHCART WASON** said that until the present debate he had not the smallest idea where the land was situated, nor could any Question until to-day produce any straight reply.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE said the Government themselves were responsible for the waste of time that had occurred. His hon. friend had asked a perfectly simple Question which, from information he had received, turned out to be perfectly correct. He had anticipated trouble similar to that which had occurred in German East Africa, where there was a rebellion, in which a great many lives were lost; and his hon. friend pressed the Government for some information on the subject. The noble Lord, after his hon. friend had spoken, instead of replying himself, allowed the hon. Member for Gravesend to speak for twenty minutes, although his speech was not of an informing character. Personally, as long as the native question was settled properly he did not see any objection to the settlement of the Jews. There were a great many Jews they might well spare. He did not, however, agree with the remarks of one of the Irish Members. The anti-Semitic feeling shown by the hon. Member was, however, hereditary. A relative of his fought Christchurch against Sir Drummond Wolff, who was incorrectly supposed to be a German Jew, and wound up his election address as follows—

> "Down with Infidel, Jew, or Turk;
> All good Christians vote for Burke."

The debate had been raised simply in order to see that native rights were not interfered with in such a way as to produce disturbance in South Africa.

Question put, and negatived.

FINANCE BILL.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[Mr. J. W. Lowther (Cumberland, Penrith) in the Chair.]

Clause 1:—

Amendment again proposed—

In page 1, line 16, to leave out the words 'In lieu of.'"—(*Mr. J. H. Lewis.*)

Question again proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the clause.'

Mr. TOMKINSON said he had only a few remarks to add. There were a number of shareholders in various companies connected with the tea industry who would not only suffer from this tax, but also from the rate of exchange between this country and India. He maintained that the consumption of tea in this country ought to extend year by year; but what were the facts? The consumption showed a falling off of 2 per cent., and where 6·1 lbs. per head were formerly consumed, only 6·03 lbs. were now consumed. The people of this country spent £20,000,000 on tea, whereas they spent £170,000,000 on intoxicating liquor. When an additional tax on tobacco was suggested in 1902 as an alternative to the corn tax, the then Chancellor of the Exchequer stated that the limit of taxation on tobacco had been reached, and that further taxation would not be productive. But the result proved that that was an erroneous statement. The revenue from tobacco was still increasing; and he would suggest to the Chancellor of the Exchequer that he should put an extra duty not only on stripped tobacco, but on tobacco all round. That would give him all the revenue he required. He would support the Amendment because the tea tax was taxation in the wrong direction, and pressed very heavily on the very poorest.

Mr. GEORGE WHITELEY (Yorkshire, W.R., Pudsey) said that the effect of the Amendment would be to continue the tax on tea at the figure at which it now stood; and he ventured to think that the object of his hon. friend in moving the Amendment was in every respect laudable and desirable. The Chancellor of the Exchequer suggested that there might be some other opportunity of referring to this subject; but, in his humble judgment, he ventured to think that the present time was the proper occasion to thrash this matter out. The right hon. Gentleman did not meet the Amendment of his hon. friend with any great display of sympathy. His words were sympathetic; but the action he suggested was very much the reverse. He thought, therefore, that they as Liberals should appeal to the House from the right hon. Gentleman. The questions which surrounded this important matter seemed to group themselves under three heads. The first was that the tax was onerous; the second was that, having regard to the relative proportion of direct and indirect taxation, the Government were not justified in suggesting it; and the third was whether any substitute could be found in order to recoup the Government for the money they would lose if the Committee accepted the Amendment. He ventured to suggest that this increase in the tea tax was cruelly onerous, and that it would fall with undoubted and exceptional severity, not only on the working classes, but especially on what was sometimes called the submerged tenth. It had been suggested that the working classes might not have to pay for this increase; but the Chancellor of the Exchequer frankly acknowledged that an increase in the cost of tea would be the direct result of his proposal. It was unnecessary to argue that tea was not one of the necessaries of life. He would not, however, class it in the same category as corn, meat and dairy produce, which the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham in his new fiscal policy proposed to increase in price. He did not think that the working classes would ever accept a reduction on the duty on tea as being equivalent to an increase in the price of meat, bread, and dairy produce. His hon. friend the Member for Barnstaple in his excellent speech described the habits and customs of the agricultural population as regarded the consumption of tea. He himself knew the habits of the industrial population of the North perhaps as well as any other hon. Gentleman. Every man, woman, and child in a cotton factory brought with him, or her, a can in which to make tea. It was open to hon. Members to argue, as the Chancellor of the Exchequer did, that tea was inimical to the physique of the people, and generally to their health. He objected to the use which the right hon. Gentleman had made of the word "saturated." Surely it was better that the working classes should drink tea than beer and spirits; and, surely it was better that they should be saturated with tea than soddened with gin, or oozing with whisky. Did the right hon. Gentleman suggest that there should be a kind of Plimsoll load line beyond which tea should not be taken. The right hon. Gentleman said the other day that there could be no reduction of taxation, and that it might have to be increased. Hon. Gentlemen opposite said that as the country would not consent to the rearrangement of its fiscal system, by which an extra amount of money would be obtained from taxation on corn, and meat, and dairy produce, money had to be raised in this way.

To the many suggestions which had been offered to the Committee he would add another. Before doing that he wished to impress upon the Committee that the remissions of taxation during the last two years had been entirely unfair to the working classes. Of the £12,500,000 remitted last year £10,000,000 went to the rich in the reduction of the income-tax, and only £2,500,000 went to the poor in the abolition of the corn duty. During the war the income-tax was 1s. 3d., now it was to be 1s. That was a reduction of 20 per cent.; but the tea duty, which was chiefly paid by the poor, instead of being reduced 20 per cent. had been increased 33⅓ per cent. The Government argued that the expenditure of the country had been increased; but he argued that the expenditure had increased beyond all bounds as a direct result of the action of an extravagant Government. Members of the Opposition and many Members on the other side of the House agreed that the military expenditure of the country was extravagant, and that it was the urgent duty of the House of Commons and the Treasury authorities to take the matter into serious consideration with a view to large reductions. It was not so popular to make similar suggestions with regard to the Navy, but he did not hesitate to express his agreement with those who believed that even our naval expenditure would admit of serious reduction. We had outgrown the two-Power standard, and where these perpetual increases in naval and military expenditure were going to end he did not know. Under almost every head of expenditure the same policy of expansion was observable. Many suggestions had been made as to the manner in which the Government could find further revenue, and if he might add one to those already put forward he would suggest that the right hon. Gentleman should take into serious consideration the advisability of repealing the Agricultural Rating Act and the Tithe Rent Charge Act. Under those Acts the Government had dissipated revenue almost equivalent in amount to that which they would derive from the additional tea duty, but they had not brought any real relief to the farming classes. Remissions of rent had practically ceased.

*The CHAIRMAN intimated that the hon. Member was passing from the subject under consideration.

Mr. GEORGE WHITELEY said he would not pursue the subject. Any of the alternatives which had been suggested, such as the increase of the tobacco, wine and spirit, and death duties, or a graduated income-tax, would be infinitely preferable to an increase of the duty on tea which pressed with such hardship upon the working classes. Recent by-elections had shown that the working classes were not in sympathy with the policy of the Government, and he suggested that the right hon. Gentleman should advise his Leader to consult the country and get a decisive answer on these matters.

Mr. FLYNN said that the tea duty had been discussed on many previous occasions, but never under such peculiar circumstances as that afternoon. Previous to the year 1900 Irish Members protested against the duty as being unfair to Ireland, but it had now reached the climax of tyranny and oppression. The tea duty of 8d. per lb., representing from 75 to 100 per cent. of the value of the article, possessed every vice that could possibly attach to a tax. It pressed with peculiar severity upon the poorest of the population. Four years ago the House was informed that the increase from 4d. to 6d. was solely for the purposes of the war, but the war was now over, and yet the Government were imposing another 2d. because they had not the courage to tax the rich. The greatest aggregation of people with slender means, many of them verging on starvation, was to be found in certain parts of Ireland, and there the pressure was severe in the extreme. No attempt had been made to show why other sources of revenue should not have been tapped. The percentage of the tax paid by Ireland increased as the duty was raised, and if the Irish representatives were justified in describing the tax as unfair when it stood at 4d., how much more justified were they in opposing it now that it was 8d.! The increased duty would have the effect of driving people to drink inferior tea, or tea dust, in place of the fairly nutritious beverage they were now able to secure. What would be said of a foreign Government which imposed a tax of 100 per cent. on the value of an article of diet used by the poorest of the poor? To the rich the duty made no difference whatever, but to the poor it was a matter of enormous importance. The goal of a free breakfast table appeared to be receding year by year, and, if the present Government continued in office, probably some other article of food would be attacked in the next Budget. He could not conceive how English Members, representing working-class constituencies, could have the temerity and effrontery to face their constituents and attempt to justify a vote by which so onerous a tax was imposed upon the food of the people. The special case of Ireland would be dealt with on a subsequent Amendment; he would merely say now that the tax possessed the worst possible qualities in that the rich escaped scot-free, while the poor felt its full force.

Mr. Austen Chamberlain rose in his place, and claimed to move, "That the Question be now put."

Question put, "That the Question be now put."

The Committee divided:—Ayes, 212; Noes, 166. (Division List No. 158.)

AYES.

Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster, Rt. Hn. Hugh O.
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Aubrey-Fletcher, Rt. Hn. Sir H.
Bagot, Capt. Josceline FitzRoy
Bailey, James (Walworth)
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour, Rt. Hon. A. J. (Manch'r
Balfour, Capt. C. B. (Hornsey)
Balfour, Rt. Hon. G. W. (Leeds
Balfour, Kenneth R. (Christch.
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Bartley, Sir George C. T.
Bignold, Arthur
Bigwood, James
Bill, Charles
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Brassey, Albert
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Burdett-Coutts, W.
Butcher, John George
Carlile, William Walter
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Cautley, Henry Strother
Cavendish, V. C. W. (Derbyshire
Cayzer, Sir Charles William
Chamberlain, Rt Hn. J. A (Worc.
Chapman, Edward
Charrington, Spencer

Clive, Captain Percy A.
Coates, Edward Feetham
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Colomb, Rt.Hn.Sir John C. R.
Colston, Chas. Edw. H. Athole
Cook, Sir Frederick Lucas
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Craig, Charles Curtis(Antrim,S.)
Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Dalkeith, Earl of
Davenport, William Bromley
Dickinson, Robert Edmond
Dickson, Charles Scott
Dickson-Poynder, Sir John P.
Digby, John K. D. Wingfield-
Doughty, George
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers
Doxford, Sir William Theodore
Durning-Lawrence, Sir Edwin
Dyke, Rt.Hn. Sir William Hart
Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
Fardell, Sir T. George
Fergusson, Rt.Hn. Sir J.(Manc'
Fielden, Edward Brocklehurst
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
Fisher, William Hayes
Fison, Frederick William
FitzGerald, Sir Robert Penrose-
Fitzroy, Hn. Edward Algernon
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Forster, Henry William
Foster, P. S. (Warwick, S.W.)
Galloway, William Johnson
Gardner, Ernest
Gibbs, Hon. A. G. H.
Gordon, Hn.J.E.(Elgin&Nairn)
Gordon, J. (Londonderry, S.)
Gore, Hn.G.R.C.Ormsby-(Salop
Gore, Hon. S.F.Ormsby-(Linc.)
Graham, Henry Robert
Gray, Ernest (West Ham)
Greene, Sir E.W(B'rySEdm'nds
Grenfell, William Henry
Greville, Hon. Ronald
Hall, Edward Marshall
Hardy, L. (Kent, Ashford)
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Harris, Dr. Fredk. R.(Dulwich)
Haslett, Sir James Horner
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Heath, Arthur Howard(Hanley
Heath, James (Staffords., N.W.
Heaton, John Henniker
Helder, Augustus
Henderson, Sir A.(Stafford, W.)
Hermon-Hodge, Sir Robert T.
Hickman, Sir Alfred
Hobhouse, RtHn H(Somers't,E
Hogg, Lindsay
Hope, J.F.(Sheffield, Brightside
Houston, Robert Paterson
Howard, Jn.(Kent, Faversham
Hozier, Hn. James Henry Cecil
Hudson, George Bickersteth
Hunt, Rowland
Jebb, Sir Richard Claverhouse
Jeffreys, Rt. Hon. Arthur Fred.
Jessel, Captain Herbert Merton
Johnstone, Heywood (Sussex)
Kennaway, Rt.Hn.Sir John H.
Kenyon-Slaney, Col. W.(Salop.
Knowles, Sir Lees
Lambton, Hon. Fredetick Wm.
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
Lawrence, Wm. F. (Liverpool)
Lawson, J. Grant (Yorks., N.R.
Lee, A. H. (Hants., Fareham)
Lees, Sir Elliott (Birkenhead)
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Leveson-Gower, Frederick N.S.
Lockwood, Lieut.-Col. A. R.
Loder, Gerald Walter Erskine
Long, Col. CharlesW.(Evesham
Long, Rt.Hn.Walter(Bristol,S.
Lowther, C. (Cumb., Eskdale)
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas, Col. Francis (Lowestoft)
Lucas, Reginald J.(Portsmouth
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
Macdona, John Cumming
MacIver, David (Liverpool)
Maconochie, A. W.
M'Arthur, Charles (Liverpool)
M'Iver, SirLewis(Edinburgh,W)
M'Killop, James (Stirlingshire)
Malcolm, Ian
Martin, Richard Biddulph
Melville, Beresford Valentine
Middlemore, Jn. Throgmorton
Milner, Rt.Hn.Sir Frederick G.
Montagu, G. (Huntingdon)
Moon, Edward Robert Pacy
Morpeth, Viscount
Morrison, James Archibald
Mount, William Arthur
Murray, Rt. Hon. A. G. (Bute)
Murray, Charles J. (Coventry)
Murray, Col. Wyndham (Bath)
Nicholson, William Graham
Pease, Herb. Pike (Darlington)
Peel, Hn.Wm.Robert Wellesley
Pemberton, John S. G.
Percy, Earl
Pilkington, Colonel Richard
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Plummer, Walter R.
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Pretyman, Ernest George
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Randles, John S.
Rankin, Sir James
Rasch, Sir Frederic Carne
Renwick, George
Ridley, Hon. M.W.(Stalybridge
Ridley, S.Forde(Bethnal Green
Ritchie, Rt.Hn.Chas. Thomson
Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
Rolleston, Sir John F. L.
Ropner, Colonel Sir Robert
Rothschild, Hon.LionelWalter
Round, Rt. Hon. James
Royds, Clement Molyneux
Rutherford, John (Lancashire)
Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford
Sandys, Lt.-Col. Thos. Myles
Sassoon, Sir Edward Albert
Saunderson, Rt.Hn.Col.Edw.J.
Scott, Sir S. (Marylebone, W.)
Sharpe, William Edward T.
Skewes-Cox, Thomas
Sloan, Thomas Henry
Smith, Abel H.(Hertford,East)
Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
Spear, John Ward
Stanley, Edward Jas.(Somerset
Stanley, Rt. Hon. Lord (Lancs.
Stewart, Sir Marx J. M'Taggart
Stirling-Maxwell, Sir John M.
Stock, James Henry
Strutt, Hon. Charles Hedley
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Talbot, Rt.Hn.J.G(Oxf'dUniv.
Taylor, Austin (East Toxteth)
Thorburn, Sir Walter
Thornton, Percy M.
Tollemache, Henry James
Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
Tritton, Charles Ernest
Tuff, Charles
Valentia, Viscount
Vincent, Col.Sir C.E.H(Sheffield
Vincent, Sir Edgar (Exeter)
Walker, Col. William Hall
Walrond, Rt.Hn.Sir WilliamH.
Warde, Colonel C. E.
Webb, Colonel William George
Welby, Lt.-Col.A.C.E(Taunton
Welby, Sir Charles G.E.(Notts.
Whiteley, H.(Ashton und.Lyne
Whitmore, Charles Algernon
Williams, Colonel R. (Dorset)
Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
Wilson, A. Stanley (York, E.R.
Wilson, John (Glasgow)
Wodehouse, Rt.Hn. E.R.(Bath
Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B. Stuart
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George
Younger, William

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Sir Alexander Acland-Hood and Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes.

NOES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N.E.)
Abraham, William (Rhondda)
Ainsworth, John Stirling
Allen, Charles P.
Asher, Alexander
Asquith, Rt.Hn.HerbertHenry
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Bayley, Thomas (Derbyshire)
Beaumont, Wentworth C. B.
Black, Alexander William
Boland, John
Brigg, John
Brown, George M. (Edinburgh)
Brunner, Sir John Tomlinson
Bryce, Rt. Hon. James
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Burke, E. Haviland
Burt, Thomas
Buxton, Sydney Charles
Caldwell, James
Causton, Richard Knight
Cawley, Frederick
Churchill, Winston Spencer
Clancy, John Joseph

Cogan, Denis J.
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Cremer, William Randal
Cullinan, J.
Dalziel, James Henry
Davies, Alfred (Carmarthen)
Davies, M. Vaughan (Cardigan)
Delany, William
Devlin, Chas. Ramsay (Galway
Devlin, Joseph (Kilkenny, N.)
Dewar, John A. (Inverness-sh.)
Donelan, Captain A.
Doogan, P. C.
Douglas, Charles M. (Lanark)
Duncan, J. Hastings
Edwards, Frank
Elibank, Master of
Ellice,Capt E.C(SAndrw'sBghs
Emmott, Alfred
Evans, Sir F. H. (Maidstone)
Farrell, James Patrick
Field, William
Fitzmaurice, Lord Edmond
Flynn, James Christopher
Foster, Sir Walter (Derby Co.)
Fowler, Rt. Hon. Sir Henry
Freeman-Thomas, Captain F.
Fuller, J. M. F.
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Grey, Rt. Hon. Sir E. (Berwick
Griffith, Ellis J.
Gurdon, Sir W. Brampton
Haldane, Rt. Hon. Richard B.
Hammond, John
Harcourt, Lewis V.(Rossendale
Hayden, John Patrick
Hayter, Rt. Hon. Sir Arthur D.
Helme, Norval Watson
Hemphill, Rt. Hon. Charles H.
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Horniman, Frederick John
Humphreys-Owen, Arthur C.
Hutchinson, Dr. Charles Fredk.
Hutton, Alfred E. (Morley)
Johnson, John (Gateshead)
Joicey, Sir James
Jones, William (Carnarvonshire
Joyce, Michael
Kennedy, Vincent P.(Cavan,W
Kitson, Sir James
Labouchere, Henry
Lambert, George
Langley, Batty
Law, Hugh Alex. (Donegal, W.
Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cornwall)
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Leamy, Edmund
Leese, Sir Jos. F. (Accrington)
Leng, Sir John
Levy, Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Lough, Thomas
Lundon, W.
Lyell, Charles Henry
Macnamara, Dr. Thomas J.
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
M'Crae, George
M'Kenna, Reginald
M'Killop, W. (Sligo, North)
M'Laren, Sir Charles Benjamin
Markham, Arthur Basil
Mooney, John J.
Morgan, J. Lloyd (Carmarthen)
Morley, Charles (Breconshire)
Moulton, John Fletcher
Murphy, John
Nannetti, Joseph P.
Nolan,Col.John P.(Galway,N.)
Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South)
Nussey, Thomas Willans
O'Brien, James F. X. (Cork)
O'Brien, K. (Tipperary, Mid.)
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Brien, P. J. (Tipperary, N.)
O'Connor, James (Wicklow, W.
O'Connor, T. P. (Liverpool)
O'Donnell, John (Mayo, S.)
O'Donnell, T. (Kerry, W.)
O'Kelly, Jas. (Roscommon, N.)
O'Malley, William
O'Shee, James John
Partington, Oswald
Pease, J. A. (Saffron Walden)
Pirie, Duncan V.
Power, Patrick Joseph
Price, Robert John
Priestley, Arthur
Rea, Russell
Redmond, John E. (Waterford)
Rigg, Richard
Roberts, John Bryn (Eifion)
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.)
Robson, William Snowdon
Roche, John
Roe, Sir Thomas
Rose, Charles Day
Runciman, Walter
Russell, T. W.
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Samuel, S. M. (Whitechapel)
Schwann, Charles E.
Seely, Maj.J.E.B.(Isle of Wight
Shackleton, David James
Shaw, Charles Edw. (Stafford)
Shaw, Thomas (Hawick B.)
Sheehan, Daniel Daniel
Sheehy, David
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Sinclair, John (Forfarshire)
Slack, John Bamford
Smith, Samuel (Flint)
Soames, Arthur Wellesley
Soares, Ernest J.
Spencer, Rt.Hn.C.R(Northants
Strachey, Sir Edward
Sullivan, Donal
Taylor, Theodore C. (Radcliffe)
Tennant, Harold John
Thomas, Sir A.(Glamorgan, E.)
Thomas, D. Alfred (Merthyr)
Tomkinson, James
Toulmin, George
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan)
Wason, Jn. Cathcart (Orkney)
White, George (Norfolk)
White, Luke (York, E. R.)
Whiteley, George (York, W.R.)
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
Wilson, Henry J. (York, W.R.)
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid.)
Woodhouse,Sir J.T(Huddersf'd

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Mr. Herbert Gladstone and Mr. William M'Arthur.

Question put accordingly, "That the words 'In lieu of' stand part of the clause."

The Committee divided:—Ayes, 217; Noes, 165. (Division List No. 159.)

AYES.

Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster,Rt.Hn.Hugh O.
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Aubrey-Fletcher, Rt.Hn.Sir H.
Bagot, Capt. Josceline FitzRoy
Bailey, James (Walworth)
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour, Rt.Hon. A.J.(Manch'r
Balfour, Capt. C. B. (Hornsey)
Balfour, Rt. Hon. G. W. (Leeds
Balfour, Kenneth R. (Christch.
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Bartley, Sir George C. T.
Bignold, Arthur
Bigwood, James
Bill, Charles
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Brassey, Albert
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Burdett-Coutts, W.
Butcher, John George
Carlile, William Walter
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Cautley, Henry Strother
Cavendish, V.C.W. (Derbyshire
Cayzer, Sir Charles William
Chamberlain, RtHn.J.A(Worc.
Chaplin, Rt. Hon. Henry
Chapman, Edward
Charrington, Spencer
Clive, Captain Percy A.
Coates, Edward Feetham
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Colomb, Rt.Hn.Sir John C. R.
Colston, Chas. Edw. H. Athole
Cook, Sir Frederick Lucas
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Craig,CharlesCurtis(Antrim,S.)
Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Dalkeith, Earl of
Davenport, William Bromley

Dickinson, Robert Edmond
Dickson, Charles Scott
Dickson-Poynder, Sir John P.
Digby, John K. D. Wingfield-
Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
Doughty, George
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers
Doxford, Sir William Theodore
Durning-Lawrence, Sir Edwin
Dyke, Rt.Hn.Sir William Hart
Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
Fardell, Sir T. George
Fergusson, Rt.Hn.SirJ.(Manc'r
Fielden, Edward Brocklehurst
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
Fisher, William Hayes
Fison, Frederick William
FitzGerald, Sir Robert Penrose
Fitzroy, Hn. Edward Algernon
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Forster, Henry William
Foster, P. S. (Warwick, S.W.)
Galloway, William Johnson
Gardner, Ernest
Gibbs, Hon. A. G. H.
Gordon, Hn.J.E.(Elgin&Nairn)
Gordon, J. (Londonderry, S.)
Gore,Hn G.R.C.Ormsby-(Salop
Gore, Hon. S.F.Ormsby-(Linc.)
Graham, Henry Robert
Gray, Ernest (West Ham)
Greene,Sir E.W(B'rySEdD'nds
Grenfell, William Henry
Gretton, John
Greville, Hon. Ronald
Hall, Edward Marshall
Hardy, L. (Kent, Ashford)
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Harris, Dr. Fredk. R.(Dulwich)
Haslett, Sir James Horner
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Heath, Arthur Howard(Hanley
Heath, James (Staffords., N.W.
Heaton, John Henniker
Helder, Augustus
Henderson, Sir A.(Stafford, W
Hermon-Hodge, Sir Robert T.
Hickman Sir Alfred
Hobhouse,RtHn H(Somers't,E
Hogg, Lindsay
Hope, J.F.(Sheffield,Brightside
Houston, Robert Paterson
Howard, Jn.(Kent, Faversham
Hozier, Hn. James Henry Cecil
Hudson, George Bickersteth
Hunt, Rowland
Jebb, Sir Richard Claverhouse
Jeffreys, Rt. Hon. Arthur Fred.

Jessel, Captain Herbert Merton
Johnstone, Heywood (Sussex)
Kennaway, Rt.Hn.Sir John H.
Kenyon-Slaney, Col. W.(Salop.
Keswick, William
Knowles, Sir Lees
Lambton, Hn. Frederick Wm.
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
Lawrence, Wm. F. (Liverpool)
Lawson, J. Grant (Yorks., N.R.
Lee, A. H. (Hants., Fareham)
Lees, Sir Elliott (Birkenhead)
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Leveson-Gower, Frederick N.S.
Lockwood, Lieut.-Col. A. R.
Loder, Gerald Walter Erskine
Long, Col.Charles W.(Evesham)
Long, Rt.Hn.Walter(Bristol,S.
Lowther, C. (Cumb., Eskdale)
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas, Col. Francis (Lowestoft)
Lucas, Reginald J.(Portsmouth
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
Macdona, John Cumming
MacIver, David (Liverpool)
Maconochie, A. W.
M'Arthur, Charles (Liverpool)
M'Iver,Sir Lewis(Edinburgh,W
M'Killop, James (Stirlingshire)
Malcolm, Ian
Martin, Richard Biddulph
Melville, Beresford Valentine
Middlemore, Jn. Throgmorton
Milner, Rt.Hn.Sir Frederick G.
Montagu, G. (Huntingdon)
Montagu, Hn. J. Scott (Hants.)
Moon, Edward Robert Pacy
Morpeth, Viscount
Morrison, James Archibald
Mount, William Arthur
Murray, Rt. Hon. A. G. (Bute)
Murray, Charles J. (Coventry)
Murray, Col. Wyndham (Bath)
Nicholson, William Graham
Pease, Herb. Pike (Darlington)
Peel, Hn.Wm.Robert Wellesley
Pemberton, John S. G.
Percy, Earl
Pilkington, Colonel Richard
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Plummer, Walter R.
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Pretyman, Ernest George
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Randles, John S.
Rankin, Sir James
Rasch, Sir Frederic Carne
Renwick, George
Ridley, Hon. M.W.(Stalybridge

Ridley, S. Forde(Bethnal Green
Ritchie, Rt.Hn.Chas. Thomson
Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
Rolleston, Sir John F. L.
Ropner, Colonel Sir Robert
Rothschild, Hon.Lionel Walter
Round, Rt. Hon. James
Royds, Clement Molyneux
Rutherford, John (Lancashire)
Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford
Sandys,Lieut.-Col. Thos. Myles
Sassoon, Sir Edward Albert
Saunderson,Rt.Hn. Col.Edw.J.
Scott, Sir S. (Marylebone, W.)
Seely, Charles Hilton (Lincoln)
Sharpe, William Edward T.
Skewes-Cox, Thomas
Smith, Abel H.(Hertford,East)
Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
Spear, John Ward
Stanley, Hn. Arthur (Ormskirk
Stanley, Edward Jas.(Somerset
Stanley, Rt. Hon. Lord (Lancs.
Stewart, Sir Mark J. M'Taggart
Stirling-Maxwell Sir John M.
Stock, James Henry
Strutt, Hon. Charles Hedley
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Talbot, Rt.Hn.J.G(Oxf'dUniv.
Taylor, Austin (East Toxteth)
Thorburn, Sir Walter
Thornton, Percy M.
Tollemache, Henry James
Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
Tritton, Charles Ernest
Tuff, Charles
Valentia, Viscount
Vincent,Col.Sir C.E.H(Sheffield
Vincent, Sir Edgar (Exeter)
Walker, Col. William Hall
Walrond, Rt.Hn.Sir WilliamH.
Warde, Colonel C. E.
Webb, Colonel William George
Welby, Lt.-Col.A.C.E(Taunton
Welby, Sir Charles G.E.(Notts.
Whiteley, H.(Ashton und.Lyne
Whitmore, Charles Algernon
Williams, Colonel R. (Dorset)
Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
Wilson, A. Stanley (Yorks,E.R.
Wilson, John (Glasgow)
Wodehouse, Rt.Hn. E.R.(Bath
Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B. Stuart
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Sir Alexander Acland-Hood and Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes.

NOES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N.E.)
Abraham, William (Rhondda)
Ainsworth, John Stirling
Allen, Charles P.
Asher, Alexander
Asquith, Rt. Hn. Herb. Henry
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Bayley, Thomas (Derbyshire)
Beaumont, Wentworth C. B.
Black, Alexander William

Boland, John
Brigg, John
Brown, George M. (Edinburgh)
Brunner, Sir John Tomlinson
Bryce, Rt. Hon. James
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Burke, R. Haviland
Burt, Thomas
Buxton, Sydney Charles
Cadwell, James

Causton, Richard Knight
Cawley, Frederick
Churchill, Winston Spencer
Clancy, John Joseph
Cogan, Denis J.
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Cremer, William Randal
Cullinan, J.
Dalziel, James Henry
Davies, Alfred (Carmarthen)

Davies, M. Vaughan (Cardigan)
Delany, William
Devlin, Chas. Ramsay (Galway
Devlin, Joseph (Kilkenny, N.)
Dewar, John A. (Inverness-sh.)
Donelan, Captain A.
Doogan, P. C.
Douglas, Charles M. (Lanark)
Duncan, J. Hastings
Edwards, Frank
Elibank, Master of
Ellice,Capt E.C(SAndrw'sBghs
Emmott, Alfred
Evans, Sir F. H. (Maidstone)
Farrell, James Patrick
Field, William
Fitzmaurice, Lord Edmond
Flynn, James Christopher
Foster, Sir Walter (Derby Co.)
Fowler, Rt. Hon. Sir Henry
Freeman-Thomas, Captain F.
Fuller, J. M. F.
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Grey, Rt. Hon. Sir E. (Berwick)
Griffith, Ellis J.
Gurdon, Sir W. Brampton
Haldane, Rt. Hon. Richard B.
Hammond, John
Harcourt, Lewis V.(Rossendale
Hayden, John Patrick
Hayter, Rt. Hon.Sir Arthur D.
Helme, Norval Watson
Hemphill, Rt. Hon.Charles H.
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Horniman, Frederick John
Humphreys-Owen, Arthur C.
Hutchinson, Dr. Charles Fredk.
Hutton, Alfred E. (Morley)
Johnson, John (Gateshead)
Joicey, Sir James
Jones, William(Carnarvonshire
Joyce, Michael
Kennedy,Vincent P.(Cavan,W.
Kitson, Sir James
Labouchere, Henry
Lambert, George
Langley, Batty
Law, Hugh Alex. (Donegal,W.)
Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cornwall)
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Leamy, Edmund
Leese, Sir Jos. F. (Accrington)
Leng, Sir John
Levy, Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Lough, Thomas
Lundon, W.
Lyell, Charles Henry
Macnamara, Dr. Thomas J.
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
M'Crae, George
M'Kenna, Reginald
M'Killop, W. (Sligo, North)
M'Laren, Sir Charles Benjamin
Markham, Arthur Basil
Mooney, John J.
Morgan, J. Lloyd (Carmarthen)
Morley, Charles (Breconshire)
Moulton, John Fletcher
Murphy, John
Nannetti, Joseph P.
Nolan,Col.John P.(Galway,N.)
Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South)
Nussey, Thomas Willans
O'Brien, James F. X. (Cork)
O'Brien, K. (Tipperary, Mid.)
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Brien, P. J. (Tipperary, N.)
O'Connor, James (Wicklow, W.
O'Connor, T. P. (Liverpool)
O'Donnell, John (Mayo, S.)
O'Donnell, T. (Kerry, W.)
O'Kelly, Jas. (Roscommon, N.)
O'Malley, William
O'Shee, James John
Partington, Oswald
Pease, J. A. (Saffron Walden)
Pirie, Duncan V.
Power, Patrick Joseph
Price, Robert John
Priestley, Arthur
Rea, Russell
Redmond, John E. (Waterford)
Rigg, Richard
Roberts, John Bryn (Eifion)
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.)
Roche, John
Roe, Sir Thomas
Rose, Charles Day
Runciman, Walter
Russell, T. W.
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Samuel, S. M. (Whitechapel)
Schwann, Charles E.
Shackleton, David James
Shaw, Charles Edw. (Stafford)
Shaw, Thomas (Hawick B.)
Sheehan, Daniel Daniel
Sheehy, David
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Sinclair, John (Forfarshire)
Slack, John Bamford
Sloan, Thomas Henry
Smith, Samuel (Flint)
Soames, Arthur Wellesley
Soares, Ernest J.
Spencer, Rt.Hn.C.R(Northants
Strachey, Sir Edward
Sullivan, Donal
Taylor, Theodore C. (Radcliffe)
Tennant, Harold John
Thomas, Sir A.(Glamorgan, E.)
Thomas, D. Alfred (Merthyr)
Tomkinson, James
Toulmin, George
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan)
Wason, Jn. Cathcart (Orkney)
White, George (Norfolk)
White, Luke (York, E. R.)
Whiteley, George (York, W.R.)
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
Wilson, Henry J. (York, W.R.)
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid.)
Woodhouse,Sir J.T(Huddersf'd

Tellers for the Noes—Mr. Herbert Gladstone and Mr. William M'Arthur.

*The CHAIRMAN: The next Amendment on the Paper standing in the name of the hon. Member for Dundee is not in order.

Mr. SYDNEY BUXTON pointed out that his hon. friend's Amendment did not involve new taxation, and therefore he respectfully submitted that it was in order.

*The CHAIRMAN: It is not in order for two reasons. In the first place this clause deals with tea and not the licensing of public-houses. The second reason why it is out of order is that the proposal of the hon. Member would place an additional charge upon the public, and he could not do that without having previously obtained a Resolution in Committee.

Mr. WINSTON CHURCHILL (Oldham) who spoke from the Opposition side of the House, said the Amendment which he wished to move raised a delicate issue, and he therefore asked leave to move to report Progress. He could compress the remarks which he had to make to something under an hour, but the subject would raise so many bitter feelings on the other side of the House, and so much interest on his side, that if he embarked upon it there was no hope of their reaching any satisfactory or useful conclusion that night. Since dinner they had discussed quite a new subject with which most hon. Members were quite unfamiliar —namely, the question of the Zionist settlement in Uganda, and hon. Members had been compelled to distract their minds from the Finance Bill to quite another quarter of the globe. He appealed to the First Lord of the Treasury not to compel them at that hour to embark on an elaborate discussion of the question of preference, particularly as the nerves of tariff reformers must be in a highly sensitive condition in consequence of the recent news that had reached them from the West of England. Under those circumstances he respectfully moved that Progress be now reported.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress; and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. Winston Churchill.*)

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The hon. Member well knows that there is no limitation under the Twelve O'clock Rule, and there is no reason why we should not go on to a much later hour. I understand that the particular Amendment which he desires to bring before the Committee would advocate the introduction of the principle of preference into the Budget of the present year. I am quite sure that the hon. Gentleman has so often argued on the other side that he would be perfectly competent to deal with that question, but as the Committee knows, the view of the present Government is that the question is not one to be dealt with by the present Parliament. Gladly as we welcome this new and unexpected recruit, gladly as those of us who are in favour of preference welcome this new recruit [OPPOSITION cries of "Which of you;" and cheers.] I think the mere fact that some hon. Gentleman desires to speak formally and deliberately against his convictions [Mr. WINSTON CHURCHILL dissented]—perhaps I have misread the Amendment; it was shown to me—is not an adequate reason for the Committee's adjourning at this untimely hour. I hope that the hon. Member will give us his speech within the fifty minutes that he has promised; but, if that cannot be done, we shall endure with what patience we may the longer period which he requires fully to develop his views upon this important point.

MR. ASQUITH (Fifeshire, E.) said the Motion which his hon. friend had made to report Progress was well justified, if for no other reason, by the important declaration which it had elicited from the Prime Minister. They now knew that the Prime Minister was one of the supporters of the policy of colonial preference. Here they had a new, though he confessed, for his part, not an unexpected recruit. In view of that important declaration——

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I suppose the right hon. Gentleman is serious?

MR. ASQUITH asked if he was to suppose that the Prime Minister was not serious. In view of this very important declaration, which threw a new light on the whole fiscal question, and in view of the fact that they had been engaged in discussing the Budget ever since three o'clock, except for a fruitful interval, [MINISTERIAL cries of "Oh!"] he thought a more reasonable proposal than that of his hon. friend could hardly have been made. He ventured to submit to the Prime Minister and to hon. Gentlemen opposite that they would gain no advantage whatever from starting a new and important discussion at that hour which could not possibly be concluded that night.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Why not?

MR. ASQUITH said the fact that they would enter upon the discussion in the absence of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham was an additional reason, if an additional reason were needed, for reporting Progress. He was satisfied that the House would waste its time by having a discussion which could not possibly be brought to a satisfactory conclusion, and he should certainly support the Motion to report Progress.

*MR. LOUGH said he hoped the Chancellor of the Exchequer would suggest to the Prime Minister that some effort ought to be made to meet them in this matter. Up to the present they had got on very well. [MINISTERIAL cries of "Oh!"] One of the most difficult and contentious matters in the Bill had been disposed of, and a good start had been made. He suggested to the Chancellor of the Exchequer that more progress would be secured in the long run by accepting this Motion. At this hour of the night their discussions were not reported in the Press.

Question put.

The Committee divided:—Ayes, 151; Noes, 196. (Division List No. 160).

AYES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N.E.)
Abraham, William (Rhondda)
Ainsworth, John Stirling
Allen, Charles P.
Asher, Alexander
Asquith, Rt. Hn. Herb. Henry
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Bayley, Thomas (Derbyshire)
Beaumont, Wentworth C. B.
Black, Alexander William
Boland, John
Brigg, John
Brown, George M. (Edinburgh)
Bryce, Rt. Hon. James
Burke, E. Haviland
Buxton, Sydney Charles
Caldwell, James
Causton, Richard Knight
Churchill, Winston Spencer
Clancy, John Joseph
Cogan, Denis J.
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Cremer, William Randal
Cullinan, J.
Dalziel, James Henry
Davies, Alfred (Carmarthen)
Davies, M. Vaughan (Cardigan)
Delany, William
Devlin, Chas Ramsay (Galway
Devlin, Joseph (Kilkenny, N.)
Dewar, John A. (Inverness-sh.)
Donelan, Captain A.
Doogan, P. C.
Douglas, Charles M. (Lanark)
Duncan, J. Hastings
Edwards, Frank
Elibank, Master of
Ellice, Capt E.C(SAndrw'sBghs
Emmott, Alfred
Evans, Sir Fran. H. (Maidstone
Farrell, James Patrick
Field, William
Flynn, James Christopher
Foster, Sir Walter (Derby Co.)
Freeman-Thomas, Captain F.
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Grey, Rt. Hon. Sir E. (Berwick)
Griffith, Ellis J.
Gurdon, Sir W. Brampton
Hammond, John
Harcourt, Lewis V.(Rossendale
Hayden, John Patrick
Hayter, Rt. Hon. Sir Arthur D.
Helme, Norval Watson
Hemphill, Rt. Hon. Charles H.
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Horniman, Frederick John
Hutchinon, Dr. Charles Fredk.
Johnson, John (Gateshead)
Joicey, Sir James
Jones, William(Carnarvonshire
Joyce, Michael
Kennedy, VincentP.(Cavan,W.
Kitson, Sir James
Labouchere, Henry
Lambert, George
Langley, Batty
Law, Hugh Alex. (Donegal, W
Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cornwall)
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Leamy, Edmund
Leese, Sir Jos. F. (Accrington)
Leng Sir John
Levy, Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Lough, Thomas
Lundon, W.
Lyell, Charles Henry
Macnamara, Dr. Thomas J.
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
M'Crae, George
M'Kenna, Reginald
MKillop, W. (Sligo, North)
M'Laren, Sir Charles Benjamin
Markham, Arthur Basil
Mooney, John J.
Morgan, J. Lloyd (Carmarthen)
Murphy, John
Nannetti, Joseph P.
Nolan, Col. John P. (Galway, N.)
Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South)
Nussey, Thomas Willans
O'Brien, James F. X. (Cork)
O'Brien, K. (Tipperary, Mid.)
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Brien, P. J. (Tipperary, N.)
O'Connor, James (Wicklow, W.
O'Connor, T. P. (Liverpool)
O'Donnell, John (Mayo, S.)
O'Donne,l, T. (Kerry, W.)
O'Kelly, Jas. (Roscommon, N.)
O'Malley, William
O'Shee, James John
Partington, Oswald
Pease, J. A. (Saffron Walden)
Pirie, Duncan V.
Power, Patrick Joseph
Price, Robert John
Priestley, Arthur
Rea, Russell
Redmond, John E. (Waterford)
Rigg, Richard
Roberts, John Bryn (Eifion)
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.)
Roche, John
Roe, Sir Thomas
Rose, Charles Day
Runciman, Walter
Russell, T. W.
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Samuel, S. M. (Whitechapel)
Schwann, Charles E.
Seely, Maj. J. E. B. (Isle of Wight
Shackleton, David James
Shaw, Charles Edw. (Stafford)
Shaw, Thomas (Hawick B.)
Sheehan, Daniel Daniel
Sheehy, David
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Slack, John Bamford
Soames, Arthur Wellesley
Soares, Ernest J.
Spencer, Rt. Hn. C. R(Northants
Strachey, Sir Edward
Sullivan, Donal
Taylor, Theodore C. (Radcliffe)
Tennant, Harold John
Thomas, Sir A. (Glamorgan, E.)
Thomas, D. Alfred (Merthyr)
Tomkinson, James
Toulmin, George
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan)
Wason, John Cathcart(Orkney)
White, George (Norfolk)
White, Luke (York, E. R.)
Whiteley, George (York, W.R.)
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
Wilson, Henry J. (York, W.R.)
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid.)
Woodhouse, Sir J. T(Huddersf'd

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Mr. Herbert Gladstone and Mr. William M'Arthur.

NOES.

Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster, Rt. Hn. Hugh O
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Aubrey-Fletcher, Rt. Hn. Sir H.
Bagot, Capt. Josceline FitzRoy
Bailey, James (Walworth)
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour, Rt. Hon. A. J. (Manch'r
Balfour, Capt. C. B. (Hornsey)
Balfour, Rt. Hon. G. W. (Leeds
Balfour, Kenneth R. (Christch.
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Bartley, Sir George C. T.
Bignold, Arthur
Bigwood, James
Bill, Charles
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Brassey, Albert
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Burdett-Coutts, W.
Butcher, John George
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Cautley, Henry Strother
Cavendish, V. C. W. (Derbyshire)
Chamberlain, Rt Hn. J. A(Worc.
Chaplin, Rt. Hon. Henry

Chapman, Edward
Clive, Captain Percy A.
Coates, Edward Feetham
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Colomb, Rt.Hn.Sir John C. R.
Colston, Chas. Edw. H. Athole
Cook, Sir Frederick Lucas
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Craig, CharlesCurtis(Antrim S.)
Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Dalkeith, Earl of
Davenport, William Bromley
Dickinson, Robert Edmond
Dickson, Charles Scott
Digby, John K. D. Wingfield-
Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
Doughty, George
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers
Doxford, Sir William Theodore
Durning-Lawrence, Sir Edwin
Dyke, Rt.Hn.Sir William Hart
Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
Fardell, Sir T. George
Fergusson,Rt.Hn.Sir J.(Manc'r
Fielden, Edward Brocklehurst
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
Fison, Frederick William
Fitzroy, Hn. Edward Algernon
Forster, Henry William
Foster, P. S. (Warwick, S.W.)
Galloway, William Johnson
Gardner, Ernest
Gibbs, Hon. A. G. H.
Gordon,Hn.J.E.(Elgin & Nairn
Gordon, J. (Londonderry, S.)
Gore,Hn G.R.C.Ormsby-(Salop
Gore, Hon. S.F.Ormsby-(Linc.)
Graham, Henry Robert
Gray, Ernest (West Ham)
Greene,Sir E.W(B'rySEdm'nds
Grenfell, William Henry
Gretton, John
Greville, Hon. Ronald
Hall, Edward Marshall
Hardy, L. (Kent, Ashford)
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Harris, Dr. Fredk. R. (Dulwich
Haslett, Sir James Horner
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Heath, Arthur Howard(Hanley
Heath, James (Staffords., N.W.
Heaton, John Henniker
Helder, Augustus
Henderson, Sir A.(Stafford, W.)
Hermon-Hodge, Sir Robert T.
Hickman, Sir Alfred
Hobhouse,RtHn H(Somers't,E
Hogg, Lindsay
Hope, J.F.(Sheffield,Brightside
Houston, Robert Paterson
Howard, Jn.(Kent, Faversham
Hozier, Hn. James Henry Cecil
Hudson, George Bickersteth
Hunt, Rowland
Jeffreys, Rt. Hon. Arthur Fred.
Kenyon-Slaney,Col. W.(Salop.)
Keswick, William
Knowles, Sir Lees
Lambton, Hon. Frederick Wm.
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
Lawrence, Wm. F. (Liverpool)
Lawson, J. Grant (Yorks., N.R.
Lee, A. H. (Hants., Fareham)
Lees, Sir Elliott (Birkenhead)
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Leveson-Gower, Frederick N.S.
Lockwood, Lieut.-Col. A. R.
Loder, Gerald Walter Erskine
Lowther, C. (Cumb., Eskdale)
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas, Col. Francis (Lowestoft)
Lucas, Reginald J.(Portsmouth
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
Macdona, John Cumming
MacIver, David (Liverpool)
Maconochie, A. W.
M'Arthur, Charles (Liverpool)
M'Iver, SirLewis(Edinburgh,W
M'Killop, James (Stirlingshire)
Malcolm, Ian
Melville, Beresford Valentine
Milner, Rt.Hn. Sir Frederick G.
Montagu, G. (Huntingdon)
Montagu, Hn. J. Scott (Hants.)
Morpeth, Viscount
Morrison, James Archibald
Mount, William Arthur
Murray, Rt. Hon. A. G. (Bute)
Murray, Charles J. (Coventry)
Wurray, Col. Wyndham (Bath)
Nicholson, William Graham
Pease, Herb. Pike (Darlington)
Peel, Hn.WD.Robert Wellesley
Percy, Earl
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Plummer, Walter R.
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Pretyman, Ernest George
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Randles, John S.
Rankin, Sir James
Rasch, Sir Frederic Carne
Renwick, George
Ridley, Hon. M.W.(Stalybridge
Ridley, S.Forde(Bethnal Green
Ritchie, Rt.Hn.Chas. Thomson
Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
Rolleston, Sir John F. L.
Ropner, Colonel Sir Robert
Rothschild, Hon.Lionel Walter
Round, Rt. Hon. James
Royds, Clement Molyneux
Rutherford, John (Lancashire)
Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford
Sandys, Lt.-Col Thos. Myles
Sassoon, Sir Edward Albert
Saunderson, Rt.Hn.Col.Edw.J.
Scott, Sir S. (Marylebone, W.)
Seely, Charles Hilton (Lincoln)
Sharpe, William Edward T.
Skewes-Cox, Thomas
Sloan, Thomas Henry
Smith, Abel H.(Hertford,East)
Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
Spear, John Ward
Stanley, Hn. Arthur (Ormskirk
Stanley, Edward Jas.(Somerset
Stanley, Rt. Hon. Lord (Lancs.
Stewart, Sir Mark J. M'Taggart
Stirling-Maxwell, Sir John M.
Stock, James Henry
Strutt, Hon. Charles Hedley
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Talbot, Rt.Hn.J.G(Oxf'dUniv.
Taylor, Austin (East Toxteth)
Thornton, Percy M.
Tollemache, Henry James
Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
Tuff, Charles
Valentia, Viscount
Walker, Col. William Hall
Walrond, Rt.Hn.Sir WilliamH
Warde, Colonel C. E.
Webb, Colonel William George
Welby, Lt.-Col.A.C.E(Taunton
Welby, Sir Charles G.E.(Notts.
Whiteley, H.(Ashton und.Lyne
Whitmore, Charles Algernon
Williams, Colonel R. (Dorset)
Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
Wilson, A. Stanley (York, E.R.
Wilson, John (Glasgow)
Wodehouse, Rt.Hn. E.R.(Bath
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George
Younger, William

Tellers for the Noes—Sir Alexander Acland - Hood and Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes.

Mr. WINSTON CHURCHILL moved an Amendment providing that the duty should be levied not in lieu of the duty of Customs payable on tea imported into Great Britain or Ireland, but imported from foreign countries into Great Britain or Ireland. He said that his object in proposing the insertion of these words was to draw a distinction between two classes of tea which came into this country—first, the tea which was the produce of British Colonies and was sent by our children across the seas, not for mere sordid gain, but to strengthen the ties of Imperial sentiment, and next the tea which was sent here as the result of an evil conspiracy between foreign countries and the Cobden Club with the intention of sapping the constitution of Englishmen and driving a wedge between the mother country and her Colonies. This Amendment afforded a convenient, and, he thought, a necessary opportunity, of discriminating and distinguishing between these two classes of tea. He could assure the Committee that he did not move the Amendment at that late hour in any spirit of levity. [MINISTERIAL cries of "Oh, oh!"] He fully expected to be charged with having moved it in a spirit of levity, but hon. Gentlemen opposite would do him the honour to say that it was in a spirit of earnestness that he particularly resented and repudiated the charge which the Prime Minister had so lightheartedly flung across the House a few minutes ago. The Prime Minister flung his charges across the House, but he did not wait for any reply. Now, he would make the reply in the right hon. Gentleman's absence to the charge that he was moving this Amendment against his convictions. No one would accuse the Prime Minister of moving an Amendment on fiscal policy against his convictions. Nobody had ever yet been able to find out what those convictions were; and they had had that evening, a few moments before, another exhibition of those equivocations which left them in doubt as to what were the views of the right hon. Gentleman ["MINISTERIAL cries of Oh, oh!"] on the gravest question now before the country. Neither was it true or correct to suppose that he moved the Amendment because he had been converted by the eloquence of the arguments of the tariff reformers. He moved the Amendment because he was against the tax on tea, because he thought it a bad tax, and a blot on the otherwise excellent Budget of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. He would much rather have seen the Chancellor of the Exchequer raise the extra money by putting 2d. or 3d. more on the income-tax. That would have been a much wiser proposal, for, after all, it was the wealthier classes of the country who benefited most from the expenditure on armaments, and let them pay for it. He was against the tax as a whole, or a part of the tax. The effect of this Amendment, if it were successful, would be to destroy at a moderate calculation four-fifths or nine-tenths of the actual value of the tax. At one blow it would sweep away nine-tenths of the area of the Budget discussion. Of course it would be open to the House to move a complementary Amendment finishing up the tax altogether.

The reason he had for limiting the tax and minimising its evil effect as much as possible was, that he might avail himself of the favourable grounds of having a large measure of support from hon. Gentlemen opposite who were pledged to grant Imperial preference. He did not know how much support he would get from those hon. Gentlemen on the other side of the House, from the fact that hon. Gentlemen who were in favour of preferences on tea and other commodities, were very bold to talk in the country, but in the House of Commons they were as meek as mice. They did not know how many there were, but they did know that 150 were going to dine with the right hon. Member for West Birmingham. [MINISTERIAL cries of "Order, order!"] However, whether that in all cases implied an adhesion to Imperial preference he could not decide; and he was almost at a loss, in the absence of the Prime Minister from the House—an absence in which he was following now an almost invariable practice—[MINISTERIAL cries of "Oh, oh!"]—to know whether he by conviction and by inclination would support this Amendment or not. That was his first reason, and it was a perfectly serious one, which could be appreciated by anyone. His second reason was that he moved the Amendment in response to a deliberate invitation and challenge which was thrown out by the right hon. Member for West Birmingham on the first night of the Budget debate. He would take the liberty of reading to the Committee the challenge which the right hon. Member for West Birmingham threw across the House, in reply to the hon. Member for Islington. This was what the right hon. Gentlemen said—

"But surely in these circumstances the minimum which the hon. Gentleman should have moved should have been a preference Amendment.

"MR. LOUGH: I leave that to you.

"MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: That shows a lack of courage on the part of my hon. friend. My hon. friend is perfectly well aware that so far as I am concerned, I have put forward certain views which have been contemptuously rejected on the other side [Several HON. MEMBERS: And on your own side] for discussion and consideration, and not altogether without some success. But I have distinctly declared from the very beginning that I have no intention whatever of bringing them forward as practical subjects for the consideration of the present Parliament. But, although I should be guilty of almost a breach of faith if I were to introduce a subject of that kind into the House at the present time, no such limitation applies to my hon. friend, and I say, according to the theory which he has so admirably developed to the House, he, as the saviour of the two Colonies of India and Ceylon, ought to have proposed an Amendment not to reduce the taxation of tea, but to give a preference to those Colonies upon the tea which they supply."

That was a perfectly plain challenge. He had been reminded of it by the right hon. Gentleman the late Colonial Secretary who said that at the last election he went down and made a speech on his behalf. He was frequently reminded of that fact by the partisan supporters of the new fiscal policy. He deeply regretted that, owing to circumstances over which he had no control, he had not been able to reciprocate the kindness of the right hon. Gentleman, but he was anxious to make any small return in his power after the language, almost of appeal, used by the right hon. Gentleman that someone should bring this question before the House, and he was very glad in a small way to be of service to the right hon. Gentleman. He was sorry that the right hon. Gentleman was not present. He thought that the right hon. Gentleman ought to have been there, not, of course, to listen to any particular Member. Everyone knew why it was convenient by any method of abstention, or that sort of practice, to put a discourtesy on an individual, but other means could be employed by the partisans of the right hon. Gentleman opposite. That, however, was not the reason why the right hon. Gentleman was not present that night. He thought the right hon. Gentleman's absence deliberately implied a contempt for the existence of the present Parliament.

*THE CHAIRMAN: I must invite the hon. Member to address himself to the Amendment before the House. He has not yet approached it.

MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL said, of course, he bowed to the ruling of the Chairman. He was only deploring the absence of the right hon. Gentleman to whom he was alluding. [MINISTERIAL cries of "Order."] In the campaign which the right hon. Gentleman conducted in the autumn he established very many facts, of only one of which he was convinced. He meant the importance of tea. The right hon. Gentleman had convinced him that tea was an essential article of consumption, and that it came very high up in the budget of the working classes. They had the admission of all hon. Members that tea was very highly taxed. That alone should be a reason for limiting the tax. Who would pay the tax? As a free-trader he, of course, believed that it would be mainly paid by the home consumer. He could conceive the foreign and colonial importer suffering by the restrictions on the commodity and by the dislocation of his trade; but his view was that the tax was mainly paid by the home consumer. That was also the view of the Chancellor of the Exchequer as Chancellor of the Exchequer. Yet, as a follower of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham, the right hon. Gentleman was of opinion that this tax would be paid by the foreign and colonial importer. That made the right. hon. Gentleman's case very much worse. Where did the bulk of the imported tea come from. The bulk of it came from India and Ceylon. The colonists had made great sacrifices in the South African War. Their little [ponies were a most peculiar and interesting feature in all columns of march in South Africa. He understood that the purchase price of their services was to be something in the nature of preference; but they did not get preference. The position of the Chancellor of the Exchequer was a very anomalous one. He himself did not think that any right hon. Gentlemen on the Treasury Bench should throw taunts across the floor of the House at hon. Members for speaking according to their convictions. It would be impossible to imagine any Members of the House less qualified for that.

In deference to the appeal of the Prime Minister, he did not intend to embark on any elaborate examination of the previous duties on tea, though the subject was one of great interest. No doubt other hon. Gentlemen would examine at greater length, and in closer detail, the amount which the Exchequer would lose by the operation of this Amendment, and exactly the proportion of tea which was imported from the Colonies and from foreign countries. Roughly speaking, nine-tenths of the tea imported came from British subjects. The Chancellor of the Exchequer allowed free trade and protection to move in and out of his mind on something like the principle of "Box and Cox." As a free trader, the right hon. Gentleman might agree that the effect of the Amendment would be that, while the burden on the consumer would be diminished, a great loss to revenue would ensue, and that what was left would hardly justify the imposition of the tax. The right hon. Gentleman might also point out as a free trader that the colonial producer would make a profit. But the right hon. Gentleman had always declared himself in favour of colonial preference; and he could not be in favour of it one day and not on another. Either it was right and proper, or it was a humbug and a delusion. The arguments which he had ventured to advance to a free-trade Chancellor of the Exchequer with reference to a preference on tea applied with equal force to all other preferential tariffs. They applied to corn with even greater force. Nine-tenths of the tea imported into this country came from India and Ceylon, and if the right hon. Gentleman believed that colonial preference was a good thing, and not mere humbug, he must agree that tea was a much better subject to which to apply the principle than corn, of which only one-third of our imports came from the Colonies. His real reason for moving this Amendment was to give hon. Gentlemen opposite who belonged to the Party of tariff reform—a Party which he believed was intimately associated with the Conservative Party—an opportunity for a debate on Imperial preference which they had repeatedly avoided.

The other day, the noble Lord the Member for Greenwich charged the late Colonial Secretary with being afraid to face a debate in this House. He did not think the right hon. Gentleman was afraid to face a debate; but he thought the right hon. Gentleman was very wise in not being anxious to bring these matters forward. Hon. Gentlemen opposite professed strong views on the subject. They were never tired of calling their opponents unpatriotic and Little Englanders. Now was their chance of making good their case on the floor of the House of Commons. Were they going to accept the opportunity or were they going to run away as they had done over and over again? This Amendment might succeed or it might fail, or possibly it might be laughed out of the House. On the first occasion when preference was brought forward in the House it might be kicked with contumely out of doors. He had brought the matter forward to oblige the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham. He was very anxious that it should be freely and fairly discussed. He said in all seriousness that if hon. Gentlemen opposite who were tariff reformers—whether they would be tariff reformers when they went to face their constituencies was another question—tried to laugh the matter off as a joke, the responsibility would not rest with him. His position with reference to Imperial preference was perfectly plain. But what should be said of those who believed that this was a vital matter to the Empire—like the Chancellor of the Exchequer—and tried to laugh it off? What should be said of those who supported Imperial preferences on partisan platforms in the country, but refrained from doing so when it involved the smallest personal risk or Party inconvenience?

Amendment proposed—

"In page 1, line 16, after the word 'imported' to insert the words 'from foreign countries.'"—(*Mr. Winston Churchill.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said he thought the speech made by the hon. Member dispensed him from the necessity of making any lengthy reply. The hon. Member did not profess to believe in his own Amendment. He had chosen as a means of justifying it the journey which he had lately tardily made across the floor of the House. He had used the Amendment as a medium for sneering at those whom a little time ago he was glad to claim as his political friends. The answer to the question, what was the attitude of the Government was very simple. They would keep the pledges they had given to the House and the country and would not attempt to deal in this Parliament with a question which they had excluded from their policy for this Parliament. The Government had proposed a Budget raising no new fiscal issue. It was framed on the old lines and carried out the old traditions, which might or might not be the best traditions for this country; but they were the traditions which for this Parliament the Government had undertaken to observe and from which they would not depart. The Amendment which the hon. Member had moved would not have the result which he desired to follow from it. If the hon. Gentleman did understand the result he failed to convey it in his speech It would leave them with a nominal duty of 8d. on foreign imported tea and without the present duty on British tea. It would destroy the whole basis of the Budget and necessitate an entire recasting of the Bill. The present Government would not undertake that task, and would therefore resist the Amendment.

SIR EDWARD GREY (Northumberland, Berwick) said the Chancellor of the Exchequer had dismissed this Amendment very curtly. He understood him to do so, not on the ground that the matter was not one of importance, but on the ground that it was not opportune for the Government. The result of the right hon. Gentleman's speech, combined with that of the Prime Minister, had been to increase confusion which was already very great as to what was in the mind of the Government. The right hon. Gentleman had reproached his hon. friend the Member for Oldham with having been tardy in crossing the floor of the House, but the Prime Minister had just welcomed his hon. friend as a new and unexpected recruit to "us who are in favour of preference." So it seemed that, as the Prime Minister had made an advance towards preference, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in order to keep the balance as it was before—a somewhat delicate matter—had receded a little on the question of preference. He assumed that the hon. Gentleman the Member for Oldham had in his mind when he moved his Amendment that the Chancellor of the Exchequer, being a member of the Government, had an open mind on the subject of preference; and it was quite legitimate to attempt to educate persons with an open mind. Nothing was more educating in these matters than practical illustration. It was constantly said that those who were not in favour of preference were doctrinaires. He believed that was absolutely untrue. This Amendment would give a practical application to the doctrine of preference, and directly it was brought to the test of practical application in the House of Commons it was dismissed as inopportune and inconvenient by the Government. So he believed it would be in every succeeding Government. The Chancellor of the Exchequer meant that the question was only inopportune for the present Parliament; but what made it inopportune now would make it inopportune always.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said that his argument was that it was contrary to the pledges which had been given.

SIR EDWARD GREY said he did not think he had misinterpreted the right hon. Gentleman. His interpretation was that, from the point of view of the Government, the present was not an opportune moment at which to raise the question. But it was a question of very great importance; and, even if the present was not an opportune time for discussing it, it was no reason why it should be dismissed as curtly as it was by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The Amendment illustrated what the effect of preference would be. It would destroy revenue; and, even apart from the pledges of the Government, they all realised the difficulty of accepting the Amendment. This was an illustration of the effect which preference would have. The first effect would be to destroy revenue. Even apart from the pledges which the Government had given, they all saw that it would destroy revenue, and so it would always be. When they gave a preference, preference to India would be the first claim. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had spoken of the pledges of the Government. It was all very well for the Government to give pledges that they would not deal with this matter, but they had no right really to prevent the matter from being discussed in the House of Commons. It was the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham who used the phrase, "The discussion to which I invite the House and the country." Those were the terms addressed to the House a year ago. Why was it, then, that discussion was to be regarded as unreasonable? There were two serious points to be considered. First of all, the division would be taken seriously. It would be taken as an indication of opinion on the subject of preference, and a very important opportunity would be given to hon. Members opposite to express their opinions. But, in the next place, he would ask, How long was the matter to be hung up? How long was the pledge of the Government to keep the rest of the Empire in the condition of not knowing what the mind of the country was with regard to the question? He thought it was becoming increasingly serious as time went on that this matter should be kept in suspense, and that whenever an occasion arose of discussing it they should be met with the statement that the Government had given a pledge not to discuss it in this Parliament. How long was this Parliament to last? If there was a definite term set they might be content to accept the pledge of the Government, but no definite term was set, and yet they were told that it was their duty to show how they would respond to the colonial offer; it was a matter of importance that they should be continually staved off from discussion of the matter merely for the reason that the Government had given a pledge to keep the opinion of the country in suspense. Not only was it becoming serious; it was becoming ludicrous to the rest of the Empire.

*Mr. McCRAE said he thought his hon. friend had been far too sanguine in expecting an answer from the Government He never expected to hear the voice of the Government as to their opinion or preference, but he wished to point out that they had misunderstood the effect of this Amendment. The result of this proposal would be that all tea coming from foreign parts would be subject to the increased duty of 2d., making the tax 8d. per lb., but unless some consequential Amendment were inserted the duty on colonial and Indian tea would remain at 6d. per lb. Therefore, so far as a reduction of the revenue was concerned the Amendment had not the effect which the Chancellor of the Exchequer feared. On the merits of the question he was willing to support his hon. friend below the Gangway, for the reason that ever since he came into the House, with the exception of the taxes imposed during the war, he had always voted against any tax whatever on tea. Therefore he welcomed his hon. friend's Amendment because it gave him an opportunity of supporting the tax on tea in a modified form. The tea duty before the war was 4d., and now they were proposing to increase it to 8d. Colonial preference had been put before them in this way, that they were asked to make a sacrifice for the sake of the Colonies, but in this case they were going to give their Colonies the benefit and also benefit their own people by remitting the tax on tea coming from the Colonies. From China they imported 26,000,000 lbs. of tea annually and 229,000,000 lbs. from India and Ceylon. So that if they did not put this extra 2d. on Indian and Ceylon tea they were not only helping the Colonies but were at the same time giving a tangible benefit to the poorer classes of the people at home. The war taxation amounted to £33,500,000 and of that £8,000,000 had been remitted and the whole of that had gone entirely to the income-tax payers, which left the war taxation at £25,500,000, £10,000,000 of which was on the income-tax and £15,500,000 upon indirect taxation. Consequently he thought they had a strong case for a further reduction, and they could not make that reduction more to the advantage of the poorer classes of the community than by relieving them of a portion of this tax on tea. Even if the Chancellor of the Exchequer had imposed a tax on sugar it would have had a less injurious effect. The right hon. Gentleman had said that this was not a protectionist Budget, although he admitted that there was a trace of protection with regard to the duty imposed upon cigarettes. Surely the Chancellor of the Exchequer could afford to make this remission which would benefit their own people by removing a portion of the tax on tea. He thought the Chancellor of the Exchequer had under-estimated the produce of the taxation he had imposed, and in view of this fact he would be quite within his rights in considering whether some slight remission should be made.

*THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member is wandering away from the Amendment.

*MR. McCRAE, while bowing to the ruling of the Chairman, said he was endeavouring to point out, on the Chancellor of the Exchequer's own showing, that he was in a position to remit part of this duty, and yet have sufficient taxation to meet the expenditure for the year. He thought a more considered reply ought to have been given to this Amendment.

MR. McKENNA said the Chancellor of the Exchequer had made one taunt which he heard with some astonishment. He referred to his hon. friend the Member for Oldham as having tardily crossed the floor of the House. He reminded the right hon. Gentleman that he had done the same thing himself, but in the case of the Chancellor of the Exchequer he only crossed the floor when he accepted office. Therefore under those circumstances it was not for the right hon. Gentleman to charge his hon. friend with having tardily crossed the floor of the House because he had joined a Party which had stood to the traditions which the Chancellor of the Exchequer and his Party embraced two years ago. The right hon. Gentleman had spoken about the pledge of the Government upon this question, but that was a very convenient thing which was brought forward whenever it was necessary to prevent a discussion which was inconvenient to the Government. He could not understand why the right hon. Gentleman did not give fair consideration to arguments which were thoroughly appropriate to this Bill. His hon. friend the Member for Oldham proposed a scheme of preference which would begin by taking off a tax, but the preference schemes of the right hon. Gentleman opposite began by putting on a tax. If hon. Members opposite believed in preference they ought to take the opportunity which was offered them now and accept an Amendment which gave an advantage to India, and which made the China grower pay the full duty. He urged the Government to take this opportunity of raising money by taxing Chinamen and at the same time benefiting Ceylon and India. If the right hon. Gentleman did not accept this Amendment his conduct would be only one more illustration that the whole thing was a sham and a pretence.

MR. ASQUITH said that certainly this had been a very curious debate, because not a single Member from the Ministerial Benches, with the exception of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, had even attempted to participate in the debate.

MR. HUNT (Shropshire, Ludlow): I stood up.

MR. ASQUITH said he could not vote for the Amendment because, although he should be glad to see this duty on tea reduced in any way, to vote for it might be supposed to be giving a sanction to the principle of preference. But he could not abstain from expressing his surprise that on a matter of this kind, which had been the subject of agitation and controversy during the last nine months, not a single disciple of preference had risen on the Benches opposite to support the faith that was in him. The Chancellor of the Exchequer said the Government were under a pledge not to discuss this question during the present Parliament. Upon every occasion they had burked discussion and they were doing the same now. The pledge which bound the Government did not bind the supporters of the Tariff Reform League outside the House. That was a fact which he did not pretend to understand or explain, but which he thought the country was taking note of, and although he regretted he was not able to go into the division lobby with his hon. friend, he congratulated him on having elicited this startling, this almost incredible, fact that the Tariff Reform Party, when challenged on the floor of this House, were unable to produce one single Gentleman to champion their cause.

MR. HUNT said he thought that Gentlemen on the other side had quite forgotten that if the Government had not been bullied and worried by people on the Opposition side of the House, and by people who called themselves Unionist free-traders on this side of the House, they could have brought in a very good Budget indeed, and had no extra tax on tea, but might have taken some of the tax off tea. But because hon. Gentlemen were so tied up with this rotten system, which they were pleased to call free-trade, the Government could not do it. They could hardly expect the Prime Minister to risk the life of the Unionist Government, when we knew that if they went out the Empire would be delivered into the hands of a conglomeration of oddments who were pleased to call themselves the Liberal Party.

* THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. Gentleman must address himself to the Amendment before the House.

MR. HUNT said he was sorry if he had made a mistake. He was only explaining why he thought the Prime Minister believed that he could not risk the fate of the Unionist Government. He quite agreed with the right hon. Gentleman. He disliked the tea tax just as much as other people, but they gave the Chancellor of the Exchequer no other chance of showing the people of this country the folly of the rotten—[AN HON. MEMBER: Rotten war]—system, and of the policy of the Liberal Party which was the sort of policy that might be expected from a cross between a parrot and a Chinese Mandarin.

* THE CHAIRMAN: Order, Order!

MR. CATHCART WASON (Orkney and Shetland) said he would support the Amendment proposed by his hon. friend the Member for Oldham. Those who knew Ceylon in the late '60's knew what a terrible state it was in at that time. The whole industry of the colony was ruined, and the people set to work to create new industries, and the one thing to which they could turn their attention was tea, with the exception of a few cocoa-nuts. These worthy British men and women had laboured hard to develop the tea-growing industry of the colony, and that was the industry which was specially singled out for this unjust tax which the Chancellor of the Exchequer had decided to put upon it. Leaving the question of preference to be dealt with on a future occasion, he supported the Amendment because he believed it would do away with a great deal of the hardship and injustice which the proposed increase of the duty would cause. If the Amendment were carried, it would be necessary for the Chancellor of the Exchequer to recast the Budget and to impose some other duty which would press less heavily on the needy and the poor. The position of the planters in Ceylon and India had been at all times a most precarious one No other product had ever been taxed up to a 100, or, as some growers said, 120, per cent. They had protested repeatedly at meetings and by deputations to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, but, being unable to bite, they found that there was very little use in barking before the Government. In supporting the Amendment, he also spoke for those poor persons to whom tea was their only luxury and at the same time a great necessity of life. Another reason why they should support the Amendment was that tea was a ticklish subject to deal with. There was a time in our history over a hundred years ago when the whole Empire was brought to the verge of ruin by the obstinacy and stupidity of the British rulers of that day. Liquor sellers throughout the country would gain enormously by this tax.

MR. DALZIEL (Kirkcaldy Burghs) said he did not think the debate ought to be allowed to close without a tribute being paid to the manly and outspoken declaration of the hon. Member for Shropshire. It was pleasing for those persons who served their Party to know that they contained within their ranks some men who were not governed by Party considerations, or domineered by the Party whip. The statement of the hon. Gentleman must be regarded, he supposed, as a declaration on behalf of the Conservative Party. That hon. Gentleman was identified more particularly with the tariff section of that Party, but that night he was the only un-official Member who had spoken as representing the dormant feeling of right hon. and hon. Gentlemen on the other side of the House. What did the hon. Gentleman say as representing the united Party opposite? He told the Committee that the Government had been bullied and worried, or they would have treated this question very differently. He could sympathise with the hon. Gentleman. No doubt they had been bullied and worried during the last few days, but he did not think that that was the explanation why the hon. Gentleman's Leader, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham, would not have been inclined to accept the Amendment, because he had told the Committee that if they were to accept the Amendment the life of the Government would be in danger.

MR. HUNT: No, I did not say that.

MR. DALZIEL: The hon. Gentleman may explain.

MR. HUNT: I did not say anything about raising the issue.

MR. DALZIEL: I confess the hon. Gentleman was so charmed with his outspoken declaration that he has overlooked the small points in his observations. I suggest that the hon. Member said that to accept this Amendment would risk the life of the Government.

MR. HUNT: I did not say anything about the Amendment.

MR. DALZIEL: I am afraid that the hon. Gentleman is already receding from the lofty position he occupied.

MR. HUNT: I have not receded at all. The hon. Gentleman's memory must be shockingly bad.

MR. DALZIEL: I suggest that if the hon. Gentleman said nothing about the Amendment then he was going to identify himself with the Party opposite. But it is due to the House that the hon. Member should tell us what he did mean.

MR. HUNT: If the hon. Gentleman's brains are not good enough to allow him to remember what I did say, it is not my business to say it all over again.

MR. DALZIEL said if ever he was in need of brains he would not go to Shropshire for them. Probably on the Report stage they might have a further declaration from the hon. Member of his position. He did not know what the explanation was of the silence of the Government, except that they had been struck dumb by the result of the Devonport election. If that were not so, it might be that they knew perfectly well that in all the silence that was being observed in regard to fiscal policy they were humbugging the House and the country.

*THE CHAIRMAN: I invite the hon. Member to address himself to the Amendment.

MR. DALZIEL said he would address himself to the Amendment by saying that in his opinion the only proper explanation for the silence of the Government was that they were unable to deal with the position that now presented itself in regard to the question of preference. He suggested to the mover of the Amendment that he had shown that the Party opposite were afraid to tackle their own proposal, and he hoped his hon. friend would give the House a better opportunity, on Report, of discussing the question, when the two leaders of the different sections of the Party opposite might be challenged to give their opinion.

Mr. Austen Chamberlain rose in his place, and claimed to move, "That the Question be now put."

Question put, "That the Question be now put."

The Committee divided:—Ayes, 158; Noes, 109. (Division List No. 161.)

AYES.

Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster, Rt. Hn. Hugh O.
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Bagot, Capt. Josceline FitzRoy
Bailey, James (Walworth)
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour, Rt. Hon. A. J. (Manch'r
Balfour, Capt. C. B. (Hornsey)
Balfour, Rt. Hon. G. W. (Leeds
Balfour, Kenneth R. (Christch.
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Bignold, Arthur
Bigwood, James
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Brassey, Albert
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Burdett-Coutts, W.
Butcher, John George
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Cautley, Henry Strother
Cavendish, V.C.W (Derbyshire
Chamberlain, RtHn.J.A(Worc
Chaplin, Rt. Hon. Henry
Chapman, Edward
Clive, Captain Percy A.
Coates, Edward Feetham
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Colomb, Rt. Hon. Sir John C R.
Colston, Chas. Edw. H. Athole
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Craig, Charles Curtis (Antrim, S.)
Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Dalkeith, Earl of
Davenport, W. Bromley
Dickinson, Robert Edmond
Dickson, Charles Scott
Doughty, George
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers
Durning-Lawrence, Sir Edwin
Dyke, Rt. Hn. Sir William Hart
Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
Fergusson, Rt. Hn. Sir J. (Manc'r
Fielden, Edward Brocklehurst
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
Fison, Frederick William
Fitzroy, Hn. Edward Algernon
Forster, Henry William
Foster, P. S. (Warwick, S.W.)
Galloway, William Johnson
Gordon, Hn. J. E. (Elgin & Nairn)
Gordon, J. (Londonderry, South
Gore, Hn R. G. C. Ormsby-(Salop
Graham, Henry Robert
Gray, Ernest (West Ham)
Greene, Sir E. W. (B'rySEdm'nd
Grenfell, William Henry
Gretton, John
Hall, Edward Marshall
Hardy, L. (Kent, Ashford)
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Harris, Dr. Fredk. R. (Dulwich
Haslett, Sir James Horner
Heath, Arthur Howard (Hanley
Heath, James (Staffords., N.W.
Heaton, John Henniker
Hobhouse, RtHn H (Somers't, E
Hogg, Lindsay
Hope, J. F. (Sheffield, Brightside
Howard, Jn. (Kent, Faversham
Hozier, Hn. James Henry Cecil
Hudson, George Bickersteth
Hunt, Rowland
Jeffreys, Rt. Hon. Arthur Fred.
Kenyon-Slaney, Col. W. (Salop.
Keswick, William
Knowles, Sir Lees
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
Lawrence, Wm. F. (Liverpool)
Lawson, J. Grant (Yorks., N.R.
Lee, A. H. (Hants., Fareham)
Lees, Sir Elliott (Birkenhead)
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Leveson-Gower, Frederick N.S.
Lockwood, Lieut.-Col. A. R.
Loder, Gerald Walter Erskine
Lowther, C. (Cumb., Eskdale)
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas, Col. Francis (Lowestoft)
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
Macdona, John Cumming
MacIver, David (Liverpool)
Maconochie, A. W.
M'Arthur, Charles (Liverpool)
M'Iver, Sir Lewis (Edinburgh, W
M'Killop, James (Stirlingshire)
Milner, Rt. Hn. Sir Frederick G.
Montagu, G. (Huntingdon)
Morpeth, Viscount
Morrison, James Archibald
Mount, William Arthur
Murray, Rt. Hon. A. G. (Bute)
Murray, Charles J. (Coventry)
Nicholson, William Graham
Pease, Herb. Pike (Darlington)
Peel, Hs. Wm. Robert Wellesley
Percy, Earl
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Pretyman, Ernest George
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Randles, John S.
Renwick, George
Ridley, Hon. M. W. (Stalybridge
Ridley, S. Forde (Bethnal Green
Ritchie, Rt. Hn. Chas. Thomson
Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
Rolleston, Sir John F. L.
Round, Rt. Hon. James
Royds, Clement Molyneux
Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford
Sandys, Lieut.-Col. Thos. Myles
Sassoon, Sir Edward Albert
Saunderson, Rt. Hn. Col. Edw. J.
Scott, Sir S. (Marylebone, W.)
Sharpe, William Edward T.
Skewes-Cox, Thomas
Smith, Abel H. (Hertford, East)
Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
Spear, John Ward
Stanley, Hn. Arthur (Ormskirk
Stanley, Edward Jas. (Somerset
Stanley, Rt. Hon. Lord (Lancs.
Stirling-Maxwell, Sir John M.
Stock, James Henry
Strutt, Hon. Charles Hedley
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Talbot, Rt. Hn. J. G (Oxf'd Univ.
Taylor, Austin (East Toxteth)
Thornton, Percy M.
Tollemache, Henry James
Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
Tuff, Charles
Valentia, Viscount
Walrond, Rt. Hn. Sir William H.
Warde, Colonel C. E.
Webb, Colonel William George
Welby, Lt.-Col. A. C. E (Taunton
Welby, Sir Charles G. E. (Notts
Whiteley, H. (Ashton und. Lyne
Whitmore, Charles Algernon
Williams, Colonel R. (Dorset)
Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
Wilson, A. Stanley (York, E.R.
Wodehouse, Rt. Hn. E. R. (Bath
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George

Tellers for the Ayes—Sir Alexander Acland-Hood and Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes.

NOES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N.E.)
Abraham, William (Rhondda)
Ainsworth, John Stirling
Allen, Charles P.
Asher, Alexander
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Black, Alexander William
Boland, John
Brigg, John
Brown, George M. (Edinburgh)
Buxton, Sydney Charles
Caldwell, James
Causton, Richard Knight
Clancy, John Joseph
Cogan, Denis J.
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Cullinan, J.
Dalziel, James Henry
Delany, William
Devlin, Joseph (Kilkenny, N.)
Dewar, John A. (Inverness-sh.)
Donelan, Captain A.
Doogan, P. C.
Douglas, Charles M. (Lanark)
Edwards, Frank
Elibank, Master of
Ellice, Capt E.C(SAndrw'sBghs
Emmott, Alfred
Farrell, James Patrick
Flynn, James Chrissopher
Gladstone, Rt. Hn. Herbert Jn.
Grey, Rt.Hn. Sir E. (Berwick)
Griffith, Ellis J.
Gurdon, Sir W. Brampton
Hammond, John
Harcourt, Lewis V.(Rossendale
Hayden, John Patrick
Helme, Norval Watson
Horniman, Frederick John
Hutchinson, Dr. Charles Fredk.
Joicey, Sir James
Jones, William(Carnarvonshire
Joyce, Michael
Kennedy, VincentP.(Cavan,W.
Kilbride, Denis
Labouchere, Henry
Langley, Batty
Law, Hugh Alex. (Donegal, W.)
Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cornwall)
Leese, Sir Jos. F. (Accrington)
Levy, Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Lough, Thomas
Lundon, W.
Lyell, Charles Henry
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
M'Arthur, William (Cornwall)
M'Crae, George
M'Kenna, Reginald
M'Killop, W. (Sligo, North)
Markham, Arthur Basil
Mooney, John J.
Murphy, John
Nannetti, Joseph P.
Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South)
O'Brien, K. (Tipperary, Mid.)
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Brien, P. J. (Tipperary, N.)
O'Connor, James (Wicklow, W.
O'Donnell, John (Mayo, S.)
O'Donnell, T. (Kerry, W.)
O'Kelly, Jas. (Roscommon, N.)
O'Malley, William
O'Shee, James John
Partington, Oswald
Pease, J. A. (Saffron Walden)
Pirie, Duncan V.
Power, Patrick Joseph
Price, Robert John
Priestley, Arthur
Redmond, John E. (Waterford)
Rigg, Richard
Roe, Sir Thomas
Rose, Charles Day
Runciman, Walter
Russell, T. W.
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Samuel, S. M. (Whitechapel)
Seely, Maj.J.E.B.(Isle of Wight
Shaw, Charles Edw. (Stafford)
Sheehan, Daniel Daniel
Sheehy, David
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Slack, John Bamford
Soames, Arthur Wellesley
Soares, Ernest J.
Spencer, Rt.Hn.C.R(Northants
Sullivan, Donal
Taylor, Theodore C. (Radcliffe)
Tennant, Harold John
Thomas, D. Alfred (Merthyr)
Tomkinson, James
Toulmin, George
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan)
White, Luke (York, E. R.)
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
Wilson, Henry J. (York, W.R.)
Woodhouse, Sir J.T(Huddersf'd

Tellers for the Noes—Mr. Churchill and Mr. Cathcart Wason.

Question put accordingly, "That the words 'from foreign countries' be there inserted."

The Committee divided:—Ayes, 38; Noes, 198. (Division List No. 162.)

AYES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N.E.)
Clancy, John Joseph
Cogan, Denis J.
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Cullinan, J.
Delany, William
Devlin, Joseph (Kilkenny, N.)
Donelan, Captain A.
Doogan, P. C.
Farrell, James Patrick
Flynn, James Christopher
Hammond, John
Hayden, John Patrick
Joyce, Michael
Kennedy, Vincent P.(Cavan, W
Law, Hugh Alex. (Donegal, W.
Lundon, W.
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
M'Killop, W. (Sligo, North)
Mooney, John J.
Murphy, John
Nannetti, Joseph P.
Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South)
O'Brien, K. (Tipperary, Mid.)
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Brien, P. J. (Tipperary, N.)
O'Connor, James (Wicklow, W.
O'Donnell, John (Mayo, S.)
O'Donnell, T. (Kerry, W.)
O'Kelly, Jas. (Roscommon, N.)
O'Malley, William
O'Shee, James John
Power, Patrick Joseph
Redmond, John E. (Waterford)
Roe, Sir Thomas
Sheehan, Daniel Daniel
Sheehy, David
Sullivan, Donal

Tellers for the Ayes—Mr. Churchill and Mr. Cathcart Wason.

NOES.

Abraham, William (Rhondda)
Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Ainsworth, John Stirling
Allen, Charles P.
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster, Rt.Hn.Hugh O.
Asher, Alexander
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Bagot, Capt. Josceline FitzRoy
Bailey, James (Walworth)
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour, Rt.Hon. A.J.(Manch'r
Balfour, Capt. C. B. (Hornsey)
Balfour, Rt. Hon. G. W. (Leeds
Balfour, Kenneth R. (Christch.
Banbury, Sir Frederick George

Barran, Rowland Hirst
Bignold, Arthur
Bigwood, James
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Brassey, Albert
Brigg, John
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Brown, George M. (Edinburgh)
Burdett-Coutts, W.
Butcher, John George
Caldwell, James
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Cautley, Henry Strother
Cavendish, V.C.W. (Derbyshire
Chamberlain,Rt Hn.J.A(Worc.
Chaplin, Rt Hon. Henry
Chapman, Edward
Clive, Captain Percy A.
Coates, Edward Feetham
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Colomb, Rt. Hon. Sir JohnC.R.
Colston, Chas. Edw. H. Athole
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Craig,Charles Curtis(Antrim,S.)
Crossley Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Dalkeith, Earl of
Dalziel, James Henry
Davenport, William Bromley
Dewar, John A. (Inverness-sh.)
Dickinson, Robert Edmond
Dickson, Charles Scott
Doughty, George
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers
Douglas, Charles M. (Lanark)
Durning-Lawrence, Sir Edwin
Dyke, Rt.Hn.Sir William Hart
Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
Emmott, Alfred
Fergusson,Rt.Hn.Sir J.(Manc'r
Fielden, Edward Brocklehurst
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
Fison, Frederick William
Fitzroy, Hn. Edward Algernon
Forster, Henry William
Foster, P. S. (Warwick, S.W.)
Galloway, William Johnson
Gordon, Hn.J.E.(Elgin&Nairn)
Gordon, J.(Londonderry,South
Gore,Hn G.R.C.Ormsby-(Salop
Graham, Henry Robert
Gray, Ernest (West Ham)
Greene,Sir E.W(B'rySEdm'nds
Grenfell, William Henry
Gretton, John
Griffith, Ellis J.
Hall, Edward Marshall
Hardy, L. (Kent, Ashford)
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Harris, Dr. Fredk. R.(Dulwich)
Haslett, Sir James Horner
Heath, Arthur Howard(Hanley
Heath, James (Staffords., N.W
Heaton, John Henniker
Helme, Norval Watson
Hobhouse,RtHn H(Somers't,E
Hogg, Lindsay
Hope, J.F.(Sheffield,Brightside
Horniman, Frederick John
Howard, Jn.(Kent, Faversham
Hozier, Hn. James Henry Cecil
Hudson, George Bickersteth
Hunt, Rowland
Hutchinson, Dr. Charles Fredk.
Jeffreys, Rt. Hon. Arthur Fred.
Jones, William(Carnarvonshire
Kenyon-Slaney, Col. W.(Salop.
Keswick, William
Kilbride, Denis
Knowles, Sir Lees
Langley, Batty
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
Lawrence, Wm. F. (Liverpool)
Lawson, J. Grant (Yorks., N.R.
Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cornwall)
Lee, A. H. (Hants., Fareham)
Lees, Sir Elliott (Birkenhead)
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Leveson-Gower, Frederick N.S.
Levy, Maurice
Lockwood, Lieut.-Col. A. R.
Loder, Gerald Walter Erskine
Lowther, C. (Cumb., Eskdale)
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas, Col. Francis (Lowestoft)
Lyell, Charles Henry
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
Macdona, John Cumming
MacIver, David (Liverpool)
Maconochie, A. W.
M'Arthur, Charles (Liverpool)
M'Iver,Sir Lewis(Edinburgh,W
M'Killop, James (Stirlingshire)
Markham, Arthur Basil
Milner, Rt.Hn.Sir Frederick G.
Montagu, G. (Huntingdon)
Morpeth, Viscount
Morrison, James Archibald
Mount, William Arthur
Murray, Rt. Hon. A. G. (Bute)
Murray, Charles J. (Coventry)
Nicholson, William Graham
Pease, Herb. Pike (Darlington)
Peel, Hn.Wm.Robert Wellesley
Percy, Earl
Pirie, Duncan V.
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Pretyman, Ernest George
Priestley, Arthur
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Randles, John S.
Renwick, George
Ridley, Hon. M.W.(Stalybridge
Ridley, S.Forde(Bethnal Green
Rigg, Richard
Ritchie, Rt.Hn.Chas. Thomson
Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
Rolleston. Sir John F. L.
Rose, Charles Day
Round, Rt. Hon. James
Royds, Clement Molyneux
Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Samuel, S. M. (Whitechapel)
Sandys, Lieut.-Col.Thos.Myles
Sassoon, Sir Edward Albert
Saunderson, Rt.Hn.Col.Edw.J.
Scott, Sir S. (Marylebone, W.)
Seely, Charles Hilton (Lincoln)
Seely, Maj.J.E.B.(Isle of Wight
Sharpe, William Edward T.
Shaw, Charles Edw. (Stafford)
Skewes-Cox, Thomas
Slack, John Bamford
Smith, Abel H.(Hertford,East)
Smith, Hon. W.F.D. (Strand)
Soares, Ernest J.
Spear, John Ward
Stanley, Hn. Arthur (Ormskirk
Stanley, Edward Jas.(Somerset
Stanley, Rt. Hon. Lord (Lancs.
Stirling-Maxwell, Sir John M.
Stock, James Henry
Strutt, Hon. Charles Hedley
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Talbot, Rt.Hn.J.G(Oxf'dUniv.
Taylor, Austin (East Toxteth)
Taylor, Theodore C. (Radcliffe)
Thomas, D. Alfred (Merthyr)
Thornton, Percy M.
Tomkinson, James
Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
Toulmin, George
Tuff, Charles
Valentia, Viscount
Walrond, Rt.Hn.Sir WilliamH.
Warde, Colonel C. E.
Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan)
Webb, Colonel William George
Welby, Lt.-Col.A.C.E(Taunton
Welby,Sir Charles G. E.(Notts.
White, Luke (York, E. R.)
Whiteley, H.(Ashton und.Lyne
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
Whitmore, Charles Algernon
Williams, Colonel R.(Dorset)
Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
Wodehouse, Rt. Hn E.R.(Bath
Woodhouse,Sir J.T(Huddersf'd
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Sir Alexander Acland-Hood and Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes.

Committee report Progress; to sit again to-morrow.

And, it being after One of the clock Mr. SPEAKER adjourned the House without Question put.

Adjourned at eighteen minutes before Two o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Tuesday, 21st June, 1904.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway (Various Powers) Bill. The Lord Chancellor informed the House that the opposition to the Bill was withdrawn. The order made on the 13th instant discharged, and Bill committed for Tuesday next.

Radcliffe Tramways and Improvement Bill. The Lord Chancellor informed the House that the opposition to the Bill was withdrawn. The order made on Thursday last discharged, and Bill committed.

Gas Orders Confirmation (No. 1) Bill [H.L.]. Reported from the Select Committee, without Amendment, and committed to a Committee of the Whole House.

Oakengates, Dawley, and District Joint Water Board Bill [H.L.], now Oakengates and Dawley Joint Water Board Bill [H.L.]. Reported from the Select Committee, with Amendments.

Baker Street and Waterloo Railway Bill. The King's consent signified; and Bill reported from the Select Committee, with Amendments.

Crystal Palace District Gas Bill. Reported, with an Amendment.

Southend-on-Sea Gas Bill; Brymbo Water Bill; Great Central and Midland Joint Railways Bill. Reported, with Amendments.

London and North-Western Railway Bill. The King's consent signified; and Bill reported, with Amendments.

Mullingar, Kells, and Drogheda Railway Bill; Donegal Railway Bill. Reported, without Amendment.

Bexhill Water and Gas Bill. Read 3^a, with the Amendments; a further Amendment made; Bill passed, and returned to the Commons.

Clyde Navigation (Works) Bill. Brought from the Commons; read 1^a; and referred to the Examiners.

Tynemouth Gas Bill [H.L.]. Returned from the Commons agreed to, with Amendments.

Acton Improvement Bill. Returned from the Commons with the Amendments agreed to.

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 4) Bill [H.L.]. Report from the Committee of Selection, That the Five Lords appointed a Select Committee on the Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 3) Bill [H.L.] and other Bills do form the Select Committee for the consideration of the Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 4) Bill [H.L.] so far as relates to the Walton-on-Thames Order; read, and agreed to. All petitions referred to the Committee, with leave to the petitioners praying to be heard by counsel against the Bill to be heard as desired, as also counsel for the Bill.

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 3) Bill [H.L.]; Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 6) Bill [H.L.]; Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 2) Bill [H.L.]; Doncaster Corporation Bill; Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway (Steam Vessels) Bill; Barnet District Gas and Water Bill; Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 4) Bill [H.L.] (Walton-on-Thames Order). Report from the Committee of Selection, That the Lord O'Neill be proposed to the House as a member of the Select Committee on the said Bills in the place of the Lord Cranworth; read, and agreed to.

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 4) Bill [H.L.] (Kingswood Order opposed); Tramways Orders Confirmation (No. 1) Bill [H.L.]; Water Orders Confirmation Bill [H.L.]; Gas and Water Orders Confirmation Bill [H.L.]; Thames River Steamboat Service Bill; London United Tramways Bill; Strabane, Raphoe, and Convoy Railway Bill. Report from the Committee of Selection, That the following Lords be proposed to the House to form the Select Committee for the consideration of the said Bills; (viz.): E. Lauderdale (Chairman), E. Bradford, L. Clements (*E. Leitrim*), L. Chesham, L. Elphinstone; agreed to; and the said Lords appointed accordingly. The Committee to meet on Monday the 4th of

An Asterisk (*) at the commencement of a Speech indicates revision by the Member.

July next at Twelve o'clock; and all petitions referred to the Committee, with leave to the petitioners praying to be heard by counsel against the Bills to be heard as desired, as also counsel for the Bills.

Gas Orders Confirmation (No. 3) Bill [H.L.]. Amendments reported (according to order), and Bill to be read 3ª on Thursday next.

Canal Rates and Charges (Regents Canal) Order Confirmation Bill [H.L.]. Read 3ª (according to order), and passed, and sent to the Commons.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

BOARD OF AGRICULTURE AND FISHERIES (AGRICULTURAL STATISTICS, 1903).

Report on the Agricultural Returns relating to acreage and produce of crops and number of live stock in Great Britain; with summaries for the United Kingdom, British Possessions, and Foreign Countries; and particulars of prices, imports, and exports of agricultural produce.

IRISH LAND COMMISSION (PROCEEDINGS).

Return for the month of February, 1904.

Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie on the Table.

GREENWICH HOSPITAL AND TRAVERS' FOUNDATION.

Statement of the estimated income and expenditure of Greenwich Hospital and of Travers' Foundation, for the year 1904–1905. Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table.

MARRIED WOMEN'S PROPERTY ACT (1882) AMENDMENT BILL [H.L.].

Reported from the Standing Committee without Amendment, and to be read 3ª on Thursday next.

NAVAL AND MILITARY MEDALS BILL [H.L.].

Reported from the Standing Committee without Amendment, and to be read 3ª on Thursday next.

SUPPLY OF ELECTRICITY BILL [H.L.].

The following Lords were named of the Select Committee: M. Bath, E. Ellesmere, L. Colchester, L. Stanley of Alderley, L. Wolverton.

The Committee to appoint their own Chairman.

CHANTREY TRUST.

THE EARL OF LYTTON rose, in accordance with notice, "to call attention to the administration of the Chantrey Trust and to move for the appointment of a Select Committee of this House to inquire into the matter, and, if necessary, to make recommendations." He said: My Lords, the subject of the Motion which I have placed on the Order Paper is very different from the matters which usually occupy your Lordships in this House, and it has nothing whatever to do with current politics. I offer no apology, though, for bringing it forward, because it is a matter of great national importance which has aroused considerable interest in the country of late, and one with which your Lordships are very specially qualified to deal. The case I have to present is that of a very generous legacy which has been left by a private individual in trust for the nation, but which has been administered in so partial and narrow a sense that the nation has not reaped the full benefit of his generosity. I do not come here, my Lords, as an art critic, and I have no intention of giving to your Lordships a lecture upon the merits or shortcomings of particular artists or their work. I shall endeavour, so far as I can, and it is not altogether easy to do so, to confine myself to points which would be worthy of your consideration if the subject of the Trust were any other subject than that of art.

For nearly twenty years now the administration of this fund has been the subject of comment and criticism in art circles. I have no new facts to offer, and I do not base my case upon any recent event of special importance. My justification for bringing the question before Parliament at all rests upon three grounds—(1) the accumulation of evidence over a series of years to the effect that the intentions of the testator in this matter have not been fully carried out and that the interests of the nation and of art generally have been sacrificed to those of the particular association of artists who belong to the Royal Academy; (2) the growing tide of hostile criticism which at the present moment is finding vent in almost every organ of public opinion in the country; and (3) the continued refusal of the Royal Academy to meet any of the charges which are brought against them or to give any explanation of their conduct, and their repeated assertions that they are responsible to no one, and that probably those who criticise them are actuated by motives either of wounded vanity or jealousy. When the administration of a public fund is attacked upon public grounds and when evidence is produced in support of the attack, I hold that the administration of that fund should be submitted to public investigation, and to make such an inquiry there is nobody in the country more competent or better suited than a Committee of your Lordships' House.

I do not ask you to-day to express any opinion upon the merits of the question. I do not ask the Government to take any steps on their own account. I only ask that when you have heard some facts which I shall place before you, you will say that the Royal Academy, in so far as they are in the position of trustees of the nation, shall not be allowed to evade responsibilities which would be required of any other body placed in a similar position, and that you will allow the whole matter to be inquired into and investigated in a judicial, impartial, and thorough manner by a Committee of this House. Though many of your Lordships are probably familiar with this question, I think it is necessary that I should first of all explain exactly what the Chantrey Trust is. Sir Francis Chantrey was an artist and sculptor who died in the year 1842, leaving the greater part of his life's earnings for the encouragement of art in this country. The interest of the money which he left, which amounted to about £2,000 or £3,000 a year, was entrusted to the President and Council of the Royal Academy for the purchase of works of fine art in painting and sculpture of the highest merit which had been executed in this country. The will is expressed in the clearest possible terms, and both the powers and the limitations of the trustees are very clearly set forth, but as I have here a copy of the will itself it would perhaps be better if I quote Sir Francis Chantrey's own words. He says—

> "And the clear residue of the same monies shall be laid out by the President and other members composing such Council for the time being, of the Royal Academy, or of such other society or association as aforesaid, when and as they shall think it expedient in the purchase of works of Fine Art of the highest merit in painting and sculpture that can be obtained, either already executed or which may hereafter be executed by artists of any nation, provided such artists shall have actually resided in Great Britain during the executing and completing of such works, it being my express direction that no work of art, whether executed by a deceased or living artist shall be purchased unless the same shall have been entirely executed within the shores of Great Britain. . . . And my will further is that such President and Council, in making their decision, shall have regard solely to the intrinsic merit of the works in question, and not permit any feeling of sympathy for an artist or his family, by reason of his or their circumstances or otherwise, to influence them. And I do hereby further direct that such President and Council shall not be in any manner obliged to lay out and expend in every or any one year, either the whole or any part of the monies so paid over to them for the purpose aforesaid, or any accumulations that may arise therefrom, but that the same respectively may from time to time be reserved and accumulated for a period not exceeding five successive years, if such President and Council shall see occasion. . . . And I further declare my will to be that the President and Council of the Royal Academy, or of such other society or association as aforesaid, do and shall within the succeeding year next after any work shall have been purchased by them as aforesaid, cause the same to be publicly exhibited for the period of one calendar month at the least in the annual exhibition of the Royal Academy, or in some important public exhibition of Fine Arts, the same to be selected by such President and Council, subject to such regulations as they shall think fit and proper."

Now, my Lords, you will see from the passages I have read that the trustees are at liberty to purchase the work of any artist who has lived and worked in this country, whether he is at the time alive or dead. They are charged to have regard solely to the intrinsic merits of the works in question, and to buy for no other reason. They are to exhibit the pictures after they are purchased, and they may accumulate their monies for five years, if they so desire, in order to be able to afford to purchase a really first-rate picture. In all these particulars the will is clear and precise. It was a fine idea of Sir Francis Chantrey's that the money which he had made in art should go back to art after his death. He hoped and believed that in time his name would be associated with a collection of the finest works of art which have been executed in this country. His conception was that of a truly national gallery of British art. Think, my Lords, what an opportunity was there. Think of the great artists who have worked and lived in this country, of whom we are so justly proud, men whose works might have been collected together for the benefit of posterity and associated for ever with the bountiful generosity of Sir Francis Chantrey. It was a great opportunity, and yet we have to contrast with that ideal the reality of actual fact. The name of this great patron and benefactor of art has come now to be associated with a collection of pictures which, in the opinion, I may say, of almost everyone, is a mere byword and mockery. There is one other passage which I think I ought to quote from the will with reference to the housing of these pictures—

> "And it is my wish and intention that the works of art so purchased as aforesaid shall be collected for the purpose of forming and establishing a Public National Collection of British Fine Art in Painting and Sculpture executed within the shores of Great Britain in the confident expectation that, whenever the collection shall become or be considered of sufficient importance the Government or the country will provide a suitable and proper building or accommodation for their preservation and exhibition as the property of the nation, free of all charges whatever on my estate."

This generous man had a simple faith in the generosity of others, and he never doubted for a moment that his action in this matter would be recognised and would be followed up by the Government of his country. His expectations in that respect were realised, but not from the quarter to which he looked, and it was left to the generosity of another private individual, Sir Henry Tate, to give money for the erection of a building in which the works purchased with Sir Francis Chantrey's money could be housed. About ten years ago, when the Tate Gallery was built, the pictures which had been purchased out of the Chantrey Fund were handed over by the Academy to the Tate Gallery, and it is on the pictures which hang now in the Chantrey Rooms in the Tate Gallery, and on those which do not hang there but which might be expected to hang there, that the whole case against the Academy is founded.

The Earl of Lytton.

This is not a matter of taste alone. If it were, I should not bring it before your Lordships. Parliament can do a good deal, but even Parliament cannot compel the Royal Academy or any other body to have good taste, and Parliament is not a body qualified to decide as to who has and who has not good taste in this country. But I think I can prove that Sir Francis Chantrey's intentions have not strictly been carried out either in the letter or the spirit. In the first place, as I read from the will just now, only pictures of the highest merit were to be bought, and I think I can prove that that at any rate has not been carried out. Even if the principal pictures in the Gallery painted by Royal Academicians themselves, for which very high prices were paid, were works of the highest merit—and I shall prove in a moment that a good many of them were nothing of the kind—still it would be impossible to say the same of a large number of very stupid little pictures bought for paltry sums of from £20 to £50. I could read to your Lordships a list of a dozen names of artists whose works are in the collection which I think your Lordships will never have heard of before and which are unknown to art critics and connoisseurs in this country. Is it likely that, if these pictures were of the highest merit, if they were the best works of art existent in this country, the names of those who painted them would not even be known to art connoisseurs in the country?

The will says the works of dead as well as of living artists may be bought, but only in one instance has this been done. In every other case hasty purchases from the exhibition of the year have been made. The one case in which the work of a dead artist was purchased was a large sacred picture by Hilton, which was bought in the first year that the Trust came into operation. Hilton was an artist who died in 1839. His picture is not one of great importance. It cannot have added very great interest to the collection. But if an indifferent picture by Hilton may have been bought, why might not masterpieces by, say, Cotman, Constable, Turner, and other artists who were alive at the time of Hilton have been bought also, and, to go back further, pictures by Raeburn, Crome, and others, who were alive at the same time as Hilton, and who died only a few years before him. In fact, the purchase of that picture is one of the mysteries of the collection, and it is not clear precisely on what grounds it was bought. With the whole range of works of art executed in this country to choose from, in almost every case have purchases been made from the exhibitions of the Royal Academy. The exceptions are few and are interesting as showing what the trustees—the President and Council of the Royal Academy—might have done if they had been so disposed; but in twenty-seven years there are only four exceptions to this rule. One is the picture of an Academician, two others are pictures of men who subsequently became Academicians, and the fourth of an outsider.

Conceive a private collector who had £2,000 or £3,000 a year to expend in collecting pictures. Suppose one of your Lordships were fortunate in having that money to spend on that object. Is it likely that you would content yourself with going to the exhibition of the Royal Academy year after year and buying, let us say, the best picture there, without going to a single sale and without in fact visiting any other institution? Is it possible that you could get together in that way a collection of pictures which would be in accordance with the instructions and wishes of Sir Francis Chantrey? By this policy, from which they have only departed in four instances, this fund left by Sir Francis Chantrey has come to be used as a sort of prize fund for the exhibition of the Royal Academy. Your Lordships will understand how dependent they naturally are for their very existence on the success of their annual exhibition. Well, when they make it known that they do not intend to purchase out of this fund pictures exhibited anywhere else, they naturally give a very strong inducement to artists to send their pictures for exhibition at Burlington House. I do not say whether this policy has arisen from misunderstanding of the terms of the will or by intention. That is a point which the Committee, if appointed, will have to go into; but, whatever their motive, the result is the same. The result is that these pictures which now hang in the Chantrey Rooms of the Tate Gallery, instead of being the finest works of art produced in this country, are nothing more or less than a selection of the exhibits for twenty-seven years in the Royal Academy.

Not even in every case have the best pictures of the Academicians themselves been bought. That is rather a difficult question to go into here, but I may mention one or two cases which I think will prove what I mean. I suppose really the most notorious instance was the picture of the late President of the Royal Academy, Sir John Millais, the picture probably known to all of your Lordships called "Speak, speak." I doubt if there are any people in this country who would say that that was the best picture Millais painted, or if there are many who would deny that it was the very worst. Then, again, there is the case of a man called North, a very well-known water-colour painter, a man who for many years has painted excellent pictures in water colours, none of which have ever been purchased. But a few years ago he was elected a member of the Royal Academy, and subsequently one of his pictures was bought out of the Chantrey Fund, not, however, one of his well-known and admirable water colours, but a large picture in oils of a very indifferent character. Now, my Lords, I ask: Was it probable that the best picture of a man who was famous as a water-colour painter should have been a work in oils?

I may quote one other instance, one of their purchases is a landscape picture by a very well-known portrait painter, an Academician. Probably it will be as well if I do not mention the name; it is not very essential to my point. He is a portrait painter, and this was a landscape picture which was bought for £800. The companion picture to that, also a landscape painting of the same character, size, and merit, was commissioned by a picture dealer for £400, half that which was given out of the Chantrey Fund for the picture in question. Some years later that picture came into the market at an art sale, and was bought by a private individual, who, knowing that £800 had been given for the companion picture by the Chantrey Trustees, thought he was making a very good bargain when he purchased it for £100. Since that occasion this picture has twice again come into the market, once soon after it was purchased, but it was bought in for £90, and the last time was last summer when it came up for sale at Christie's and was bought in for £20. I understand Christie's have offered £30 as approximately the value of the picture. Have we any reason to suppose that the nation made a better bargain when it bought the one picture for £800 than the private collector when he bought the other for £100, and could not get rid of it for £20?

But if their purchases have been strange, the pictures they have not bought have been stranger still. Whilst they have purchased pictures by men whose names would probably be unknown to your Lordships, those whose works they have not bought include men of the highest reputation, the most famous artists who have worked in this country during the last fifty years. What would Sir Francis Chantrey have said if he had lived to see this national gallery of pictures after twenty-seven years without a single work by Burne-Jones, Rossetti, Madox Brown, Holman Hunt, Legros, Alfred Stevens, Whistler, and many other artists I might name? There is not a single example of these artists in the collection. I am well aware that pictures of some of these artists when they were first painted were not received very favourably; in fact, that they had very few admirers indeed. But my point is this, that there must have been since that date many Councils of the Royal Academy containing men who did admire those works, men who have publicly said that they admired them. It cannot be said that they have no admiration for this school, because one of the first purchases they made was a picture by Rooke, who was at that time an assistant to Burne-Jones. If, therefore, they will buy the picture of a mere assistant of that school, is it not strange that they should not buy some of the pictures of the master himself?

My point, therefore, is that there have been men on the Council of the Academy who have admired these pictures, and I ask why have they not bought them? The only explanation which fits the facts is that these artists did not exhibit their pictures at the Royal Academy. There are other explanations which have been put forward, but they cannot be sustained. In the first place, it has been alleged that the trustees were obliged by the terms of the will itself to buy pictures from the Royal Academy. I would not refer to that except that it has been set forward by an Academician himself in defence of the action of the Academy, but I have read to your Lordships the terms of the will, and there is no sort of obligation on the trustees to buy out of the Royal Academy, or out of any other exhibition. All that Sir Francis Chantrey laid down, and very properly laid down, was that when the pictures were bought they should be exhibited in order that the public might have an opportunity of seeing them. It has also been suggested that pictures by these men were not available for purchase, but any reference to the records of the sales at Christie's and elsewhere will immediately dispose of that contention, for it will then be found that pictures by these artists have come up for sale over and over again, and in almost every case at prices well within the range of the fund, and considerably lower than those which have been paid for some of the pictures which are included. There have been plenty of pictures available for purchase had the trustees been so disposed, but they have preferred to patronise their own exhibition and to buy at top prices pictures which, if they were now placed on the market, would probably not fetch half what was paid for them.

I shall be asked, What can now be done? What could a Committee do if it were appointed? I may be sanguine, but I am inclined to think a good deal could be done. I have not very much sympathy, not very much patience with those who admit that things are bad and then refuse to take any steps to remedy them. I am inclined to think that a Committee, if appointed, could do a good deal. In the first place, they could secure some answer from the Royal Academy to the charges which have been brought forward, some explanation of the methods which they have hitherto adopted. That in itself would be interesting and desirable. Then their next business would be to examine the charges which have been brought forward to see whether they are justified, and when they have done that I believe they will find that the narrow groove into which the trustees have settled down for many years is the result of circumstances which are avoidable, the result of conditions which they have imposed on themselves, which prevent them from attending sales and going about the business as any art connoisseur on his own account would do, and which prevent them from taking a wide and generous view of their duties. I think that a Committee could make recommendations which the Royal Academy themselves would be quite prepared to carry out. I think they would clear up many misunderstandings and much uneasiness which prevails at the present moment in art circles, and that the result of their deliberations and Report would be that this fund would be administered more efficiently in the future. I will only say, in conclusion, that if the cause of art is to flourish in this country, if generous acts like those of Sir Francis Chantrey are to be encouraged, then Parliament should show itself ready to investigate alleged abuses and to watch over the distribution and the use which is made of monies left for a very definite purpose. Therefore, I finally appeal to your Lordships, in the name of the public, and in the interests of art generally, to accept my Motion.

Moved, "That a Select Committee be appointed to inquire into the administration of the Chantrey Trust; and, if necessary, to make recommendations."—(*The Earl of Lytton*).

*THE EARL OF WEMYSS: My Lords, I rise now because I believe that what I am authorised to say will tend to greatly shorten this discussion. My noble friend, no doubt, knows of this little book which I hold in my hand. It is an indictment by Mr. MacColl of the Royal Academy, and in this book there is set out the will of Sir Francis Chantrey. The noble Earl has not read the beginning of it. The first passage of importance is to this effect, that his estate shall be devoted to the encouragement of British fine art in painting and sculpture. Therefore, it is for the encouragement of British art, and not for the purpose of making a collection of English pictures that the Trust exists. The charge against the Royal Academy amounts to this, that bad purchases have been made, that they have missed chances which they might have embraced, and that they have not purchased pictures of painters who ought to have a place in this collection. As regards bad purchases, I have no doubt many of your Lordships, as picture collectors, could recall occasions when your purchases in after years scarcely stood the test of time and inspection. Who is there who can say he has never made bad purchases, or that all his purchases are to his satisfaction? As to missing chances, we all miss chances to buy at the right moment. On one occasion I myself lost the chance of securing a work of Albert Dürer for £120 which was subsequently sold to the Berlin Gallery for £5,000. These are the sort of chances individuals lose, but when it is a case of a body which has to be got together to consider the purchases the case is more difficult.

The main charge brought by my noble friend is that painters who ought to be included in this collection are not represented. I have been to the Tate Gallery lately, and I quite admit that there are many pictures there which have been bought under the Chantrey Bequest which I certainly did not like, and which probably ought not to have been bought; but when this inquiry, assuming it is granted, takes place, no doubt good reasons will be given for the purchase of pictures which generally would not be popular. I thought it right, being interested in art, to put myself in communication with members of the Royal Academy in connection with this question, and I think it much better than giving any ideas of my own that I should give to your Lordships the results which I have jotted down of the conversations I had with members of the Academy as to the non-purchase of pictures and the missing of chances. This is what they say: The conditions of the will make purchases difficult. No commissions are allowed: that is to say, they cannot order a picture from a painter, they cannot buy until the picture is exhibited. Thus pictures have not been got that they would gladly have bought. Alma Tadema's pictures were always purchased before they were exhibited. Burne-Jones's pictures at his best time were always painted on commission, and he had on commission more than he could execute. Whistler rarely exhibited work of first importance. Everyone is not agreed as to his position as an artist, but I think all will agree that his etchings are splendid. Rossetti and Madox Brown practically ceased producing purchasable works before the Chantrey Fund was available. Alfred Stevens painted few pictures. A portrait of his was bought for the National Gallery. Now, as to the management, this is their explanation: The Council is a shifting body. What one set of men might consider desirable another might object to. The Council for the time being is the final authority. Purchases have been made elsewhere than at the Royal Academy—namely, at Grosvenor House and the New Galleries; but the best men, as a rule, send pictures to the Royal Academy, and purchases consequently are best made there.

The Council of the Royal Academy are accused of a breach of trust and of jobbery. If they were really good jobbers they would purchase only pictures painted by Royal Academicians, yet out of 105 purchases named in the book I hold in my hand only twenty-seven were the work of Royal Academicians. I do not think that can be called jobbery. The Royal Academy, so far from being opposed to inquiry, court it, and are most anxious that this should be gone into. Whether my noble friend when he gets his Committee will get any noble Lords to serve with him I cannot tell. Personally, I should be sorry to serve on it. For what have the Committee got to do? The members will have first of all to go to the Tate Gallery and consider every picture there, and take a vote probably on some as to whether or not they would have purchased them themselves. Having settled that point, they will then have to find out how many pictures they might have preferred to those purchased in the course of fifty or sixty years. Some of those pictures with which a comparison would be necessary may have gone to America, Australia, New Zealand, and other countries; so that if the Committee fulfil their duty, which is entirely one of comparison between what has been purchased and what has not, they will have to travel all over the world. If, however, there is to be a Committee, I hope a good Committee will be appointed, and I wish them joy of the work before them.

The Earl of Wemyss.

LORD DAVEY: My Lords, being one of the trustees of the Chantrey Fund, though I have nothing to do with the functions of the Royal Academy, it is, I think, right that I should say a few words, because as the Motion is framed I understood it to be an attack on the administration of the Chantrey Trust. I ought to point out that Sir Francis Chantrey's will vested the residue of his property in trustees, of whom I have at present the honour to be one, but the duty of the trustees is confined to taking care of the funds and of handing over the income each year to the Royal Academy for the purchase of works of art, as the noble Earl has described. The amount of the fund is, I think, a little over £2,000 a year, and your Lordships who are in the habit of buying pictures know that if you went to Christie's and invested in pictures of the best known and most celebrated masters of the British school, living and dead, £2,000 a year would not go very far. It is true that the Royal Academy may request the trustees to accumulate the money till a large sum is obtained, but they do not conceive that to be the best mode of executing their trust.

What I desire to point out to your Lordships is that Sir Francis Chantrey vested the selection of works of art absolutely in the Royal Academy, or, rather, I should say, in the Council of the Royal Academy. I do not doubt that the noble Earl and any Committee over which he presides would make a much better selection and execute the discretion which Sir Francis Chantrey vested in the Royal Academy better than they have done; but I venture to say that that is no reason for displacing the Royal Academy, and I am glad to gather from the noble Earl's remarks that the Committee which he asks your Lordships to appoint is a mere Committee of inquiry to make recommendations which the Royal Academy may or may not adopt, and that he has no intention of altering the disposition of Sir Francis Chantrey's will, which could only be done, of course, by an Act of Parliament. I am not able to go in detail into the questions brought forward by the noble Earl, but I think there are two or three observations which he omitted to make. In the first place, he did not draw attention to the clause in the will which the noble Earl below me mentioned, namely, that no works are to be bought on commission. Commissions cannot be given to any artist to execute works for the Chantrey trustees. Your Lordships are aware that the greatest painters of the present time, at any rate, generally work on commission, that their works are ordered and are purchased long before they leave their studios. That is almost invariably the case with artists who are most celebrated at the present time, and the Council of the Royal Academy have been advised that not only can they not order a work on commission, but that they cannot even purchase an unfinished work in the artist's studio. That advice may have been wrong, but it is advice they have received from legal persons competent to give it. No doubt the works of the greatest masters of the English school from time to time come into the market, but in order to purchase at Christie's or elsewhere, where these pictures are sold, you must have the money in your pocket, and the prices for which works of this character are sold at Christie's are rather beyond the comparatively modest means of the Chantrey Fund. It would require the accumulations of some years to pay such prices as one sees in the newspapers and knows from one's own experience are given for the works of the greatest artists in the British school.

There are two conceptions of the way in which the Chantrey Trust could be carried into effect. One way would be to form a gallery of the greatest masters of British art. The Royal Academy did not conceive that that was the best mode, in the interests of art, for executing the trust reposed in them, and they did not think, having regard to the amount of money at their disposal, it would be wise to confine themselves to the purchase of a comparatively small number of the works of the greatest artists. The other way in which the Chantrey Trust might be employed consistently with the terms of the will was in the encouragement of British art by purchasing the pictures of promising young and unknown artists. The noble Earl shakes his head, but I venture to say that in my opinion that would be in perfect consistency with the trust which is reposed in them, and the Royal Academy in most cases have executed their trust in that way. They have bought from time to time what they conceived to be works of the greatest merit from artists who are comparatively unknown.

I have seen and enjoyed a good many pictures in my time, and have been fortunate enough to buy a few of my own, but I do not pretend to be an art critic, and I should be the last person in the world to take part in a discussion as to the comparative merits of one artist over another. I myself am acquainted with the Chantrey collection, and I certainly think that, whatever the opinion of the noble Earl may be, he used rather an extravagant expression when he called the Chantrey collection a byword and a mockery. I must say I think that was an extremely exaggerated expression, and that it was not one which on reflection the noble Earl would be prepared to abide by. Nor do I think he was accurate when he said the Chantrey Trustees had not fulfilled their trust either in the letter or the spirit. That, of course, is a matter of opinion, and I certainly should not be disposed to ask your Lordships to express any opinion on that point.

As the noble Earl below me has told your Lordships, the Royal Academy are perfectly prepared to meet an inquiry if your Lordships think fit to appoint a Committee, and, indeed, will welcome one, because they are satisfied that they will be able to give a satisfactory account of their proceedings. But I must say the inquiry seems to me to be of a difficult character. The noble Earl opposite, I gather, does not propose that it should end in bringing in a Bill to alter the Chantrey Trust, and when one thinks of the sort of evidence that the Committee will have to inquire into one does not envy the position of noble Lords who will serve on it. They will, of course, have complaints that pictures of some particular artist have not been purchased. I ought to tell your Lordships that the Trust has only been in existence since 1877, and that 105 pictures have been bought. It will be said by gentlemen who are interested in galleries other than the Royal Academy, that pictures ought to have been bought out of their galleries instead of out of the Royal Academy; and you will have other persons, amateur art critics, who will come forward and explain their views on the shortcomings of the Royal Academy. As, however, no opposition is offered on the part of the Royal Academy to the appointment of this Committee, I do not think it is necessary for me to detain your Lordships further.

*THE FIRST COMMISSIONER OF WORKS (Lord WINDSOR): My Lords, I think my noble friend behind me may be satisfied in having brought a question before your Lordships which is of very great interest, certainly, to those who are concerned with the position which modern British art should hold relatively to the modern pictorial art of the world. I do not propose, in the very few remarks I have to offer on behalf of His Majesty's Government, to follow my noble friend in the first part of his speech, in which he, I think, with great skill navigated the deep waters between what I may call the shoals of individual taste and the rocks of authority. It is a neighbourhood which I do not wish to find myself in, as very keen controversies are easily aroused near it. But the question which presents itself to the Government is really this: Has the noble Earl in moving this Motion made out a *prima-facie* case for some inquiry? The Government have no intention whatever of attempting to prejudge this question, nor of expressing any opinion as to the merits or demerits of the actual works which have been brought under the Chantrey bequest. The point which they have to express an opinion about is whether, as I have said, a *prima-facie* case has been made out for some inquiry.

The noble Earl opposite submitted a list of reasons given to him by members of the Royal Academy for the course they have taken while on the Council, and while responsible for the carrying out of the Trust, and I venture to think that this very list of reasons justifies my noble friend behind me in bringing the Motion before the House. There are matters, which I think a Committee of this House would clear up, quite unconnected with the duty which the noble and learned Lord opposite playfully suggested that the Committee would have to undertake. It is perfectly clear that it has been in the minds of members of the Royal Academy Council that it was necessary that pictures bought under this bequest should be pictures exhibited in the Royal Academy. I venture to think that a Committee appointed by this House might with perfect propriety make it clear that under the terms of the will the Council of the Royal Academy were taking too narrow a view of their duties, and that there really were not those limitations upon their choice which they have, no doubt, perfectly honestly believed existed.

There is another instance I would give. I do not throw it out as a suggestion, because I have not got to make suggestions, but it has been said that the Council of the Royal Academy is a shifting body, that the whole Council has to come to some agreement, and that it is very difficult in those circumstances to make a choice in any way the same as an individual with knowledge and authority could make. Why should not the Council of the Royal Academy appoint a managing director? What happens in a company of directors? They do not lessen their authority by any such steps as that. They do not lessen their responsibility, but they appoint one who looks into matters for them, and whose advice they naturally pay particular attention to. I cannot see any reason why the Council of the Royal Academy should not appoint one eminent artist who would give his particular attention to carrying out the terms of Sir Francis Chantrey's will, and who might give most valuable advice to the Council, who otherwise are likely to take the line of least resistance, and perhaps buy pictures, not because they are particularly admired, but because they are not very strongly objected to.

Certain difficulties have, no doubt, presented themselves to the Council of the Academy in carrying out this Trust. In their rules and regulations they have possibly put unnecessary limits to their choice, and in the interests of Sir Francis Chantrey's own wishes, in the interests of British art which this collection is meant to encourage, it is perfectly possible, I think, that a Committee of this House, on inquiry, may be able to persuade the Council of the Royal Academy to take a broader view than they have done hitherto of the duties which have been handed over to them. I have no more to say on behalf of His Majesty's Government except that they do think that a *prima-facie* case for an inquiry has been made out by my noble friend, and that they do not propose to oppose the Motion which he has made, and which I am glad to hear those who have been specially speaking for the Royal Academy have no intention of opposing either. I trust and believe that, however difficult may be the task which is set them, my noble friend may be enabled to appoint a Committee which will be able to come to conclusions and to offer suggestions that it will not be out of the power of the Council of the Royal Academy to adopt.

THE EARL OF CARLISLE: My Lords, I should not wish to detain the House were it not that the noble Earl who moved this Motion wrote an article in a weekly paper, a copy of which was sent to me, and which other noble Lords no doubt received, in which he made a statement which I think ought to be corrected. He said—

> "Since it was taken for granted by Chantrey that some trouble would be expended on the work of selection, an additional sum of £300 a year was bequeathed to the President for his pains."

I think anyone who reads the will of Sir Francis Chantrey will see that this bequest to the President had nothing whatever to do with the administration of the Chantrey Trust. It was made specially, without any condition whatever, for his own absolute use and benefit. It was made at a time when there was no salary attached to the office of the President of the Academy, and what points this out more strongly is that a subsequent bequest of £50 to the Secretary of the Academy had the condition of looking after the affairs of the Trust attached to it. At the death of Sir Francis Chantrey the Academy paid over this salary of £300 to the President, who enjoyed it for thirty years before the Trust came into operation. Therefore, I do not think it can be fairly said to have been given for the administration of the Trust. I think that this mistake illustrates a little the spirit in which this inquiry has been made. It seems to me that it has assumed so hostile an attitude that it is likely to a considerable extent to do away with the good which this Committee may effect.

I quite agree with the noble Lord in thinking that this Committee may do considerable good in assisting the work of the Council of the Academy, and possibly in enabling them to do away with some of the regulations they have made. But I cannot think that this Committee can possibly alter the character of the work. It cannot possibly make a Committee of the Academy other than academic. It seems to me extremely natural that the Council of the Academy should prefer academical works to others, not necessarily because they "job," but because they believe them to be good. The Academy are supposed to elect into their body the best painters and to hang on their walls those pictures which they consider to be best, and you can hardly expect them to pass a vote of censure on themselves by buying something which is exactly opposite to what they like. I very much agree with some, at all events, of the criticisms made by the noble Earl; but I do not know what will be gained by putting them forward. He tells us that numerous works that are universally admired now were not bought, but if the trustees of the Chantrey Bequest or any other public body had bought those works when they were painted they would have been met by universal execration by the organs which now complain of the administration of the Trust. Some of the critics of the administration have gone so far as to say that works by Holbein and Vandyck might have been purchased under the Trust, but that surely is to reduce the argument to a *reductio ad absurdum*. Surely Sir Francis Chantrey cannot be supposed to have intended old masters to be bought out of his bequest. It seems almost common sense to suppose that it was contemporary art that he meant to encourage.

As to the criticism with regard to the prices paid, the noble Earl surely cannot have noticed that portion of the will in which Sir Francis Chantrey says expressly that the prices to be paid shall be liberal and shall be wholly in the discretion of the President of the Council of the Royal Academy. The noble Lord has told us what Sir Francis Chantrey's intentions were. We can only judge them by the will. He took great pains to say that it was to be in the hands of the Academy. He was an Academician himself, and knew all about the Academy; and not only did he put the Trust in the hands of the Academy, but he provided that if that body ceased to exist the Trust should be administered by such other society as might be formed by its last members. It was plainly Sir Francis Chantrey's intention to leave the administration of the fund in the hand of the Academy, and I do not know exactly, if your Lordships' Committee object to that, into whose hands you would put it. It is a very doubtful question. I hope this Committee will succeed in the objects which Lord Windsor has put before it, but I think it would be well that in starting their labours they should not hope entirely to alter the character of the bequest.

*THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (The Marquess of LANSDOWNE): My Lords, there is other important business before the House, and I think we seem to be all of one mind with regard to the Motion of the noble Lord. I do not, therefore, intend to take up your Lordships' time. I think we are all indebted to the noble Earl for having brought this subject before the House. It is one which has attracted a great deal of public attention lately, and the noble Earl has treated it in language of great moderation, and has been careful to avoid any imputation of unworthy motives to the Council of the Royal Academy in the manner in which they have discharged their duties. On the other hand, it is impossible to exaggerate the strength of the feeling which prevails in favour of some inquiry into the manner in which those duties have been performed, and it is satisfactory to know that the Council of the Royal Academy itself desires that such an inquiry should take place. I think, therefore, we have every reason to anticipate that the inquiry will be productive of useful results. I was not at all alarmed by the gloomy forebodings of the noble Earl, Lord Wemyss, who described to us the hopelessness of the task which we were assigning to the members of this Committee. He drew a picture of them reviewing not only the purchases of the past, but lost opportunities of purchasing which have now become merely historical. I venture to express the hope that if this Committee is appointed they will concern themselves with the future rather than the past, and that they will not, if I may use the expression, break their teeth upon lost opportunities, or upon purchases which in the eyes of many people have been of a disappointing character. I desire to say only one word with regard to what fell from the noble and learned Lord opposite. I understood him to suggest that the scope of the inquiry should be in some way or other limited. I do not know whether that will be the case. The noble Earl has not formulated the exact words of his Motion, but I gather that he intends to move that a Select Committee should be appointed to inquire into the administration of the Chantrey Trust, and, if necessary, to make a recommendation. [The Earl of LYTTON assented.] If that Motion be put to your Lordships and carried, I take it that the Committee will be able to make their inquiry and to offer any recommendations they please without restriction. It will be when we have those recommendations before us that we shall have to consider in what manner they should be dealt with.

On Question, Motion agreed to, and ordered accordingly.

THE WAR OFFICE RECONSTITUTION COMMITTEE.

*THE DUKE OF BEDFORD rose to call attention to the Report of the War Office Reconstitution Committee, and to ask for information. He said:—I beg to call your Lordships' attention to the Report of the War Office Reconstruction Committee. Many of the recommendations of the Committee have already been acted upon by the Government, but we are not aware if it is their intention to adopt the whole of the Report. Business-like in its brevity, the Esher Committee spares details. Consequently it requires explanations which can be best elicited by questions. I agree with the Committee that their scheme of administration must be taken as a whole, and that, loyally worked, it will succeed, but that "interference with the principles upon which it is based will necessarily destroy its benefits." I sincerely trust that the Government may be able to inform your Lordships that it is their intention to adopt the Report in its entirety—a hope not inconsistent with a wish for information and for assurances on certain points which seem to call for safeguards.

I must remind your Lordships of the sequence of important events which preceded the appointment of the Esher Committee. First, the outbreak of war in October, 1899; then the general election which took place in November, 1900, when the Ministry was recast, Mr. Brodrick succeeding to the War Office. In December, 1900, the Clinton Dawkins Committee was appointed to inquire into the administration of the War Office and they reported in May, 1901. A year after. in May, 1902, peace was declared. The Royal Commission was appointed to inquire into the military preparations and other matters connected with the war in South Africa in September, 1902, reporting in July, 1903. I find in the Report of the Royal Commission on the South African War the following reference to the Report of the Clinton Dawkins Committee—

> "The recommendations of the Clinton Dawkins Committee can hardly be said to have been carried out until the permanency on which it insisted is more fully secured."

That reference is made especially to the War Office administration. The Commissioners, referring to the whole military system, express regret that—

> "they are not satisfied that everything is being done to place matters on a better footing in the event of another emergency."

Added to the Report are two notes, one by Lord Esher suggesting the reconstruction of the War Office, and one by Sir George Goldie. Sir George Goldie writes—

> "I heartily concur in the hope expressed in paragraphs 270 and 272 of the Report that the state of affairs in 1899 cannot recur. This hope on my part is a wish and not an expectation."

The opinions I have quoted were recorded nearly four years after the commencement of the war, and two years after the Report of the Clinton Dawkins Committee. It is clear that the War Office needed reconstruction, but that, if left to the War Office, reform would be postponed till that convenient season which always comes too late. July, 1903, when the Royal Commission reported, was not a moment when the nation could sit down and rest. Last summer signs were not wanting of the storm which has now burst in the Far East and will revolutionise all the problems of naval and military strategy in that quarter of the world. Under these circumstances the Government decided to tolerate no further delay, but at once to rebuild the War Office on a cleared site. I cannot agree with the criticism that the Government has acted with undue haste. On the other hand every single circumstance called for immediate action, and I desire to thank the Government for their promptitude.

Coming to the Report itself, I would begin by referring your Lordships to Table A, which is on the third page of the third part of the Report. Table A is described as a diagram showing the proposed system for dealing with questions of Imperial Defence. Commencing at the very head, we have the Sovereign, Parliament, the Cabinet, the Prime Minister (President of the Committee of Imperial Defence), then the Committee of Defence with its two sub-headings. The first sub-heading gives the members representing the Army, the Navy, India, and the Colonies, etc., the etc. opening a wide door. The second sub-heading shows the secretariat for the collation of information for the Defence Committee, and for the maintenance and custody of records. The evidence given before the South African War Commission has, of course, a very direct bearing on the changes proposed by the Esher Committee. One of their most important recommendations, and one which has been adopted, is the abolition of the office of the Commander-in-Chief. Mr. Brodrick, in his evidence before the South African War Commission, expressed the opinion that this office must be retained, and that there is no possible substitute for the supreme power of the Commander-in-Chief. In the right hon. Gentleman's own words—

> "The sentiment of the Army is and always has been to look to the Commander-in-Chief."

I altogether dissent from that view, and I cordially concur with the emphasis laid by the Esher Committee on the allegiance of the Army to the King. It is the King whom the Army serves. It is the King's Commission officers hold. It is the King's shilling that recruits accept. It is to the King alone that the Army looks as its national Commander.

Alike to Crown and Parliament the Secretary of State for War is responsible. But has not that responsibility which Parliament demands from the Secretary of State for War been affected by the recommendations of the Esher Committee. In the first place it is affected by the interposition between Parliament and that Minister of the Imperial Defence Committee, of which, so far as I can make out, he is not necessarily a member. I say "not necessarily" because the Esher Committee insist on the absolute discretion vested in the Prime Minister as to the selection and variation of the members of the Defence Committee. (Report, Part I. p., 1.) In the second place it is affected by the association of the members of the ArmyCouncil with him as colleagues. I quote paragraph 5, page 5, and Part II. of the Report—

> "The responsibility of the Secretary of State for War to Parliament and to the country for the administration of the military forces will in no sense be diminished, but it will be shared by the members of the Council."

How can the military members of the Army Council share the responsibility of the Secretary of State for War to Parliament? No doubt the Secretary of State will speak with his military colleagues at his back, and this association will strengthen the authority of his utterances. The point is whether this addition to his authority has not been secured by dividing his responsibility. We all desire decentralisation, but decentralisation must not lessen the responsibility of the Secretary of State for War to the Crown and Parliament. I trust that the Government will be able to assure your Lordships that none of the changes impair the constitutional safeguard that the Secretary of State for War is individually responsible to the Crown and Parliament for every detail in the administration of his Department, whether he knew the facts or was ignorant of them.

Parliament alone can determine the question of the principles of our military policy. All depends on this. It is a point which has baffled the War Office in the past, and will, if not decided, baffle it in the future. To illustrate my meaning I cannot do better than quote the evidence of General Sir Coleridge Grove, before the Royal Commission—

> "One thing I hold to very much is that whatever is determined should not be a confidential matter between the Government and the War Office authorities. It should be a thing that is received and adopted by the country and is known in exactly the same way as we have the naval programme."

The position to-day is that we have no settled military policy at all. All is uncertainty, indecision, inconsistency. In March, 1901, Parliament accepted Mr. Brodrick's view of home defence expressed in these words—

> "In the first place, when talking of home defence, let us not confuse our minds by considering the position and action of the Navy. The Navy is obviously our first line of defence, and if in matters of war there could be any certainty we might dispense with an Army for home defence altogether. It may be that invasion is an off-chance, but you cannot run an Empire of this extent on an off-chance."

The right hon. Gentleman then asked the sanction of Parliament to the maintenance of military forces here at home amounting to 680,000 men, 435,000 of whom were enlisted for home service only and could not be sent abroad. That was the military policy of three years ago, based upon the principle of not confusing the mind by considering the position and action of the Navy. In March, 1904, Parliament agreed to the Prime Minister's opinion of home defence stated as follows—

> "It is true indeed that many of us have come to the conclusion that invasion of this island by a large Regular force capable of undertaking its conquest is, if our home forces are kept in anything like an adequate state, and, above all, if the Navy is kept in anything like an adequate state, for after all this is really a naval question, that invasion is a dream, an illusory danger, and not one of the contingencies against which it would be right or proper to ask this country to make costly provision."

That is the military policy of to-day, which calculates the naval and military

The Duke of Bedford.

resources of the country not upon their respective but upon their joint merits. It is idle to expect economy, efficiency, or reform in War Office administration until Parliament sanctions a well-defined military policy and accords to that policy the same measure of continuity which has been allowed during past years to the naval programme.

Continuing down Table A, I come to the Cabinet. I assume that nothing can alter the collective responsibility of the Cabinet, and that no Committee of the Cabinet appointed for a particular purpose can have any responsibility separate and distinct from that of the whole Cabinet, and if this applies to the new Defence Committee it can have no responsibility of its own. The Cabinet, as a body, has not the time for continuous consideration of questions of Imperial defence. For this reason Lord Salisbury established the Defence Committee of the Cabinet, presided over by the Duke of Devonshire. From the first an air of mystery hung about the meetings of this body. We have it in evidence from the late Director of Military Intelligence, General Sir William Nicholson, that he was never summoned to attend its meetings; that, in his own words—

> "So far as he was aware, nobody attended them, and he knew nothing of the Committee, except that he believed the Duke of Devonshire to be its President."

The new Defence Committee created by the present Prime Minister will discharge very different duties. It is to foresee Imperial strategical requirements, to harmonise naval and military policies, to co-ordinate Imperial defence in relation to such different Departments of State as the Admiralty, the War Office, India, and the Foreign and Colonial Offices. It is by far the most important outcome of the Esher Committee. At present we do not know very much about the constitution of the new Defence Committee. The Prime Minister is the President, and he can summon to its meetings any Minister or servant of the State, apparently at his absolute discretion, although it seems that associated with him on this Committee are the Secretary of State for War and the First Lord of the Admiralty. We are not aware, however, if the Foreign Secretary is a member or not, but we do know that diplomacy and military and naval preparations ought to be interdependent. It would be well that the country should be informed what Ministers, if any, will attend the meetings of the Defence Committee *ex officio* regularly and as a matter of course. It would seem that to this Committee will be summoned members of two kinds, namely, Ministers who are members of the Cabinet, and members of the Defence Committee who are not Cabinet Ministers. I presume that members of the Defence Committee, not being Ministers, cannot vote on the decision of any question, but will merely state their views as expert advisers.

Our Imperial strategy is far more complicated than that of any other country, and therefore the Esher Committee proposes to attach to this Imperial Defence Committee, which not only varies with each change of Cabinet, but may fluctuate with the predilections of its President, a permanent secretariat, and this proposal has, I believe, been accepted by the Government. The secretariat is composed as follows:—(1) A permanent secretary, appointed for five years and renewable at pleasure. (2) Under him, two naval officers, two military officers, two Indian officers, with, if possible, one or more representatives of the Colonies, their appointment being limited to two years. In reference to the two Indian officers, are they to be necessarily officers of the Indian Army or officers of the British Army in India, or may they be what is known in India as military civilians?

I recognise the need for a Defence Committee and the very great advantage of having the Prime Minister at its head. The problems which the Defence Committee will have to consider involve not only naval and military questions, but also Colonial, Indian, and international questions. Naval strategy is a question for the Intelligence Department of the Admiralty. Military strategy is a question for the General Staff, but national strategy, in its broadest, most comprehensive aspects, is a matter for the Imperial Defence Committee. In theory, then, the duties of the Defence Committee appear distinct and self-contained, but in practice it will not be easy to draw a line between military requirements which appertain to the Defence Committee and military requirements which are the particular province of the Army Council. Hence there seems to me some danger that this staff of the Defence Committee will overlap and conflict with the Chief of the Staff of the War Office. Will the dividing line be drawn by the Prime Minister (President of the Defence Committee) and the Secretary of State for War, for would it not be dangerous to leave the definitions to their respective subordinates?

I am puzzled to know how the Defence Committee and the Army Council will work together. Lord Esher's Committee organises for war and not for peace. Assume therefore that before a campaign the Defence Committee requires plans from the Army Council. The Army Council submit a plan, which I will call plan A. The Defence Committee reject plan A on international and diplomatic grounds and require another plan from the Army Council. A second plan is submitted, plan B which the Defence Committee accept. War ensues, and plan B proves to be a failure. With the wisdom which comes to us after events, we see clearly that plan A ought to have been the course adopted. Where would the responsibility for the adoption of plan B rest?

I now pass beyond Table A and come to the Army Council. The Army Council which has been appointed in accordance with the recommendations of the Committee, consists of four military members and three civilian members. I accept with confidence and without any question the allocation of duties made amongst the military members by the Committee. It is to the changed position of the three civilian members to which I would draw your Lordships' attention. Beginning with the Secretary of State, I gather that the Secretary of State is no longer the dictator but merely a colleague presiding over colleagues. He can no longer overrule his Council, which, from evidence before the Royal Commission, appears to have happened in the past. If he dissents from a decision taken, has he to resign office as the other members are expected to do in accordance with paragraph 7, Part II, page 5, of the Report? This paragraph reads—

> "The decisions taken will stand, and the Council's orders will be issued in the name of the Council as a whole. It thus becomes the duty of any military member or members of the Council, who may dissent from a decision taken, either to resign or to accept a share of the responsibility for the action involved. While, therefore, loyalty to the service should prevent any member from retaining office if what he considers the vital principles of the policy is contravened, loyalty to colleagues will prevent the opinion of individual members from becoming known outside the Council room. Dissent by any member, who does not thereupon resign, is by that fact annulled and he must accept his share of the consequent responsibility."

By whom are the members of the Army Council appointed? If the Secretary of State for War recommends them for appointment his colleagues are really his nominees. By whom are members of the Army Council removed? There are failures everywhere, and there must inevitably be some upon the Army Council. I cannot accept the doctrine of the infallibility of the Army Council. What, then, is the procedure by which an inefficient member can be removed?

The Under-Secretary of State, who has not apparently hitherto taken any active part in the War Office administration, now becomes the civil member of the Army Council. In the words of the Report of the Committee—

> "The absence of any administrative duties must be exceedingly distasteful to any energetic Under-Secretary, and, where a capable and experienced occupant of the post is available, force is unnecessarily wasted."

I am sure your Lordships will agree that that paragraph is highly applicable to the present Under-Secretary of State for War. As regards the Financial Secretary, he is now transferred into the finance member of the Council. But I doubt whether in practice it will be found that the Financial Secretary becomes the mere colleague of the other members of the Army Council and that he ceases to occupy his former position, described in the Report as that of—

> "an independent critic with special powers of access to the Secretary of State."

I cannot help thinking that he will remain, in spite of his change of name, the Financial Secretary. I am sure that the following paragraph is full of importance, but as I cannot make out its meaning I must refer to the noble Earl for an explanation—

> "The Finance Member is the equal of his colleagues on the Council, his subordinates are those of all other members as their subordinates are his."

It reads more like a creed than a constitution.

We learn from paragraph 13, Part III. of the Report, that the Army Council as a whole is responsible for the welfare of the soldier. At the same time I note the reply given by the Secretary of State for War to a Question put to him in Parliament before Whitsuntide regarding the tent accommodation for the Militia. Nothing affects the comfort and the welfare of men in camp more than the character of the tent accommodation. But the Secretary of State for War replied that that was a matter for the general officer to settle locally and that nothing was known about it at the War Office. Here is an instance of decentralisation relieving the Secretary of State and the Army Council of all responsibility in a matter concerning the welfare of the soldier. If the Army Council is to be really responsible for the welfare of the soldier there must be a link between them and the men in the ranks. I suggest that that link should be supplied by means of District Advisory Boards composed of Commanding Officers, whose duty would be to report through the General Officers Commanding in Chief to the Army Council any circumstances concerning the welfare of officers and men under their command which, in their opinion, should be brought directly to the notice of the Council. Reports so made should be forwarded by the General Officers Commanding in Chief with comments, but without alteration or delay.

At first sight I admit that the need for such Advisory Boards is not obvious. I therefore support my suggestion by quoting from the evidence of General Sir John French before the South African War Commission. General Sir John French, when asked his opinion by the Commission as to the value of the present cavalry sword, replied—

> "I think the present cavalry sword is the very worst that could be used for any mounted troops at all."

Sir John French had commanded a regiment, but as Commanding Officer he had never disclosed his opinion of the weapon on which the men under his command would depend in action. It would not have been consistent with his duty as a Commanding Officer to have said to his superior officers that which he stated in evidence before the Commissioners. Is that desirable in the interests of the service and of the men? I submit that it is not. Hence my suggestion for bringing officers commanding regiments into close touch with the Army Council.

Admirable as Lord Esher's scheme is from an administrative standpoint, we must not forget that our Army is a voluntary one, dependent for its existence upon its popularity with the people of this country and with the men serving in the ranks. We learn from the Report who is responsible for the various items which make up Army administration. But we learn nowhere who is responsible for making the Army and the conditions of service popular. But until the Army is made popular with the friends and relations of soldiers—and it is not so now—you stand a chance of having created a brilliant and elaborate military administration for the purpose of administering a numerically insignificant Army.

*THE UNDER - SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (The Earl of DONOUGHMORE): My Lords, I think no one in your Lordships' House will deny the right of the noble Duke who has just addressed us to raise this subject, and I desire at the outset to personally thank him for the kindly spirit towards the War Office which he has displayed. The noble Duke prefaced his remarks by expressing a hope, which was also expressed by Lord Esher's Committee, that the Government would adopt the Report which they had made in its entirety. It may be convenient if I state briefly how far we have been able to carry out that Report up to the present time. Of course I do not wish it to be understood that the Government regard the Esher Report as a written constitution for the War Office, but in its broad principles we have been able to carry it out to a very great extent. Inside the walls of the War Office we have practically organised the institution upon the principle recommended in the Report.

The Defence Committee has been constituted on the lines recommended by the Esher Committee, and the nucleus of a permanent secretariat has been appointed. What has not been done, and what cannot be done as yet, is to organise the local staffs of the Army on the lines recommended by the Esher Committee. That organisation depends on a larger question still under the consideration of His Majesty's Government—the organisation of the Army itself; and until a decision has been come to on that point we are naturally unable to proceed with the organisation of the district staffs. But a small start has been made. Three brigadiers have been appointed to the Aldershot command. There are some exceptions to the recommendations of the Esher Committee. One is the arrangement for the organisation of the Auxiliary Forces, and the other is the decentralisation of the work of the Military Secretary at the War Office. The latter decentralisation cannot take place yet, for the obvious reason that the new district staffs do not yet exist. But a Committee has worked out the scheme of decentralisation in detail, and their Report is now under consideration.

The noble Duke asked whether the responsibility of the Secretary of State for War has not been affected by the interposition between him and Parliament of the Committee of Imperial Defence. The answer is most emphatically No. The Defence Committee is a Committee of the Cabinet which assembles to permit the whole intelligence of the nation to be placed at the disposal of the Prime Minister, who is, and always must be, the real Minister of Defence. The Prime Minister is the Chairman of this Committee of the Cabinet, and the Secretary of State is a member of the Cabinet; and his power, therefore, cannot be unduly interfered with. As to whether the responsibility of the Secretary of State will be weakened by the association of the members of the Army Council with him as colleagues, the reference to the Esher Committee was to organise a system at the War Office on the lines of the present Admiralty system. Broadly, the Government will certainly follow that system. The Board of Admiralty is constituted by Letters Patent, which would tend to take away the responsibility of the First Lord by making his colleagues share it with him. There is however an Order in Council giving to the First Lord of the Admiralty certain powers and assuring him of pre-eminence among his colleagues. That system has always worked well. At the War Office there is a patent naming the seven members of the Army Council and the Secretary of State as President of the Council. It is proposed to have an Order in Council for the War Office which will do nothing to affect the administrative responsibility of the Army Council. All orders will be issued in their name, but nothing will be done to impair and everything will be done to preserve the sole responsibility of the Secretary of State.

The Order in Council is now in draft, but its final form has not yet been determined. I am authorised to say, however, that in that Order in Council the Secretary of State will have preserved to him certain specific business and a general supervision of all business; and he will be empowered to distribute the business at the War Office among his colleagues. I cannot better explain the object we have in view than by reminding your Lordships of Part I., Section 2, paragraphs 9 and 10, of the Esher Report, which I will read—

> "The Hartington Commission stated (§ 82) that 'the complete responsibility, to Parliament and the country, of the Secretary of State for the discipline as well as for the administration of the Army, must now be accepted as definitely established.' At the same time, it was premised that, in practice, the responsibility of the Secretary of State appears to be still, in some aspects, less real than that of the First Lord of the Admiralty. It is now clear from the evidence given before the War Commission that real power has been divorced from responsibility, with results injurious to the military advisers of the Secretary of State, and fatal to his authority with his colleagues in the Cabinet.
>
> "We consider that, as a first step in the reconstruction of the War Office, the position of the Secretary of State should be placed on precisely the same footing as that of the First Lord of the Admiralty, and that all submissions to the Crown in regard to military questions should be made by him alone."

We adhere to the policy suggested here and fully intend to carry it out.

In the past there have been certain statutory powers vested in the Secretary of State and in the Commander-in-Chief.

A Bill will shortly be presented to Parliament to bring those statutory powers into accordance with the new order of things.

With regard to the Government's policy of home defence, we adhere absolutely to the declarations of the Prime Minister; and I am authorised to say that in principle we shall adopt the suggestions made by the noble Duke as to the reduction of the Regular Army at home. We hope to compensate for the reduction of numbers by an increase of efficiency. The question of the Auxiliary Forces I cannot enter into now, as the situation has been considerably altered by the Report recently presented. It would be unreasonable to ask His Majesty's Government to make a definite pronouncement at the present moment. As to the constitution of the Committee of Defence, the freedom of action of the Prime Minister in summoning the Committee will be preserved. There will be no regularly attending members of the Committee at all, except the Prime Minister, and he will be free to summon anyone he likes to the meetings of the Committee. It is inconceivable that anyone having special knowledge of a subject about to be discussed by the Committee would not be summoned to the meetings. As to whether members of the Defence Committee who are not members of the Cabinet will be able to record their opinions, the opinions of individual members of the Committee are not recorded now, but only the decisions of the whole Committee. The decisions of the Committee as such have no legal force, but only when they become the adopted decisions of the Cabinet. It is now intended to appoint only one Indian officer to the Committee, and I cannot say how this officer will be chosen; we shall take the best man wherever we can get him.

The noble Duke has suggested the danger of disagreement between the secretariat of the Defence Committee and the Chief of the Staff at the War Office. But that is not a probable danger. On questions which do not concern the War Office there can be no risk of conflict, and on questions that do concern the War Office it is impossible to suppose that the Chief of the Staff would not be present at the meetings of the Defence Committee. There will be, I know, no legal obligation to summon him, though it is difficult to imagine that the Prime Minister would refrain from doing so. The Chief of the Staff when present as a member of the Defence Committee, being allowed to give his opinion, is on a perfect equality with the other members of the Committee. There are two purposes served by the secretariat—first, to record decisions, and, secondly, to place specialised knowledge of previous proceedings at the disposal of the Committee. There are hardly any opportunities afforded for the quarrelling to arise. But I do not deny that if General Smith and Mr, Jones in the future want to quarrel they will doubtless be able to find opportunities, and no possible safeguards that you could provide could prevent it. The hypothetical case put forward by the noble Duke is not one likely to be forthcoming. If any particular plan is rejected by the Defence Committee that rejection gets no force whatever unless it is endorsed by the Cabinet, and the Cabinet have a perfect right to override a decision. The Cabinet are responsible, and it is right constitutionally that they should be.

It was asked also in respect of the Army Council whether in the case of dissent from colleagues the Secretary of State should resign. I think not. There are two precedents that can be argued from. In the case of a difference in the Board of Admiralty the members of the Board resign and not the First Lord, and in the case of the Cabinet the Prime Minister does not resign, though his colleagues do. I imagine that the same rule will obtain in the Army Council. The noble Duke asks by whom the members of the Army Council are appointed. They have been appointed by Letters Patent, on the recommendation of the Secretary of State, who is thus the mouthpiece of the Cabinet. I presume that if it ever becomes necessary to dismiss a member of the Army Council, the proper procedure will be to issue Letters Patent revoking the previous issue, or to issue fresh Letters Patent containing different names. As regards the Financial Secretary, I know that in that particular we have departed from the precedent of the Admiralty, but we believe that the arrangement we have made will work perfectly well, and that it will be of assistance to us to have the Financial Secretary at our meetings as a colleague. So far, I can assure the noble Duke there has been no friction between us such as he appears to fear may arise in the future. As regards the sentence quoted by the noble Duke, that the Finance Member is the equal of his colleagues, and so on, I confess I have some difficulty in satisfactorily explaining that somewhat cryptic phrase. What I imagine it means is this. I can conceive two possible explanations of the sentence. One is that, individually, members of the Council have no authority whatever. We do, I confess, sometimes give decisions off our own bat, but everything is done in the name of the Army Council, and all subordinates in the War Office are subordinates and officials of the Army Council, and not subordinates and officials of any particular member of the Army Council, although for the purpose of transacting the business they are put in certain departments under certain definite heads. That, I think, is the meaning of the sentence in the Report to which reference has been made. Possibly some more ingenious person may be able to find another explanation, but it has not struck my mind up to the present. Your Lordships will understand that the Financial Department at the War Office has been considerably split up. Every member of the Council now has a financial official to whom he can refer all financial questions. Technically, it might be said, therefore, that whilst, let us say, the financial department connected with the department of, say, the Adjutant-General consists of a number of individuals who are the subordinates of the Adjutant-General, at the same time they are subordinates of the Financial Secretary, because they are in the financial department, the financial department being very firmly linked on the military side to the Department whose affairs they have to look after. It is possible that that proposed reform may have been in the mind of the Commissioners when they wrote that sentence, and that is a reform which is being carried out.

The last point raised by the noble Duke was as to the difficulty of maintaining the popularity of the Army in the country, and he suggested a system of District Advisory Boards. My Lords, I hope that such a system will not be necessary. According to the recommendations of the Committee, the officers will be circulating a great deal more between the War Office and the districts than they have hitherto done. Moreover, it will be the duty of the Inspector-General to go about the country, to be "our eyes and our ears" as it has been said, and he will be able to keep us thoroughly informed of what is going on in the districts. That, combined with the ordinary intelligence of members of the Army Council—which I am sure the noble Duke will not deny to us, although he denies us infallibility—should ensure our being kept properly in touch with the Army, and I have no fear myself that any system of District Advisory Boards such as he has advocated will be necessary.

I think I have now dealt with all the points raised by the noble Duke. I should like, in conclusion, to say a word on a matter purely personal to myself. The members of the Esher Committee have recommended some great and far-reaching reforms, especially in the Financial Department, and they have given as a reason for those recommendations a picture of what I might call "financial irritation," of the existence of which I have not been able to find any great evidence. They have said some very hard things indeed about the Civil Department of the War Office. Though I am very grateful to the Commissioners for outlining the particular scheme which we have been able largely to carry out, wish to dissociate myself from the reasons they have advanced for the reforms recommended by them in the Financial Department of the War Office. I have been at the War Office but a short time. and I confess that when I went there last October I had ringing in my ears the stock statement that certain unthinking people are only too ready to make, condemning the civil side of the War Office, and maintaining that every useful reform must necessarily be met with a solid block when it reaches that Department. A very few days at the War Office convinced me of the absolute error of that view. I found, if possible, more keenness for reform on the civil side than in any other part of the Office. When you have a body of intelligent men, selected from the best you can get by the stiffest examinations, and when they find that they are part of an institution not organised on the most businesslike lines, surely it is but natural that they should be only too eager to alter the system of administration with which they are connected. Bearing in mind the belief that certainly exists in many quarters that the officials connected with the civil side of the War Office are not a body of devoted public servants who make the public service their chief interest, I thought it would be wrong of me to allow this opportunity to pass without dissociating myself from the statements to which I have referred.

LORD TWEEDMOUTH: My Lords, I think the House will be very grateful to the noble Duke for having raised this question, and for the way in which he has dealt with it. He touched on some of the most important points connected with the Report of the Esher Committee; he asked for information and explanations with regard to those points; and I think I may also say that the House listened with the greatest interest to the speech of the Under-Secretary of State, who endeavoured, in an extremely frank spirit, to reply to the questions of the noble Duke, and gave a great deal of very interesting information for which both this House and the public outside will be grateful. I cannot quite accept the optimistic views of the noble Earl as to how the details of the new scheme are going to work, but I think I may most fairly express the opinion of all of us when I say that we are very glad to recognise the spirit in which the Under-Secretary spoke as testifying to the general spirit in which the Government are about to give effect to the Report of the Esher Committee. We were also very glad to hear the remarks of the noble Earl with regard to the financial side of the War Office. I also felt that undue criticism and condemnation was passed on the civil side of the War Office; I know that it has caused very great soreness—I think justifiable soreness—and I cannot help believing that the remarks made by the noble Earl, speaking, as he does, as the representative of the Government, will do a great deal to alleviate that feeling and to facilitate the working of the Department in the future.

I should like to ask for a little more information on one or two further points. This Esher Committee is the answer to the Report of the Commission presided over by my noble friend Lord Elgin. It is really an acceptance of the Report of the Commission; it represents the acceptance of the views put forward by Lord Elgin and his fellow-Commissioners; and the Esher Committee was appointed in order to find a remedy for the condition of affairs which Lord Elgin's Commission found so seriously to demand the attention of the country and of the Government. But the Esher Committee was also something else. It was an admission of the failure of the system of Army organisation suddenly adopted when we were still in the throes of war. The basis of the recommendations of the Committee is, as stated by the noble Duke, the adaptation to the War Office of the system in vogue at the Admiralty. I have no doubt that there is great justification for such an adaptation, as the Admiralty has undoubtedly worked much easier and better than the War Office. But I do not think that you can quite assume that because a certain system has worked well in connection with the Navy it must necessarily work well in connection with the Army. You must always remember that there exists an enormous difference in the conditions of service in the Army and in the Navy. In the Navy the spirit of the service is the spirit of the service as a whole. The Navy is not divided, as is the Army, into regiments, garrisons, and so on. The spirit largely proceeds from the fact that so long as officers and men on a particular ship are together, they work together loyally and frankly and cling together, but when the ship goes out of commission and they cease to be attached to that ship they have no longer the sentiment of the ship: they are again merged in the service as a whole. Then there is another point. In the case of the Navy, you have your officers and men continually serving under conditions similar to those that they would experience in war. They are continually running the same risks, and they are continually having thrown upon them vast responsibilities for the non-fulfilment of which they would be visited, and most properly so, with the severest penalties. That is a condition that you cannot obtain in the same way in the Army. Small expeditions there may be from time to time, but the great bulk of the Army in time of peace cannot be subjected to the tests to which officers and men would be subjected in time of war. Consequently it is much more difficult to select men, to give responsibility to the people who deserve it, to get out of the groove of promotion by seniority, and to give full weight to good service and proved capacity properly to discharge duties. Therefore, while I welcome the adoption of the pattern of the Admiralty, I wish to put in a word of caution against the idea that because a particular system is adopted therefore all will go well in future.

Now, my Lords, there are two or three points to which I wish to refer, one of which has been dealt with by the noble Duke and also by the noble Earl, while the other two have not. The first point is the question of the supremacy of the Defence Committee. I thought the noble Earl in that respect drew rather too glowing a picture of the absence of friction that was certain to be found in it, and that he somewhat minimised the amount of responsibility which might be taken off the shoulders, not only of the Secretary of State for War, but also of the First Lord of the Admiralty—because, I take it that the Defence Committee will be just as influential with regard to the desires and actions of the Admiralty as those of the War Office. If you establish this most important body—and it is evident that the Esher Committee think it most important, because it crops up continually throughout their Report—if you strengthen it, put upon it all important Ministers, make the Prime Minister its chief, and appoint to it permanent chosen members representing the Army, the Navy, the Colonies, and India, it is quite evident that all really important matters both of the War Office and of the Admiralty will be taken to the Defence Committee for consideration and ultimate decision, or at any rate for approval. But if that is the case, will not some responsibility necessarily be taken off the shoulders of the Minister at the head of the Admiralty and of the Minister at the head of the War Office? In the very nature of the case it must be so. The responsibility will no longer be as between the particular Minister at the War Office or at the Admiralty and the Prime Minister; it will be with the recommendations of the War Minister or the recommendations of the Naval Minister as accepted or modified by the Defence Committee, and the responsibility will lie with the Defence Committee when that decision is accepted by the Cabinet as a whole. I quite admit that you keep your Cabinet responsibility. I do not dispute that; but I do think that the individual responsibility of the Ministers of the two particular Departments concerned must necessarily be affected, as I think for the worse, and that it will make them, in some cases, less careful of decisions to which they may arrive within their own Departments.

Then the noble Earl scouted the idea of possible quarrelling between the secretariat or the permanent department of the Defence Committee and the War Office. There again I do not take so cheerful a view. By your scheme the Prime Minister is to be the head of all these matters—head not merely as head of the Government, but as head of the Defence Committee. He will be the person with whom all this permanent staff of the Defence Committee will be in constant communication. Is it not likely that when a plan is proposed or is about to be proposed by, say, the Admiralty, that the secretariat of the Defence Committee will have some sort of views on that particular subject, and that it will go, in the first instance, direct to the President of its own Committee—that is, of the Defence Committee—with its views before the Admiralty itself has had an opportunity of putting forward its side of the case? And in the same way with regard to the War Office. Then supposing you had a subject taken up by the War Office and the Admiralty together, you might have the secretariat differing, and I cannot but think that there would be considerable friction in the daily working of the scheme. I am not in love with the idea of making the Prime Minister *ex officio* President of this Committee. It may be that from time to time you will have a Prime Minister who is interested in Defence matters, but in other cases you may have a man who is not only not interested in them, but who looks upon questions of defence as questions to be decided only in one particular way. I do not think that that would lead to smooth working between the Defence Committee and the two Defence Departments. It would be far better to keep the Prime Minister in his present position of supremacy over the Cabinet, as being the last authority to whom reference can be made when matters of dispute arise. For instance, supposing there was a difference between the Admiralty and the War Office and the Defence Committee. To whom would you refer the question? The Prime Minister, as President of the Defence Committee, would necessarily take the view of the Defence Committee. Hence there would be no independent appeal at all from these three bodies supposing a difference of opinion arose. Personally, I think that the greatest blot on the Esher Report is to be found in the proposals for the constitution of the Defence Committee, and particularly in this proposal that the Prime Minister should be the perpetual President.

Now, my Lords, I pass to a subject which the Under-Secretary of State put aside on the ground that there was another Report on the matter before your Lordships' House, namely, the Report of the Norfolk Commission. But the question of the Auxiliary Forces was also an important subject dealt with by the Esher Committee, and the part of the Report already adopted and acted upon has made a great change with regard to the position of the Auxiliary Forces, a change of which I, for my part, am not at all disposed to approve. It is rather a curious fact that on the 17th February of this year the Auxiliary Forces were for the first time given an independent representative at the War Office. Within a few weeks—I forget the exact number—the Report of the Esher Committee came out, and the privilege which the Auxiliary Forces had enjoyed for only a few weeks, but which even in that short time had been a great advantage, was taken away. Under the recommendations of the Esher Committee the Auxiliary Forces were deprived of this special representative and were put back under the Adjutant-General. The whole history of the management of the Auxiliary Forces by the War Office shows that there is always great friction between the representatives of the Auxiliary Forces and the Adjutant-General. The Adjutant-General is a professional soldier, and for the greater portion of his time he is obliged to look at the work of the professional soldier from a professional soldier's point of view. The Volunteers and the Auxiliary Forces, however, are not professional soldiers, and must be regarded from a somewhat different point of view. In the first place there is an enormous difference between the conditions of one Volunteer regiment and another. You have one regiment formed of clerks in a great city; you have another composed of artisans; a third consists mainly of labourers in a county, with the various companies scattered over a large area at a vast distance one from another. You cannot apply one general rule to the Volunteers, or lay down one particular way in which to deal with them. There must be great elasticity with regard to the requirements imposed upon Volunteers. There is, for instance, the question of camps. It was laid down that all Volunteers were to go into camp for fourteen days in the year. That is an excellent thing provided you can get them there, and provided they can afford to go there, but to make that an absolute condition of efficiency involves the loss of large numbers of good Volunteers who would prove themselves extremely useful. You must not deal with Volunteers on any hard and fast lines. The proper system to adopt is to judge them by results. Let the commanders of the various volunteer regiments bring their regiments to a proper state of efficiency by whatever means they choose, provided they do bring them to a state of efficiency. If they can produce their men properly efficient and properly trained I do not think you ought to hamper them by strict regulations as to the particular number of days they are to spend in camp, or as to how they shall attain that efficiency. The Volunteers are the cheapest of all our forces; I believe they cost less than £7 per head per annum. The encouragement of the Volunteer Forces becomes all the more necessary in consequence of the Report of the Norfolk Commission. That Report not darkly hinted that we should have to fall back on conscription. The Government at once stated that they had no idea of conscription, and that they were not going to propose it. That being the case it is all the more necessary to make the Volunteers as numerous and as efficient as you can, and to give them all the encouragement possible. A great deal can be and I hope will be done for the Volunteers. Proper ranges and sufficient ammunition with which to practise, the opportunity of organisation in units, local training grounds near the particular parts of the country to which they would be sent in time of war—these are the sort of things which ought to be done for the Volunteers. They cannot be done without money, but I believe the first thing you have to do, if you are to give permanence and encouragement to the Volunteers, is to see that they are properly represented at the War Office, and that in the War Office they have a department of their own, presided over by a man who understands their condition as well as the ordinary routine of the professional soldier. I go even further, and say that the Volunteers have a right to have a representative on the Army Council itself. It may be that it is not possible to add to the number of professional men on the Army Council. If that be so, I would suggest that you take one at any rate of your civilian members—say the Under-Secretary of State—and let him represent the Volunteers on the Army Council, so that they may have a representative on that important body in the future.

There is one further point of criticism which I think is a sound one, because it is a matter in which you have departed from the precepts of the Admiralty, and that is in regard to promotions. It seems to me that it is an extraordinary thing when you have formed this new Army Council, having upon it four military men carefully chosen as the most capable men available for the purpose, together with the Secretary of State, the Financial Secretary, and the Under-Secretary of State, that from that Council should be withheld altogether the question of promotion. That is not the case at the Admiralty.

*THE FIRST LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY (The Earl of SELBORNE): I beg my noble friend's pardon. The First Lord of the Admiralty is solely and exclusively responsible for promotions.

LORD TWEEDMOUTH: But that is not so here. In this case you have a special committee. The difference is this. In the Admiralty there is no special committee appointed to deal with promotions. In the case of the Army, what is now proposed is that four generals commanding and the Inspector-General shall deal with promotions. In the case of promotions under the rank of major, the generals commanding in the various districts will deal with the promotions. Consequently you will have the general commanding a particular district responsible for the promotions in the regiments under his charge which may be abroad. In cases of promotion over the rank of major, the duty is given to a committee formed of the four generals commanding, plus the Inspector-General. It does seem to me to be a curious thing that you should give the control of the Army to this new board, and take away from it the whole duty of the rewarding of merit, and the duty of making itself acquainted with the value and the respective merits of the different soldiers in the Army. As I understand it the present system is that in the case of the higher promotions, the Military Secretary sends three names to a specially appointed committee of three officers, and that committee recommends to the Secretary of State who is eventually responsible for the appointment. Under the system recommended by the Esher Committee, the system I have just described is the method of promotion. It departs from the method followed in the Admiralty, and as it seems to me it departs from that method to no advantage, because it will diminish the authority of the Board by setting up an *imperium in imperio.*

I do not pretend to have put forward any very connected criticism of the Report which has been laid before us, but I hope what I have said has been in a fairly reasonable spirit. I assure your Lordships that it has been said entirely with a desire to facilitate the working of the War Office under its changed conditions, and not in any way with the object of putting stumbling blocks in the way.

THE EARL OF CAMPERDOWN: My Lords, I am sure the House is greatly indebted to the noble Duke for having raised this discussion, and I believe the country will profit considerably when it reads the very practical remarks which have been made from both sides of the House. I shall not detain your Lordships for more than a moment. I wish merely to ask one or two practical questions with regard to the constitution of the Army Council. I understood the noble Earl to say that in the first place the constitution of the Council is defined by a patent and that the distribution of the duties is hereafter to be laid down by an Order in Council. That, at all events, was the recommendation of the Esher Committee. I venture to hope that His Majesty's Government will consider the matter very thoroughly before they pass an Order in Council distributing the different kinds of business to different members of the Council. Observe what will happen. If you distribute the work in this way you will stereotype the exact position of individual members of the Council. I believe the practice at the Admiralty is—I know it used to be—that the distribution of the business to the members of the Board depends entirely on the First Lord, who can distribute business to or take business away from any particular member and attach it to another, according as it seems best to himself. I think the position to be given to the noble Earl the Under-Secretary is that of supervising fortifications.

THE EARL OF DONOUGHMORE: No, new barracks.

THE EARL OF CAMPERDOWN: The supervision of new barracks, and, I believe, of chaplains. I am quite sure the noble Earl will supervise barracks with the same ability that he will manage chaplains, but I would venture to suggest that it would be far better to leave it to the Secretary of State to divide the business in the War Office as he thinks best, and that he should not he bound hand and foot by an Order in Council.

Then, my Lords, there is another point on which I would ask for information, and that is with regard to the financial position of each member of the Council. The Esher Committee attributed great importance to the fact that each member of the Council should be able to expend his own Votes, and, as I understood the noble Earl to-night—and I think it was proposed by the Esher Committee—that he should be able to send for financial assistance if he required it. Of course it is a much simpler thing that an individual member of a board should have complete control over the money matters connected with his Votes, and under such a system business would naturally proceed much more rapidly. It is apparently intended, or at all events it is possible under this proposed plan, that there should be no financial check on any member of the Council in regard to the Votes with which he is charged. I merely wish to know whether that is the plan which it is proposed to adopt. I do not think it is the system prevailing at the Admiralty at the present time; I know it used not to be. In former days when any proposal was made for, say, an increase in the number of men, or for raising the boys, or for anything of that sort, it was for the Naval Lord to put forward his proposal, then the Civil Lord, it being a matter of *personnel*, had to say where the money was to come from, and that enabled the Board to arrive at a decision as to what should be done. The difference according to the plan now proposed, if I am correct, is that a certain member of the Board would be able not only to make a proposal, but also to carry it out and to spend the money involved without consulting his colleagues unless he should see fit to do so. I merely put the question; I daresay I am wrong; but I want to know exactly what will be the financial position of each member of the Board.

*THE MARQUESS OF RIPON: My Lords, I do not propose to go into all the important subjects which have been raised to-night, but there is one point upon which I wish to express my opinion, and it would probably be fairer that I should do so before my noble friend opposite replies. There is very little to add to what has been so well said by my noble friend behind me in respect of the question upon which I wish to make a few observations, viz., the proposal that the Prime Minister should always be the President of the Defence Committee. I have not a word to say against the Prime Minister being President of the Committee when he chooses to take upon himself that position, but having, unfortunately, lived to see a great many Prime Ministers, I have not discovered that the majority of them would either have desired that position or perhaps been very fit to take it. Putting aside a great soldier like the Duke of Wellington, I really do not remember any Prime Minister in my lifetime who would have had a particular taste for the special duties involved in the position of President of the Defence Committee except Lord Palmerston and my noble friend Lord Rosebery. That being so, is it desirable that you should by a regulation or Order in Council, or whatever it may be, tie down the Prime Minister to take this position, thus imposing upon him very grave and responsible duties? I think not. In my opinion, it would be far better to allow the Prime Minister, who must have a controlling hand over this and all the other business of his Cabinet, to decide for himself whether he should take that position or not. The position of the Prime Minister in the present day is one of extreme difficulty. The amount of labour thrown upon him is very great indeed, and it is almost impossible for him to exercise that general supervision over the whole administration of the country which it is so very desirable the Prime Minister should exercise. I doubt whether the duties of the Prime Minister in respect of that general supervision have been fully discharged as they ought to be since the time of Sir Robert Peel. We know that Sir Robert Peel himself said that he found it almost impossible to discharge the duty. It is true that Mr. Gladstone in his first Government carried out that superintendence to a large extent. but, so far as I know the manner in which public affairs have been conducted, I do not think that since that time the supervision which is so essential for the proper working of the Government of the country has been exercised by the Prime Minister, or that it possibly could have been. If there be anything in these remarks, surely it is not wise to enact that the great labour involved in the position of President of the Defence Committee should necessarily fall upon the Prime Minister. I understand that that is the proposal. I doubt whether in any case the Prime Minister would be the best person for the post, and I am certain that the holding of the position would inevitably interfere with the discharge of his proper duty, viz., that of the general superintendence of the administration of the country, in which, of course, is included the administration of the Army and Navy. On these grounds I venture to express the gravest doubt whether you will promote good administration, either generally or in the Army and Navy especially, by providing that this duty must necessarily be undertaken by the Prime Minister.

*THE MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE: My Lord, my noble friend beside me dealt so fully and sufficiently with the points raised by the noble Duke behind me that I do not propose to travel over the same ground. I wish, however, to notice a few of the observations that have fallen from noble Lords opposite since my noble friend addressed the House. In the first place, I wish to say a word as to the question of promotions, on which the noble Lords opposite made some remarks. I understood him to express considerable alarm at the idea that promotions up to a certain rank were to be handed over to general officers commanding districts. I understand that the decentralisation of the work which has hitherto been performed in the Military Secretary's office has not yet been carried out, and that for the present that work is being done at headquarters. But, whatever is done, I think the noble Lord may take it that the business of the officers who command in the districts will be not so much to make actual promotions as to recommend officers to the Secretary of State for promotion. However, the point is one which has not yet been finally disposed of and I do not, therefore, desire to say more upon that subject.

The noble Lord spoke with great conviction of the necessity of adequately representing the Auxiliary Forces at the War Office. I think there will not be two opinions on that point in the House; and I am almost tempted to remind the noble Lord that when I had the honour of being connected with the War Office I was responsible for the appointment of an officer, who, I believe, was eminently *persona grata* to the Auxiliary Forces—General Turner, and who has enjoyed their confidence for some years past. I cannot, however, agree with the noble Lord that it is desirable that the Auxiliary Forces should have a special representative on the Army Council. I think that proposal argues a certain want of appreciation of the principle upon which the Army Council is formed. The Army Council represents the whole Army. The work is divided according to the subjects—the different branches into which Army work naturally falls — but the Army Council does not consist of members who can in any sense be regarded as the representatives of different arms or sections of the Army. On the other hand, in the new organisation, provision is made—I think adequate provision—for the representation of the Auxiliary Forces. There is to be a high official under the Adjutant-General entitled the Director of Auxiliary Forces, and that high official is given direct access to the Secretary of State in regard to questions concerning the Auxiliary Forces. Under him are three subordinate officers representing respectively the Yeomanry, the Militia, and the Volunteers. I am able to add also that it is the intention of the Secretary of State to appoint a certain number of officers belonging to the Auxiliary Forces to serve on the general staff as well as in the department of the Quartermaster-General. I think, therefore, that the House may rest assured that the interests of the Auxiliary Forces are not likely to be overlooked.

Now, my Lords, for a moment I pass to what has been said with regard to the position of the Secretary of State. I think it is fair to say that there is a certain amount of ambiguity in the language of the Report of the Esher Commission upon that subject; but there is no doubt in our minds as to the position which should be assigned to the Secretary of State, and it is certainly our intention that nothing in these new arrangements should in any way derogate from the responsibility which belongs to him as a member of the Cabinet and as a Minister of the Crown. He will not be merely one member of a Board with six colleagues, but he will be, as, indeed, is the First Lord of the Admiralty, in a position of well-defined and assured superiority. I thought that the noble Lord opposite was correct when he told us that it did not follow necessarily that because a particular system succeeded in the administration of the Navy that system was bound to succeed equally in the administration of the Army. There are points of essential and deep-seated difference between the two services, and it does not follow that because a certain arrangement is good for the Navy it must therefore prove successful in the case of the Army. But there is this undoubted fact, that the Admiralty system has worked well, and has inspired a great amount of public confidence; therefore I think it was only natural that the Esher Commission should recommend that the Admiralty system should, so far as possible, be adopted in connection with the Army.

Noble Lords opposite have expressed considerable apprehensions with regard to the results of the existence of the Committee of Imperial Defence. They will remember that the Defence Committee has been for nearly ten years in existence, but I take it that the particular point to which criticism is directed is the fact that the reconstituted Defence Committee is to be given a small permanent secretariat of its own, which will give it a continuous corporate existence which did not belong to the old Defence Committee. It is, in the first place, apprehended that the existence of such a Defence Committee, with its permanent secretariat, will create friction between the Committee and the two great Departments of defence—the War Office and the Admiralty. The idea seems to be that the Prime Minister, fortified by the assistance of a body of experts who will be placed immediately under his direction, is likely to override the two Departments which have hitherto had the management of military and naval questions. As my noble friend said, if you have tactless and quarrelsome officials you will have friction and bad blood. But I do ask your Lordships to consider whether there is not another aspect of the case which should be taken into account. So long as the Admiralty and the War Office and the Treasury were not brought together in this way, you were always exposed to the kind of sparring which goes on between rival Departments which are not brought into close immediate contact. It seems to me that the great advantage of this newly-invented machinery is that it brings together at one table, under the presidency of the Prime Minister, representatives of the Treasury, the Admiralty, and the War Office. The different members of the Government have really a very much better chance of obtaining fair and full discussion for their proposals than they had so long as these controversies were carried on upon the old lines of inter-Departmental discussion and correspondence, terminated perhaps by a hurried conversation round the Cabinet table. I feel bound to say, so far as I have been able to observe the new machinery at work, that it promises not to increase friction, but to diminish it, and to conduce to a much more effective conduct of public business. The noble Marquess who spoke last told us that in his opinion it was most undesirable that the Prime Minister should be President of the Defence Committee.

The Marquess of RIPON: I said it was undesirable that he should be necessarily President.

*The Marquess of LANSDOWNE: Well, I think the answer to that is that I am not aware that it is necessary that he should invariably be President of the Committee, though I hope he always will be.

The Marquess of RIPON: The Esher Committees say it is.

*The Marquess of LANSDOWNE: I must ask the noble Marquess not to assume that every proposal within the compass of the Report of the Esher Committee necessarily represents a proposal of His Majesty's Government. The noble Marquess will remember that for a time the noble Duke on the Cross Benches (the Duke of Devonshire) was President of the Defence Committee; and it may be that at some future time the Prime Minister of the day may prefer to devolve those duties on some colleague rather than assume them himself, but that is a matter as to which I will not undertake to prophesy. I quite agree with the noble Marquess that the calls upon the time and attention of the Prime Minister are enormous, and that we should shrink from taxing his powers of work so far as we possibly can spare him, but I do not know that of all the important duties which the Prime Minister has to perform any is really more important than the work which this Committee has to undertake, and unless for personal reasons, owing to his particular idiosyncrasy, he feels himself unfitted for work of the kind, I for one shall continue to believe that that work is more likely to be performed with advantage by the Prime Minister himself than by anyone in a less responsible position.

Now I must ask your Lordships to bear with me while I say a few words in support of what was said by the Under-Secretary of State for War at the close of his speech in reference to that part of the Esher Report which describes, or purports to describe, the relations existing at the War Office between the military and the financial officials of the Department. I find that the Report of the Esher Committee states that the existing arrangements have led to the control of military policy by the civilian branch of the office; that the financial department has wielded the power of finding available funds when a policy is favoured, and of suggesting difficulties in other cases; that the War Office is divided into two camps whose occupants regard each other with mutual suspicion; that the responsibility of the military heads has been rendered nominal, and that the Secretary of State has been led to give decisions upon a partial presentment of a case. My Lords, that picture is one which I regard as a distorted one, and which has been much resented by, I believe, both the camps to whom reference is made. It is naturally most resented by the members of the financial department, and upon two grounds. In the first place, I suppose, owing to the circumstances under which the inquiry was conducted, no evidence was produced in support of these complaints, and in the second place these complaints were accompanied by the proposal that a large number of the gentlemen thus attacked should be deprived of their position in the War Office. I have had some opportunity of watching the manner in which these gentlemen have been in the habit of performing their duties, and I say unhesitatingly that nothing has, at any rate of recent years, been further from their thoughts than to claim any right of controlling the military policy of the War Office. But to quote the opinion expressed by the Dawkins Committee, which has been referred to this evening, it is absolutely necessary that the Secretary of State should have under him a staff for the purpose of watching and controlling the military expenditure. If that staff is really to assist the Secretary of State it seems to me most unadvisable that its action should be fettered by too pedantic an insistence on the necessity of all civilians abstaining from any criticism of what can be described as in a sense military policy. It is not, after all, so very easy in all cases to draw a sharp and clear line to show where financial policy ends and military policy begins. The most important questions are often mixed questions, and have to be decided with reference not only to military, but also to financial considerations; and considerations of the latter class have to be very much borne in mind when we remember the manner in which our military and naval expenditure has been growing during the last few years. Now, I believe that it would be very detrimental to the interests of the public if you altogether barred the civilian side from offering their criticism upon the ground that that criticism touched, in no matter how slight a degree, questions of military policy.

After all, in the past—and it is in regard to the past that this complaint has been made—just consider what has been the position of the soldiers and the civilians in the War Office. You have had distinguished soldiers brought in to take up these headquarters appointments after, no doubt, a very brilliant military career, but in many cases without any special aptitude for or experience of administration in the proper sense of the word. On the civilian side you have had men who have perhaps been fifteen or twenty years in the office, highly trained officials, thoroughly knowing both the military and the financial side of the work, who have been able to point out the pitfalls with which all schemes of Army reform are surrounded, and who have naturally felt it their duty, when they were able usefully to do so, to warn or to make suggestions. I fear that if we interpret too strictly the desire to exclude the civilian element from all voice in these matters the military side of the office will lose much useful guidance and the public will suffer. There is yet another consideration. You may make what arrangements you please, but you cannot get away from civilian control at the last; and if that control is not to be found within the War Office it will have to be found outside the War Office, at the Treasury, which is much less sympathetic and a much sterner taskmaster than any Accountant-General at the War Office, and which certainly will not allow itself to be warned off on the ground that its criticisms involve some slight inroad on the domain of military policy. I can only say, so far as the personal question is concerned—and I am sure I shall be borne out by others who have served in the War Office—that the officials on the financial side—I will mention particularly the Accountant-General, Mr. Marzials, and his subordinates—were gentlemen not only of the greatest ability and financial knowledge, but also of great tact and of the most considerate character, who were quite incapable of obtruding their criticisms as to military matters, if they ever made them, in a manner in the least aggressive or offensive to their military colleagues. That is the way, moreover, in which they were regarded by their military colleagues who served with them, and who, as I have said, read with considerable regret the charges made against these gentlemen in the Report of the Esher Committee. I can only express my hope that under the new system the Army will be as well and as faithfully and tactfully served by those entrusted with its financial administration as it has been in the past. I will not further occupy your Lordships' time, but I felt that I could not do otherwise than say a few words in defence of gentlemen whose excellent services I for one have had many opportunities of appreciating.

House adjourned at a quarter before Eight o'clock, to Thursday next half-past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Tuesday, 21*st June*, 1904.

The House met at Two of the Clock.

UNOPPOSED PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

Midland Railway Bill. Lords Amendments considered, and agreed to.

Barnard Castle Gas Bill [Lords]. Read the third time, and passed, with Amendments.

City of London (Central Criminal Court-House) Bill. Read the third time, and passed.

Lancashire Electric Power Bill [Lords]. Read the third time, and passed, without Amendment.

St. Bartholomew's Hospital Bill [Lords]. Read the third time, and passed, with Amendments.

Newcastle-upon-Tyne Corporation Bill [Lords] (by Order). Read a second time, and committed.

Ordered, That it be an Instruction to the Committee on the Newcastle-upon-Tyne Corporation Bill [Lords] to insert the following Clause in Part VIII. of the Bill: Any scheme for the establishment of a superannuation or provident fund under this Act shall not come into operation until the Corporation shall, in respect of that fund, have been registered under The Friendly Societies Act, 1896, and the provisions of that Act (except the proviso to sub-section one of section eight and section forty-one), so far as they are applicable and are not inconsistent with the provisions of this Act, shall apply as if (a) the Corporation were a society to which that Act applies and were the trustees of such society; (b) as if the scheme were the rules of such society; (c) as if the superannuation or provident funds were the funds of such society; and (d) as if the contributors to the fund were the members of such society.

Provided, "That the powers of sections seventy, seventy-one, seventy-three, seventy-eight, and seventy-nine of the said Act shall not be exercised without the consent of the Corporation."—(*Sir Edward Strachey.*)

Clyde Navigation (Works) Bill. Ordered, "That Standing Order 243 be suspended, and that the Bill be now read the third time."—(*Mr. Caldwell.*)

(King's Consent signified). Bill accordingly read the third time, and passed.

London County Council (General Powers) Bill. Reported, with Amendments, from the Police and Sanitary Committee [Section A]; Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed.

PETITIONS.

EDUCATION (LOCAL AUTHORITY DEFAULT) BILL.

Petition from Isle of Wight, for alteration; to lie upon the Table.

FACTORY AND WORKSHOP ACT (1901) AMENDMENT BILL.

Petition from Manchester, in favour; to lie upon the Table.

LICENSING BILL.

Petitions against; from Altrincham; Ampthill; Ashton under Lyne; Ashwell; Askrigg; Aspatria (three); Attercliffe; Avonbridge; Baldock; Balham; Banks Hill; Barrowford (four); Bathgate; Beaumaris; Bedford (three); Beeston; Bedlingston; Bermondsey (four); Bewdley; Billingborough; Birmingham; Birtenshaw; Blaby; Boddam (two); Bodmin; Bofarnel; Bo'ness (two); Bootle (four); Bowling (three); Bradfield; Brazecott; Brea; Brierley Hill; Briercliffe; Brighton; Brompton; Burtersett; Buxton; Canterbury; Carlisle; Carlton; Carnkie; Carzantic;

Chatburn; Chelmsford; Churwell; Clapham (Beds.); Clophill; Clydach; Colan; Cornwall (two); Crawshawbooth; Croydon; Delabole; Denby Dale; Derby; Dewsbury; Didsbury; Downicary; Dumbartonshire (three); Duntiblae; East Ardsley; East Harlsey; East Somerset; Eglos Kerry; Enderby; Enfield; Farnworth; Farsley; Foulridge; Gayton; Gildersome (two); Glasgow; Glenfield (two); Grantham; Grimston; Guiseley; Gwynfa; Hadfield; Hallamshire; Harrow (five); Haslingden; Haven Street (Isle of Wight); Headingley; Hebburn on Tyne (two); Helmsburgh; Higher Bebington; Holloway; Holyhead (three); Honington; Hornby; Horsforth; Hosear Moss; Hove; Hull (sixteen); Huncote; Hunslet; Ickleford; Illogan; Irby; Kepwich; Kexby; Kibblesworth; Kibworth; Kimpton; Kingston; Kingston upon Hull (two); Kirkdale; Kirkintilloch (three); Kirkstall (three); Lane; Laneast; Lanner; Larbert; Launceston; Leeds (fifteen); Lees and Bocking; Leicester (three); Lifton Down; Lincoln (three); Little Sutton; Liverpool; Llangefni; Llanrhaiadr; Lofthouse; Longsight; Longstone; Lovesome Hill; Lower Bebington (two); Lower Weston; Low Gate; Lutterworth; Lye; Maddey; Manchester (two); Marfleet; Market Deeping; Marsett; Marton; Maunby; Mawgan; Mawla; Middleton; Milford Haven (two); Mitchell; Morden; Moreton; Morley (four); Morton; Mount Tabor; Mumbles; Murton; Narberth; Nether Silton; Newcastle on Tyne; New Ferry (two); Newlyn East; Noel Park; Northallerton; North Petherwyn; Nuthing Grove; Oadby; Old Basford; Oldham (two); Osmotherley; Paddington; Paignton; Pavenham; Penffordd Petherwin; Piperspool; Porthtown; Portreath; Poulton; Preston; Primethorpe; Pudsey (three); Pulham Market; Queen's; Radcliffe; Rawdon; Rawtenstall (five); Redlynch; Redruth (eight); Reeth; Rejerrah; Richmond (Yorks.); Ridgmount; Rippingale; Rochdale; Rosenannon; Rose Perranporth; Runcorn (two); Ryde; Sabden; St. Columb; Salisbury; Salwayash; Saundersfoot; Scorrier; Shanklin; Sheffield (two); Shepton Mallet; Sherburn in Elmet; Shipdham; Shoreditch; Sidmouth; Sketty; Skinner's Bottom; Soothill Upper; South Cheriton; South Wigston (two); Spittlegate; Stanbury; Stanningley; Stepaside; Stithians; Stoneferry; Stonehouse; Stotfold; Summertown; Sunniside; Swaffham (two); Swalwell; Swansea; Tabernacle; Tenby; Thornhill Lees; Thornley; Tingley; Tingley Common; Tooting; Torquay; Tow Law; Trawden; Trebudannon; Trefor; Tregada; Tregadillett; Tregarth; Tregeare; Tremaine; Treskillard; Tuckingmill; Upper Tooting; Voguebeloth; Waddington; Warrington; Watlington; Welton; West Bridgford; West Kirby; West Lane and Bridgehouse; West Winch; Whatley Range; Wheal Buller; Whetstone; Whitley Bay; Wigton; Willingham; Wilton; Wolsingham; Woolwich (two); Worcester; Wray; Yeadon (two); Yeolmbridge; York; and Zelah; to lie upon the Table.

LICENSING BILL.

Petition from Grantham, for alteration; to lie upon the Table.

MONTGOMERY, W. B. AND E. H.

Petition of W. B. and E. H. Montgomery, for redress of grievances; to lie upon the Table.

SALE OF TOBACCO TO CHILDREN.

Petition from Leeds, for legislation; to lie upon the Table.

VALUATION BILL.

Petition from Keighley, against; to lie upon the Table.

VALUATION BILL.

Petitions for alteration; from Barton upon Irwell; Christchurch; Leek; Pocklington; Sevenoaks; and Woolwich; to lie upon the Table.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

IRISH LAND COMMISSION (PROCEEDINGS).

Copy presented, of Return of Proceedings during the month of February, 1904 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

IRISH LAND ACT, 1903.

Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 9th June; *Mr. Wyndham*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 215.]

BOARD OF AGRICULTURE (AGRICULTURAL RETURNS).

Copy presented, of Agricultural Returns for Great Britain, with statistics for the United Kingdom, British Possessions, and Foreign Countries for 1903 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

CHINA (No. 4, 1904).

Copy presented, of Map to accompany Despatch from His Majesty's Minister at Peking, inclosing a Report by Mr. George J. Kidston on a journey in Mongolia [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

TRADE REPORTS (ANNUAL SERIES).

Copies presented, of Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Annual Series, Nos. 3186 and 3187 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

ARMY (VOLUNTEER CORPS).

Copy presented, of Annual Return of the Volunteer Corps of Great Britain for the year 1903 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

ARMY (COMPENSATION).

Copy presented, of Statement relating to a sum of money granted as compensation to the Widow and Children of an Officer killed at the Battle of Inkerman [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

GREENWICH HOSPITAL AND TRAVERS' FOUNDATION.

Copy presented, of Statement of the estimated Income and Expenditure of Greenwich Hospital and of Travers' Foundation for the year 1904–5 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 216.]

TRUSTEE SAVINGS BANKS.

Return ordered, "(1) from each Savings Bank in England and Wales, Scotland, Ireland, and the Channel Islands, containing, in columns, the names of the Officers, their respective salaries, and other allowances, if any; the amount of security each gives; the annual expenses of management, inclusive of all payments and salaries, for the year ended the 20th day of November, 1903; the rate per centum per annum on the capital of the Bank for the expenses of management; the rate of interest paid to Depositors on the various amounts of deposit, and the average rate of interest on all accounts; the number of accounts remaining open; the total amount owing to Depositors; the total amount invested with the Commissioners for the Reduction of the National Debt; the balance in the hands of the Treasurer on the 20th day of November, 1903; the total amount of the separate Surplus Fund on the 20th day of November, 1903; other assets, including estimated value of Bank premises, furniture, etc.; the total assets; the total amount of Government Stock standing to the credit of Depositors; the number and amount of annuities granted; and the average cost of each transaction; also the year in which business commenced in each Bank, and the name of the day or days, and the number of hours in the week, on which the Banks are open for the deposit and withdrawal of moneys; including in such Return a list of all such Savings Banks as, under the provisions of the Act 26 Vic. c. 14, or otherwise, have been closed and have transferred their funds, or any part thereof, to the Post Office Savings Banks; showing, in each case, the number of such Banks, as well as the number and amount of Depositors' accounts so transferred, and the amount of compensation, if any, made to all or any of the Officers of such Banks respectively; and showing also the years in which such Banks were respectively opened and closed, and the number and amount of their Depositors' balances, and the number of days and hours in each week on which the same Banks were open for public business at the close of the year next preceding the date of such closing; distinguishing the same, as in the Return for each separate county, as well as collectively, for England and Wales, Scotland, Ireland, and the Channel Islands, and for the United Kingdom: and (2) for the year ending the 20th day of November, 1903, showing the total number of Depositors in Trustee Savings Banks; the total number of deposits; the average amount of each deposit account; the average sums paid in and drawn out; the total number of persons who have deposited in single sums the entire amount allowed to be deposited during the year (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 211, of Session 1903)."—(*Mr. Mount.*)

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

Imports into the Transvaal via the Cape and Delagoa Bay.

MR. BUCHANAN (Perthshire, E.): To ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies what has been the amount of imports into the Transvaal viâ Delagoa Bay and viâ Cape Colony in the months of January and December, 1903.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Lyttelton.*) The figures are as follows:—

	viâ Cape.	viâ Delagoa Bay.
January, 1903	£949,810	£286,417
December	£885,150	£235,085

Whitgift School, Croydon—Pension for Rev. G. Huddlestone.

MR. STEVENSON (Suffolk, Eye): To ask the Secretary to the Board of Education what pension is being paid by the Governors of Whitgift School, Croydon, to Mr. Robert Brodie, formerly headmaster of this school; whether he is aware that the Rev. George H. Huddlestone, who had been an assistant master at the same school for a period of thirty-one years, was dismissed by the new headmaster, and, consequently, ceased to be a member of the staff in the Christmas term, 1903; whether representations were made by the governing body or by any governor of the school to the Board of Education for permission to pay a pension to the said Mr. Huddlestone; and, if so, what reply was given to these representations by the Board of Education, and on what grounds was it based; and whether, in the event of the establishment of a pension fund for assistant masters under the new scheme of this school, Mr. Huddlestone would be entitled to obtain any benefit from the school funds.

(*Answered by Sir William Anson.*) The pension paid to Mr. Robert Brodie is £400 a year. At the request of the governors, the Board have sanctioned the payment to Mr. Huddlestone of a grant, as a special gratuity, of a sum equal to one term's salary. It is not clear what scheme is meant by the "new scheme" mentioned in the Question; nor how Mr. Huddlestone could benefit by any pension scheme which may be established in the future.

Admiralty Contracts for Armour Plating, etc.

MR. J. F. HOPE (Sheffield, Brightside): To ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether it is a rule of the Admiralty that all armour plating and shaftings supplied under direct contracts shall be manufactured from British-made steel billets, and all brass castings from British-made ingot copper and ingot tin.

(*Answered by Mr. Pretyman.*) No such stipulation is made in armour contracts; but, as a matter of fact, all the firms with whom contracts are made are British firms who make their own billets. In contracts for forged steel shafting for ships' machinery purposes, it is the practice to stipulate that the steel shall be of British manufacture. The reply to the second part of the Question is in the negative.

Hall-Marking of Gold and Silver Watch-Cases made outside the United Kingdom.

MR. CHARLES MURRAY (Coventry): To ask the President of the Board of Trade whether he can inform the House of the number of gold and silver watch-cases marked by each of the Assay Offices in the years 1902 and 1903, on declarations that such cases were made outside the United Kingdom.

(*Answered by Mr. Gerald Balfour.*) The Assay Offices have been good enough to supply the information desired by my hon. friend, and it appears that in London one gold watch-case was marked in 1902, and one gold and one silver case in 1903, on declarations that they were made outside the United Kindom. No watch-cases were marked under similar circumstances at any of the other Assay Offices in either year.

Inquiry into Accident near Duffield Station.

MR. CHANNING (Northamptonshire, E.): To ask the President of the Board of Trade whether a Board of Trade inquiry has been or will be held into the fatal accident near Duffield Station, on the Midland Railway, on Tuesday, 14th June, when two platelayers, Arthur Ford and Edward Locker, lost their lives, especially as regards the rules or appliances in use, with a view to prevent such accidents to permanent-way men.

(*Answered by Mr. Gerald Balfour.*) An inquiry will be held into the circumstances attending this regrettable accident. The officer charged with the duty of inquiring will no doubt take evidence as to the rules and appliances in use. His attention shall be directed to the terms of the hon. Member's Question.

Publication of Poor Law Statistics.

MR. HENRY HOBHOUSE (Somersetshire, E.): To ask the President of the Local Government Board whether in view of the fact that the Poor Law authority is a separate authority in many places and of the cost and size of the Annual Report of the Local Government Board, it would be possible to publish that part of the Report which deals with the Poor Law matters only as a separate volume; and whether it would be possible to issue half-yearly or quarterly to boards of guardians comparative statistics for groups of unions upon the lines of the weekly returns now prepared for the metropolitan unions, the districts of the several inspectors being taken as his basis of such statistics.

(*Answered by Mr. Walter Long.*) It would not be practicable to give effect to the suggestion in the first part of the Question, so far as the Annual Report now in preparation is concerned, but before the next one is commenced I will give full consideration to that suggestion. The half-yearly statements with regard to pauperism issued by my Department, which can be purchased for a few pence, give information as to the number of paupers in each Poor Law union, and also comparative statements of pauperism as respects certain geographical divisions and union counties. I should be glad to include in these statements any additional information which could be given without undue labour, but I am afraid that to give in the periodical returns comparative statistics for each union would considerably increase the work of preparing these returns.

Alleged Ill-treatment of a Child at St. Giles' Receiving Home.

SIR WALTER FOSTER (Derbyshire, Ilkeston.): To ask the President of the Local Government Board whether his attention has been called to the case of the child named Albert Algage, who was returned to the Westminster Union from the St. Giles' Receiving Home with marks of injury on the face and limbs; whether he has received evidence to satisfy him that the injuries were not due to punishment or to want of proper care and supervision; and, if not, whether he will order an inquiry into the treatment of the child while an inmate of the Receiving Home.

(*Answered by Mr. Walter Long.*) I am aware of this case, and the inspector of the district has made investigation with regard to it. As a result he reports that the bruises were not in his opinion due to punishment or to want of proper care and supervision, and that in all probability they were caused by the child himself. I do not think that any further inquiry is needed.

The War in Samoa—British Claims.

SIR CHARLES DILKE (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean): To ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs what is the present position of the British claims arising out of the war in Samoa; whether a portion of the New Zealand claims come under the decision of King Oscar, to the effect that they were good claims against Great Britain and the United States; and what action it is proposed to take.

(*Answered by Earl Percy.*) The award of the King of Sweden deals only with the question of principle, Great Britain and the United States being held liable for the consequences of certain military action which was pronounced to be unwarranted. An exchange of views as to the construction to be placed on the award has taken place between the three Governments interested, and a further examination of the claims to see how far they are covered by the award, is now being made. The New Zealand claims stand upon the same footing as other claims of British subjects, and will be dealt with in the same way.

Penny Postage to Australia.

MR. HENNIKER HEATON (Canterbury): To ask the Postmaster-General what is the date of the despatch to the Postmaster-General of Australia making proposals for extending penny postage to the Commonwealth; and whether any reply to the despatch has been received by telegraph.

(*Answered by Lord Stanley.*) The proposals which I had communicated to the Colonial Office for transmission to the Commonwealth Government have not, I understand, yet actually been sent forward to that Government.

Pensions of men on Sunday Duty in the General Post Office.

MR. CLAUDE HAY (Shoreditch, Hoxton): To ask the Postmaster-General whether he is aware that a number of established officers of the General Post Office, London, appointed to continuous Sunday duty, have had their attendance on that day reduced to each alternate Sunday; that these men had been doing continuous Sunday duty for an average of twenty-six years; and that all the men, up to the date of the order, had been pensioned on the basis of their Sunday duty being reckoned for pension; and, if so, will he explain why those who have been pensioned since the date of the order have not received consideration for continuous Sunday duty, seeing that the Tweedmouth Commission Report, adopted by the Treasury, lays down "that the rights of the existing holders should in all cases, be maintained."

(*Answered by Lord Stanley.*) I am aware of the circumstances to which the hon. Member refers, and I fully explained them in a letter I sent to him on the 19th March last. The Report of the Tweedmouth Committee did not deal with the frequency of Sunday attendance, and their recommendation as to reserving the rights of existing holders cannot, therefore, be held to apply to the case of these officers.

Sunday Pay in the Post Office.

MR. CLAUDE HAY: To ask the Postmaster-General whether the scale of pay of the London officers of the circulation department for Sunday duty has been reduced since the Tweedmouth Commission, and that of the provincial staff for the same purposes has been materially augmented.

(*Answered by Lord Stanley.*) Prior to the 1st April, 1897, Sunday duty in the provinces was paid for at a rate and a quarter, and in London at a double rate, but under the recommendations of the Tweedmouth Committee the payment was fixed at a rate and a half throughout the United Kingdom. Provision was, however, made for allowing all London officers who were in receipt of regular payment for Sunday duty prior to 1st April, 1897, to continue to receive the same payments as previously, *i.e.*, at a double rate, calculated on their then rate of pay, on condition that they should receive no addition to that amount until, in consequence of the yearly increase in their salaries, payment at a rate and a half would yield a larger sum.

Postal and Telegraph Facilities at Cloonfad, County Roscommon.

MR. HAYDEN (Roscommon, S.): To ask the Postmaster-General whether he has received a memorial from Cloonfad, Ballyhaunis, county Roscommon, seeking the establishment of a telegraph office and for Sunday delivery, and, if so, whether he can see his way to comply with the wishes of the people of the district in this respect.

(*Answered by Lord Stanley.*) The memorial referred to has not yet reached me, but I will have inquiry made on the subject, and will acquaint the hon. Member with the result.

Tobacco Drawback.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON (Tower Hamlets, Poplar): To ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer to what extent will the amended drawback on tobacco stalks proposed under the schedule to the Finance Bill, increase the net sum of two shillings and seven pence now obtained by the manufacturer for a pound of stalks on which drawback is claimed.

(*Answered by Mr. Austen Chamberlain.*) The drawback obtainable under the existing law in respect of tobacco stalks when ground will be increased on an average by about 4d. per pound, or slightly more, under the provisions of the Finance Bill.

Dum-Dum Bullets in Tibet.

Mr. SWIFT MACNEILL (Donegal, S.): To ask the Secretary of State for India whether he can now say whether the troops, or any of them, on active service in the invasion of Tibet are provided with the Dum-Dum bullet, or any other bullet of an expansive character; and, if so, what explanation, if any, can be offered for the use of such bullets in the Tibetan Expedition, having regard to the undertaking against their use in the Boer War, and the declaration signed by all the delegates of the European Powers except the delegates of Great Britain at the Hague Conference, to abstain from the use of bullets which expand or flatten easily in the human body, such as bullets with a hard envelope which does not entirely cover the body or is pierced with incisions.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Brodrick.*) The Government of India have informed me that no Dum-Dum ammunition has been used by the Tibet Mission escort, and that none is in the possession of that force.

Militia Serving Abroad during South African War.

Colonel BAIN (Cumberland, Egremont): To ask the Secretary of State for War whether the numbers recently officially stated of the Militia who served abroad during the war in South Africa (51,488) included the Militia Reserve who were drafted from their own units to serve in their Line battalions; and what number of reserves were so drafted from their own units.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Arnold-Forster.*) The number quoted includes those Militia Reservists who were held to serve with their own Militia units in South Africa. In addition to this number 13,000 Militia Reservists proceeded to South Africa and joined Line units.

Chinese Labourers for the Transvaal.—Disturbance at Tientsin.

Mr. SWIFT MACNEILL: To ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether his attention has been directed to the fact that a conflict has taken place in Tientsin between two batches of Chinese indentured labourers awaiting embarkation for the Transvaal mines, under the provisions of the Chinese Labour Ordinance, the casualties already reported being three Chinamen killed and twenty wounded; and whether, having regard to the fact that the combatants at Tientsin were Natives of North China and South China between whom a deadly feud subsists, any provision has been made to prevent similar collisions during the voyage to South Africa and in the mines.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Lyttelton.*) I have asked for a telegraphic report on this occurrence.

Census Returns of South Africa.

Dr. MACNAMARA (Camberwell, N.): To ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether the recent Census Returns of South Africa will be issued to Members as a Parliamentary Paper; and, if so, when it may be expected.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Lyttelton.*) There is no objection to laying the Returns (which are, however, at present unaudited), and this shall be done at once.

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE.

Woolwich Arsenal—Discharge and Suspension of Workmen.

Mr. CROOKS (Woolwich): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War, in view of the discharges and suspensions of workmen from Woolwich Arsenal, if he will take steps to prevent further discharges and suspensions by ensuring that a larger proportion of orders for munitions of war are placed in the Arsenal; and also if he can state the number of men suspended and discharged through orders being delayed owing to the length of time taken in conducting various experiments in shell and gun work.

*The FINANCIAL SECRETARY to the WAR OFFICE (Mr. Bromley Davenport, Cheshire, Macclesfield): The proportion of orders allotted to the Ordnance Factory and the trade is governed by the policy that trade resources must be kept open during peace so as to be available in time of war, and no promise regarding such proportion can be given. Experiments are carried out as expeditiously as possible, and no discharges or suspensions can be attributed to delay in this respect.

British Troops in India.

Captain NORTON (Newington, W.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War if he can state the number of men enlisted for three years now serving in India, and also how many of these will complete their term of service prior to the close of the trooping season 1904–5, also the number of troops required for Indian reliefs for 1904–5.

*Mr. BROMLEY DAVENPORT: The number of men serving on their three years engagement on the 1st May returns was 3,677. About 1,000 of these will complete their term of service prior to the close of the trooping season 1904–5 unless they extend their service. The drafts estimated as required by India next trooping season amount to 11,300.

Pensions of Ex-Crown Agents.

Mr. HERBERT SAMUEL (Yorkshire, Cleveland): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether any pensions are now being paid to any persons who have held the office of Crown Agent for the Colonies; if so, what is the amount of those pensions; if not, what was the amount of any such pensions paid in recent years.

The SECRETARY of STATE for the COLONIES (Mr. Lyttelton, Warwick and Leamington): When Sir P. Julyan, who is still alive, retired in 1879 he was awarded a pension of £1,200 a year. At his request the Agents were authorised to purchase for him a Government annuity of that amount. Sir M. Ommanney, on his transfer from the Crown Agency to be permanent Under-Secretary in the Colonial Office, was allowed to draw £400 a year of the pension to which he will ultimately become entitled in consideration of the fact that the salary of the permanent Under-Secretary was less than his previous emoluments by that amount, and this sum of £400 is the only pension to a Crown Agent which is at present being drawn from their Funds.

The Tibet Mission.

Mr. CHARLES DEVLIN (Galway): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India if he will state the object of the Mission to Tibet, the cost to date of same, the progress made and the loss in life sustained in promoting negotiations; whether, in view of the determination of the Tibetans to resist further negotiations of the character exemplified by the Mission, it is the intention of the Government to continue the work of the Mission; and if, in the event of success attending the Mission, it is the intention of His Majesty's Government to annex Tibet.

The SECRETARY of STATE for INDIA (Mr. Brodrick, Surrey, Guildford): For the object of the Tibet Mission, the progress of the negotiations, and the intentions of His Majesty's Government, I must refer the hon. Member to the Blue-books and to the statements made from time to time in this House. There is no change of policy on the part of His Majesty's Government. The total estimated expenditure to 31st March last was £308,500, and the monthly expenditure from April is estimated at a little over £50,000. Down to 10th June there had been killed in action two British officers, one native officer, twenty native rank and file, and two followers. There have also been the following deaths, otherwise than in action:—Two British officers, one British soldier, one native officer, one native warrant officer, sixty-three native rank and file, 116 followers.

Mr. LAMBERT (Devonshire, South Molton): Can the right hon. Gentleman tell us what has been the loss of life among the Tibetans?

Mr. BRODRICK: The information with regard to the losses among the Tibetans has been published as it reached us, and we have no other knowledge on the subject.

Mr. CHARLES DEVLIN: The right hon. Gentleman has not answered the latter part of my Question.

Mr. BRODRICK: Yes, Sir; I have stated that there is no change in the policy of His Majesty's Government.

Mr. HERBERT SAMUEL: May I ask the right hon. Gentleman whether the Tibetans have been made fully aware that it is not the intention of His Majesty's Government to annex their country?

MR. BRODRICK: Yes, Sir, in every way in which the Government could make it clear.

Licensing Bill.

MR. ALFRED DAVIES (Carmarthen Boroughs): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury if he has received the resolutions passed unanimously against the Licensing Bill at an open-air demonstration at Llanelly on Saturday, 13th inst.; and, if so, can he make any communication thereon to the House? I might say, Mr. Speaker, I sent the resolutions to the First Lord of the Treasury on the 15th inst., and, not having received even a printed acknowledgment, I put down this Question.

THE PRIME MINISTER AND FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): It is not the practice of any member of the Government to send printed acknowledgments. With regard to the Question, the hon. Member asks me whether I have any communication to make to the House. No, Sir, I have not.

Unclaimed Stock.

MR. McCRAE (Edinburgh, E.): I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether he can state the amount of the unclaimed stock transferred to the National Debt Commissioners; and the amount standing at the credit of the Unclaimed Dividend Account in respect of unclaimed dividends both as at 31st March, 1904.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN, Worcestershire, E.): The amount of unclaimed stock, forming part of the National Debt transferred to the National Debt Commissioners at the 31st March, 1904, was £929,987 14s. 11d. The amount standing to the credit of the Unclaimed Dividend Account at the same date was—Stock £1,852,413 14s. 4d. Cash, £11,895 14s. 0d.

Strokestown Rural District and the Income-Tax.

MR. JAMES O'KELLY (Roscommon, N.): I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether he is aware that the Inland Revenue authorities have made a demand on the Strokestown Rural District Council for income-tax in respect of cottages built by the council under the Labourers (Ireland) Acts, and whether he will give instructions to have this demand withdrawn, in view of the fact that there is no profit to the rates on these houses, and that they have been erected to relieve the condition of a very poor class of the community.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: The assessment upon the cottages in question has been made upon the council, as the immediate lessors of the property, in accordance with the Income-tax Acts. The assessment has, however, been restricted to the amount of the head rent, and the council are entitled to deduct the tax upon the head rent when paying the head landlords, thus throwing upon the latter the burden of the duty.

MR. JAMES O'KELLY: Might I ask the right hon. Gentleman is it not usual to collect this income-tax from the head landlord and not the householder?

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: No, Sir.

Slaughtered Horses as Food.

MR. CREMER (Shoreditch, Haggerston): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Board of Trade if he has any information or statistics in regard to the number of slaughtered horses, or horses unfit for work, that are periodically exported to the Continent; to what country or ports they are consigned; if he can state what becomes of the exported animals; whether he has any information to the effect that the flesh of these animals is made into condiments of various kinds returned to this country and sold as articles of food.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE (Mr. GERALD BALFOUR, Leeds, Central): I have no information as to the export of slaughtered horses. The horses exported alive during the first five months of this year at a value of under £5 each have numbered 1,665 and all of them have been shipped to Holland, Belgium, or Germany. I have no official information as to what becomes of these animals after they are landed on foreign soil.

Mr. CREMER: Will the right hon. Gentleman, in view of the statements repeatedly made that the carcases of dead horses and of unfit live horses that are exported from this country come back in the shape of food, cause inquiries to be made into the subject?

Mr. WHITLEY (Halifax): Has the right hon. Gentleman any information to the effect that the carcases of these horses go to feed the people in protectionist countries?

Mr. GERALD BALFOUR: I am sorry I have no further information, but if the hon. Member will provide me with the information that he has in his possession I shall be glad to look into the matter.

Appointment of Medical Officer for Edgeworthstown Post Office.

Mr. J. P. FARRELL (Longford, N.): I beg to ask the Postmaster-General whether any medical officer has been placed in charge of the health of the Edgeworthstown post office staff consisting of some eighty public servants; and, if not, will an appointment be now made.

The POSTMASTER-GENERAL (Lord Stanley, Lancashire, Westhoughton): The appointment of a medical officer to the post office at Edgeworthstown is under my consideration.

The Parliament Street Subway.

Mr. CREMER: I beg to ask the First Commissioner of Works if he can state the reasons why the subway which was constructed at the bottom of Parliament Street five years ago has never been used; whether his attention has been called to the hindrance to traffic by the railed-in staircases leading to the subway; whether, if there is no intention to use the subway, he will cause the railings to be removed, so that the spaces now occupied by the staircases may be restored to their former use, and vehicles be allowed to stop at both corners of Parliament Street, instead of the practice which is now frequently adopted of putting down passengers in the middle of the street.

*Lord BALCARRES (Lancashire, Chorley): This is a matter with which the First Commissioner is not concerned, it being entirely a question for the Westminster City Council.

Mr. CREMER: Will the noble Lord cause communication to be made to the proper authorities on the subject?

*Lord BALCARRES: It is nothing to do with the Commissioner of Works, though he is of course anxious to secure free access for Members to the Palace of Westminster.

The White Estate, Culleenmore.

Mr. J. P. FARRELL: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether, in the case of the sale of the White Estate in the townland of Culleenmore, North Longford, the Estate Commissioners propose to sanction an advance to one John Bodell, a planter tenant on that estate, and whether, in view of this man's stock and his financial position, an inspection will be directed before this sale is sanctioned.

The CHIEF SECRETARY for IRELAND (Mr. Wyndham, Dover): The application for an advance in this case does not bring it within the provisions of Section 1 (1) of the Act, and an inspection will accordingly be made.

Turbary Rights in County Longford.

Mr. J. P. FARRELL: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether his attention has been called to the action of Colonel J. H. Dopping, a land agent in county Longford, who recently deprived some three or four tenants of their turbary rights in the Larkfield Bog, and when they then proceeded to make mud turf for their winter's fire sent in his men and smashed up their turf; and, if so, whether, in view of Section 21 of the Land Purchase Act of 1903, he will direct the Estates Commissioners' attention to the case, with a view to such action being taken as will enable these tenants to obtain turbary for the coming season.

Mr. WYNDHAM: Section 21 enables the Commissioners to make regulations as to turbary on holdings in the event of the sale of an estate. No application has been made to them in respect of the estate in question.

In reply to a further Question.

Mr. WYNDHAM: The Commissioners will take into consideration all the circumstances of the case.

Floods in North Longford.

Mr. J. P. FARRELL: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that owing to want of sinking and embanking of the tributary rivers to the Corglais, Doogra. and Gortemore lakes, lying between Longford and Leitrim, tracts of cultivated land in North Longford are annually flooded to the loss of the farmers of the district; whether he is aware that an outlay of about £50 would so widen and deepen these tributaries as to enable the freshets to be carried off before floods could form; and, if so, will he direct the Commissioner of Public Works in Ireland to hold an inquiry on this subject with a view either to the formation of a local drainage board to carry out a drainage scheme or such direct supervision as will, during the dry weather, make such alterations as will prevent flooding in the winter.

Mr. WYNDHAM: The tributary rivers referred to are situated in an existing drainage district. The Commissioners can only require the drainage trustees to maintain the works for which they are responsible, and the trustees are not empowered to expend money on new works. I am unable to say that an outlay of £50 would provide a remedy for the floods complained of, but I am making further inquiry into the matter.

Mr. J P. FARRELL: I gather from the right hon. Gentleman's answer that the attention of the Commissioners will be directed to this particular grievance.

Mr. WYNDHAM: Yes, I am inquiring into the matter.

Technical and Agricultural Schemes in the Congested Districts.

Mr. MURPHY: (Kerry, E.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland what is the reason that the Department of Agriculture and Technical Education and the Congested Districts Board cannot come to an arrangement as to the working of technical and agricultural schemes in congested districts; and whether, in view of the injury and loss caused to the people residing in congested districts, he can do anything to bring about a working arrangement in the matter.

Mr. WYNDHAM: The Question is based on a misapprehension of the facts. The Department of Agriculture by arrangement with the Congested Districts Board has extended its agricultural schemes to all the congested districts. In respect to technical instruction, the Board is already largely engaged in work of a kind which does not come within the scope of the county schemes. The Board's work in this respect is more in the direction of assisting industries than in that of secondary education, and it preferred to continue to work on these lines.

Mr. MURPHY: Considering the report has been made by the county council of Kerry in respect to the working of the technical education schools in the congested districts, will the right hon. Gentleman do something to bring about an understanding?

*Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order! That is the very same Question.

Evicted Tenant on Mr. Charles Stafford's Estate.

Mr. JAMES O'KELLY: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the Estates Commissioners have received any applications for the sale of the estate of Mr. Charles Stafford, in the Carrick-on-Shannon Union, and county of Roscommon; if so, if they are endeavouring to negotiate for the reinstatement of Patrick Moran, Jun., of Bealragh, an evicted tenant; or, in any event, have the Estates Commissioners done anything in connection with the application received from this man.

Mr. WYNDHAM: The reply to the first query is in the negative. An application for reinstatement has been received from the evicted tenant named and will be considered.

Irish University Education.

Mr. CHARLES DEVLIN: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he can now state whether it is the intention of the Government to introduce next session legislation on the subject of Irish University education; and whether any promises have been made by His Majesty's Government, or by any member of the Government, that legislation bearing on the subject of Irish University education would be introduced at an early date.

Mr. WYNDHAM: I am unable to anticipate legislation for next session, but no promise has been given by any member of his Majesty's Government that legislation bearing on the subject of Irish University education would be introduced at an early date.

Protection of Irish Estates from the Rivers and the Sea.

Mr. THOMAS O'DONNELL (Kerry, W.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland when estates adjoining the sea or large rivers and protected by banks are being sold, what arrangements will be made for the permanent proper upkeep of those banks.

Mr. WYNDHAM: Sir, it is not possible to give a general answer to a general Question which embraces an unknown number of hypothetical cases.

Salaries of Irish National School Assistant Teachers.

Mr. THOMAS O'DONNELL: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland what additional annual sum would be sufficient to give assistant teachers in Irish national schools of ten years service and classed under old system second or above second grade salary.

Mr. WYNDHAM: No accurate statement of the cost can be given, but it is estimated that it would amount to about £8,000 per annum.

The Rae Estate.

Mr. THOMAS O'DONNELL: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the Rae Estate, Killorglin, Kerry, for which an order for sale was made in the Land Judge's Court last November, has yet been disposed of; and, if not, what is the cause of the delay.

Mr. WYNDHAM: On the 9th instant the Land Judge made an order directing the sale of the estate to proceed under Section 7 of the Land Act. The fact has been notified to the Estates Commissioners who will issue their request for an inspection.

Recommendations of the Constabulary Commission.

Mr. SLOAN: (Belfast, S.) I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he can state when the Bill to carry out the remaining recommendations of the Constabulary Commission will be introduced.

Mr. WYNDHAM: I am unable to fix a date for the introduction of legislation in this matter.

Mr. SLOAN: Arising out of the answer, may I ask the right hon. Gentleman will there be any legislation in this matter.

Mr. WYNDHAM: Oh, no; certainly not this session.

The Constabulary Force Fund.

Mr. SLOAN: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether, in view of the balance lying to the credit of the Constabulary Force Fund (Reward Branch), and of the fact that this fund is made up of fines from members of the force, he will consider the advisability of restoring the 4 per cent. allowance which, owing to insolvency, was reduced to 2 per cent.

Mr. WYNDHAM: The income of the fund is mainly derived from portions of fines awarded to the police in prosecutions. The question of increasing the payments out of the fund will be considered.

Commission on Trinity College Lands.

Mr. MURPHY: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland who is the Mr. George Trench that is named as a member of the Viceregal Commission appointed in connection with the lands held by Trinity College; at whose request has the Commission been appointed; and has any effort been made to ascertain the wishes of the tenants affected in regard to the *personnel* of the Commission.

MR. WYNDHAM: Mr. George Trench of Abbeylands, Ardfert, county Kerry, is the nominee of the Grantees. The appointment of a Commission was suggested by the hon. and learned Member for North Louth on the 8th July, 1903, during the passage of the Land Bill through the House. That Gentleman, who is also a member of the Commission, will represent the tenants.

MR. MURPHY: May I ask the right hon. Gentleman whether the tenants have been consulted at all with reference to this matter? Will the right hon. Gentleman tell us what the purpose of the Commission is?

MR. DELANY (Queen's County, Ossory): Is Mr. Trench a land agent?

Lighting of Galway Harbour.

MR. CHARLES DEVLIN: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that, in the opinion of the Harbour Commissioners, the lighting of Galway Harbour has been defective during the past five years; that the Harbour Commissioners decided recently to transfer the contract for the lighting to the Galway Gas Company; that, on representations made to the Board of Works by the Messrs. Hutchinson, the new contract was not sanctioned by the Board of Works; that, as a result, there is now no contract for the lighting of the Harbour; and whether he can see his way to have the contract sanctioned by the Board of Works.

THE FINANCIAL SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY (Mr. VICTOR CAVENDISH, Derbyshire, W.): The Board of Works have had the allegations of the Harbour Commissioners as to defective lighting investigated on the spot by one of their officers. They are considering his report, and will shortly communicate their decision to the Harbour Commissioners.

Salaries of Irish National School Teachers.

MR. HAYDEN (Roscommon, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if his attention has been called to the fact that the salaries of certain teachers in national schools in Ireland are determined on the basis of attendance, and that where the attendance does not exceed twelve the salary is £12 per annum; and, if so, will he take steps to remedy this arrangement.

MR. WYNDHAM: The Question refers presumably to the class of teacher known as Manual Instructress. The rules governing payments to such a teacher provide that where the average attendance is less than twenty she shall be paid a capitation grant of £1 for each girl in average attendance. Where the average attendance is twenty or over, but where the total attendance does not warrant the employment of an assistant, payment is at the uniform rate of £24 a year.

The Anderson Case.

COLONEL SAUNDERSON (Armagh, N.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the Government has taken any steps to ascertain the identity of the lady examined by two doctors in Dublin, in the Anderson case, with the lady who is now Mrs. Anderson.

MR. WYNDHAM: Mrs. Anderson had an interview on Friday last with the doctors who made the examination. These gentlemen identified her as the woman whom they had previously examined, and made a statutory declaration to that effect.

The Valuation Bill.

MR. TREVELYAN (Yorkshire, W.R., Elland) asked whether the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister could now give an answer to the Question asked the previous day with regard to the Valuation Bill.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said he was not able at present to say when the Valuation Bill would be taken. There was a good deal of important business before the House, in which the hon. Gentleman and his friends took a prolonged interest.

Rules of Procedure.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES (Lynn Regis) stated that he had on the previous day's Paper a starred Question of considerable importance and urgency with regard to the intentions of the Government respecting the rescue of Mr. Varley, now detained by brigands in Morocco. It was not reached by five minutes to three, but had not been answered in the Papers circulated with the Votes according to the Standing Order. He asked the Speaker, as this was not the first time the same thing had occurred to his Questions, whether it was not the duty of the Ministers to cause to be circulated with the Votes the Answers to Questions not reached.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR asked leave, as he was the criminal referred to, to interpose the explanation that he had failed to take into account that his hon. friend drew a distinction between two of his Questions, both postponed, one of which he had asked him not to answer according to the Standing Order, and this one, which he desired to have so answered.

MR. LOUGH (Islington, W.): The same thing happened to me, Mr. Speaker.

MR. WHITLEY: The same thing happened to me too, Sir.

MR. JOSEPH DEVLIN (Kilkenny, N.): And the same thing has happened to me, Sir.

*MR. SPEAKER: It is obvious that this oversight has frequently happened. It is obvious also, from the Prime Minister's explanation, that the duty of Ministers to answer the Questions as prescribed in the Standing Order is not disputed.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES: Will the right hon. Gentleman answer my Question now.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I have no objection to answer now. The Answer I was prepared to give yesterday is that it is extremely inconvenient to make any statement to the House on the subject.

MOTION FOR ADJOURNMENT REFUSED.

MR. CROOKS (Woolwich) In consequence of what he deemed to be an unsatisfactory answer given to him by the Secretary of State for War, asked leave to make a Motion for the adjournment of the House on a definite matter of urgent public importance—the unsatisfactory distribution of Government work to the detriment of the national workshops and of workpeople.

*MR. SPEAKER ruled that this was not a "definite matter of urgent public importance." It was open to the hon. Member to raise it in Committee of Supply.

SHOP HOURS BILL.

Reported, with Amendments, from the Standing Committee on Trade, etc.

Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 217.]

Minutes of the Proceedings of the Standing Committee to be printed. [No. 217.]

Bill, as amended (in the Standing Committee), to be taken into consideration upon Monday next, and to be printed. [Bill 235.]

NEW MEMBER SWORN.

The honourable Philip James Stanhope, for the County of Leicester (Southern or Harborough Division).

SELECTION (STANDING COMMITTEES).

Mr. HALSEY reported from the Committee of Selection, That they had discharged the following Members from the Standing Committee on Law, and Courts of Justice, and Legal Procedure: Sir George Fardell, Sir George Bartley, Mr. Haldane, Mr. Samuel Evans, Mr. Soares, and Lieutenant-Colonel Pryce-Jones; and had appointed in substitution: Mr. James Bailey, Mr. Seymour Ormsby-Gore, Mr. Theodore Taylor, Mr. Thomas Shaw, Mr. T. W. Russell, and Mr. John Rutherford.

Report to lie upon the Table.

SELECTION (STANDING COMMITTEES).

Mr. HALSEY reported from the Committee of Selection, That they had discharged the following Members from the Standing Committee on Trade (including Agriculture and Fishing), Shipping, and Manufactures: Mr. O'Neill, Mr. John Gordon, Mr. Goulding, Captain Balfour, Mr. George Montagu, and The Lord Advocate; and had appointed in substitution: Sir John Barrington Simeon, Mr. Baird, Mr. Hare, Mr. Garfit, and Sir Charles Renshaw.

Report to lie upon the Table.

STANDING ORDERS.

Resolution reported from the Select Committee, "That, in the case of the Great Western Railway Bill [Lords], Petition for dispensing with Standing Order 128 in the case of the Petition of the 'Owners, Lessees, and Occupiers in the Parish of Hanwell,' against the Bill, the said Standing Order ought not to be dispensed with."

Report to lie upon the Table.

SEAMEN'S AND SOLDIERS' FALSE CHARACTERS BILL [LORDS].

Read the first time; to be read a second time upon Monday next, and to be printed. [Bill 236.]

FINANCE BILL.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[Mr. J. W. LOWTHER (Cumberland, Penrith) in the Chair.]

Clause 1.

*MR. HUGH LAW (Donegal, W.) said in their endeavour to take Ireland out of the purview of this taxation his colleagues and he were not actuated by any unworthy motive. They had always consistedly opposed all proposals which tended to increase the burden on the poor of both Islands, and they had always opposed extravagant expenditure and the heavy taxation which was the direct consequence of such expenditure. The charge that the people supported the war could never be made against Ireland, and he was not altogether certain that it was entirely true to say that the working classes of Great Britain supported it; but even if there were parts of Great Britain where it was true to say that the working classes desired extravagant expenditure, the inevitable accompaniment of an increase in the military establishment, that did not apply to Ireland. Such a fact would in itself justify the Irish representatives in asking that Ireland should be specially exempted from this tax. But there was another fact, which was that the expenditure on tea in Ireland per head was far greater than it was in any part of Great Britain, and the burden far heavier. He had made very careful inquiries and had been astonished to find how large a place tea occupied in the dietary of the poor of Ireland. An ordinary breakfast of the poor in the part from which he came was tea and bread, composed in part of flour and in part of Indian meal, butter when they could get it and tea; whilst dinner consisted of potatoes, milk, and on very rare occasions a piece of bacon, and tea. At six o'clock there was a meal like breakfast, tea and bread; and the supper consisted of Indian meal porridge. It would be obvious, therefore, to the Committee that tea occupied a place in the dietary of the poor of Ireland which it occupied in no part of Great Britain. This was a matter of great importance to Ireland. It was, of course, quite easy for hon. Members to say it would be better for these people not to drink so much tea, but what was to be given to them in exchange? He had heard it said that it would be far better for these people to eat oatmeal porridge, but oatmeal was rather an expensive article of diet and not one which was particularly palatable when eaten with water or goat's milk, and very often the only milk they were able to afford was goat's milk. One hon. Member on the previous day had said that the increase of taxation on tea and sugar during the past three years was equivalent to a week's wage of the working men of this country. In Ireland the case was even worse. There the wages of agricultural labourers did not in many districts exceed 9s. a week. Therefore this single increase upon tea now under discussion would, upon the figures he had quoted, be very nearly the equivalent to a whole week's wages in the case of their people. He hardly ventured to hope that the right hon. Gentleman would listen to his appeal; yet he thought both he and the other Irish representatives who thought with him would be neglecting their duty if they did not take every opportunity of protesting against any additional burden being placed on the shoulders of those who were least able to bear it. He begged to move.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 1, line 17, to leave out the words 'or Ireland.'"—(*Mr. Hugh Law.*)

Question proposed, "That the words 'or Ireland' stand part of the clause."

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN, Worcestershire, E.) said he had listened to the hon. Member, who had placed before the Committee a very painful picture of the poor people of Ireland. He hoped that nothing which he might say would lead the hon. Gentleman to suppose that he was without sympathy for the very poor, whether they were in Ireland or in Great Britain. Whilst he was bound to maintain this tax before the House, he was not without feeling for those who had a hard struggle for existence and who felt the least pinch of taxation. But the hon. Member was asking the Committee to exclude from the burden of this taxation not the very poor but the whole of Ireland. The effect would be to exclude many people in Ireland who were as well able to pay as any one in this country, and to leave subject to the tax many people in England and Scotland whose lot in life was no easier than that of many people in Ireland. As to the financial relations of Ireland with the other parts of the United Kingdom, he could not usefully go over the ground which he traversed in the discussion on the Second Reading of the Bill. The more complete inquiries to which he referred at the earlier stage of the Bill would, when the results were published as Returns, as he promised they should be, show that the grievance of Ireland in respect to this particular tax was not so great as had hitherto been supposed. It had been assumed that the consumption of tea per head of population was greater in Ireland than in the rest of the kingdom. That was a misapprehension. That impression was due to the imperfect method by which statistics were at first collected and upon which subsequent calculations had been based. A Memorandum which would accompany the next Financial Returns would explain the steps taken to ensure accuracy, and it would be seen that the actual consumption per head of population was fractionally less in Ireland than in England and Scotland. Such taxation was undoubtedly a burden on the poorest classes of the community anywhere. It was not a tax he lightly chose, he was not insensible to the objections that could be urged against it, but he had not a very wide field of selection. Revenue had to be raised, and he felt that besides asking a contribution from income-tax payers he should make some demand from the masses of the population, and the tea duty appeared to him as the easiest and most reasonable way of raising part of the money required. The Committee on the previous night had agreed that the tax should be so raised, and he conceived they would also agree that the tax should be levied equally, for separate Exchequers, Custom-houses, and financial systems could not be set up for different parts of the United Kingdom.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT (Monmouthshire, W.) said he had voted against an increase of the tax on tea because it was a tax on the poorer classes of the community, and he should vote against the increase of the duty in Ireland for the still stronger reason that Ireland was the poorer nation. It was a part of the Empire in which, in his opinion, it was singularly unstatesmanlike to increase such a duty. Our financial system did not necessarily require uniformity, and it would not be impossible to exempt Ireland. It was the fault of our fiscal relations that Ireland was not treated as the poorer country. The curious argument of the Chancellor of the Exchequer did not assist him. Of course a poor man in Ireland did not drink more tea than a man in the same position in England, and no doubt because of his poverty he consumed less of many of the necessities of life.

Mr. JOHN REDMOND (Waterford) said he could not quite understand why the Chancellor of the Exchequer had imported the question of the financial relations between Great Britain and Ireland into the debate. The hon. Member who moved the Amendment had abstained from doing so although he would have been perfectly within his right if he had raised the question on every Amendment moved to the Finance Bill. He objected to the Chancellor of the Exchequer doing so; at the same time it was only fair to have a general discussion. It might have been claimed that they had no right to go into the general question on this Amendment, but the right hon. Gentleman thought otherwise and had introduced the general financial relations into this question. The right hon. Gentleman had spoken from figures which he said strengthened him in this matter as it affected Ireland. He objected to a Minister quoting from Returns as to the consumption of tea in Ireland which had not been distributed to Members. They had had reason to object to the right hon. Gentleman doing that a month ago when he made his speech upon the Second Reading of this Bill. A month had passed and his figures had not yet been published, and he complained seriously of the right hon. Gentleman after a month quoting these figures again without producing them. If he had those figures a month ago why did he not produce them and why were they not in their hands? What did those figures mean? He said those new figures showed that compared with the population Ireland did not drink more tea than the rest of Great Britain. What did that prove even if the right hon. Gentleman's figures were correct, which he did not at all admit? How did that advance his case? The Irish case was this, that there were in Ireland, in proportion to the whole population, more people to whom tea was absolutely a necessity of life than there were in this country, and if that statement was true, and he did not know how any man could controvert it who was acquainted with the facts, how did the figures of the right hon. Gentleman help him? His figures did not show that there were many poor people in Ireland to whom it was a necessity of life, or that there was a much larger number of such people than in the rest of Great Britain, and their contention was that there was a much larger number of people in proportion to whom tea was a necessity of life than there was in this country, and that, therefore, the burden that fell upon Ireland was proportionately heavier and greater than the burden that fell upon Great Britain.

There was another matter that differentiated the case of Ireland from that of this country. In this country the invariable financial policy of Government after Government had been to bring down the proportion of indirect taxation, and they boasted that in this country the direct and indirect taxation were about equal. But in Ireland the indirect taxation was something like 80 per cent. of the whole, and, therefore, any general increase of indirect taxation was an additional grievance to Ireland. What did this country do when they wanted additional taxes for the war? They went to the very poorest of the poor, to the people least able to bear them. The Irish people were paying at that time at least 75 per cent. in indirect taxes of the whole taxation of their country. First they went and taxed sugar, then corn, then tea, and then they went to tobacco, and in that way they raised their war taxes in Ireland. They did not raise their war taxes by income-tax. The income-tax yield was found to have fallen away—a pretty good proof of the poverty of the people; whereas its yield in Great Britain had gone on and on increasing, in Ireland it went on diminishing, and so the additional war tax was raised altogether from this indirect taxation. That was to say that Ireland, the one portion of the Empire that was practically unanimously against the war, was the one portion of the Empire where the whole cost was borne by the poorest of the population. That was an additional reason why Ireland had a separate case altogether from Great Britain.

He was sure the Chancellor of the Exchequer remembered what took place when the corn tax was proposed, when the right hon. Member for West Bristol was Chancellor of the Exchequer. Although the Irish representatives did not find that right hon.

Gentleman very easy to get round on financial matters, still he was bound to say that on more than one occasion the right hon. Gentleman showed himself in a sympathetic spirit when a strong case of grievance was made out on behalf of the poor of Ireland in those discussions. What did the right hon. Gentleman do when the corn tax came on—and it was one of the rare cases he remembered when the policy and the taxes and Ministerial legislative proposals had been actually changed by the force of the arguments addressed to Ministers—what happened in the course of the discussion on this corn tax? It was pointed out to the right hon. Gentleman that maize, or Indian meal as it is known in Ireland, formed a large portion of the dietary of the very poorest classes of the population of the South and West and North of Ireland. That was shown to him conclusively, and it was proved to him that the tax on corn would inflict a hardship upon Ireland quite different in its character to any hardships that might be imposed upon this country. The right hon. Gentleman listened and attempted to resist the argument for some time, but he was eventually convinced and he came down to the House and reduced the maize tax by one-half entirely upon the strength of the case made out from Ireland. A similarly strong case had been made with regard to tea. It was as much a necessity of life in the poorest parts of Ireland as maize, and if any one would take the trouble to read the budgets of families given by the Congested Districts Board they would be appalled to find what a large proportion of the whole expenditure of these poor families was made up of tea. Both he and his hon. friends had quoted these budgets over and over again in this House. It was sufficient now to point out here that, in the case of the congested districts, in what was called a well-to-do family with an income of £26 a year as much as £7 or £8 a year was spent on tea. In these circumstances was it not a monstrous hardship that this additional tax should be put upon those poor people—a tax which would wring from them an additional two or three hundred thousand a year. It was a cruel injustice to the poorest of the population, and he congratulated his hon. friend on having put his case so strongly before the House. He appealed to hon. Members in all parts of the House who had any spark of feeling or sympathy with the poor to assist them in the demand which they made.

*MR. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.) said he did not think it would be right to leave all the discussion on this Motion to Nationalist Members. He represented a different part of Ireland, and he could assure the House that the tea tax was as acutely felt in Ulster as in any other part of Ireland. He did not accuse the Chancellor of the Exchequer of any want of sympathy, but he had heard the statement of the right hon. Gentleman with something like astonishment. This was not a proposal for altering the whole system of Irish taxation—he wished it was. The position of Ireland with regard to the question of taxation had become intolerable. There was the rich country England, where taxation was going up by leaps and bounds, and where the population and wealth were increasing; and opposite to that was the poor country Ireland, where the population and wealth were decreasing, and it seemed to be expected that the poor country could keep up with England in the mad race of armaments and taxation. The thing was not possible, and he wished to tell the House frankly that this question of Irish taxation was becoming a serious one in Ireland, and the strain could not much longer be borne. He knew all the difficulties of the Chancellor of the Exchequer; he knew that they were subject to the law of indiscriminate taxation, and the great difficulty there would be in changing it. But, whether the House of Commons liked it or not, they would find speedily that, if the country went on in this mad race of armaments to tax the Irish people as they were doing, and expected Ireland to keep up with England, they were mistaken, and they would plunge Ireland into bankruptcy. The right hon. Member for West Monmouthshire had plainly shown that the question was not whether Ireland consumed more tea per head of the population than England or Scotland, but Ireland's capacity to bear the tax. No doubt there were very poor people in Scotland and England, but at any rate those people managed to get on pretty well as compared with poor Irish people. In thousands and tens of thousands of Irish homes they never saw meat from one year's end to the other. What they lived upon was wretched yellow meal, still more wretched tea, inferior bread, and potatoes. It was thus all nonsense to compare their case with that of the people in England and Scotland. He appealed to hon. Members who advocated preferential treatment for the Colonies to let some preferential treatment be given to Ireland by leaving the tea tax there at 6d. It was not too much to ask that the poor of Ireland should not be subjected to this additional tax. English representatives were responsible for what caused this tax, because they voted for the Boer War, whereas the great bulk of the Irish representatives voted against it; it was only fair therefore that there should be some differentiation in regard to the payment of taxation. Ireland could not afford the reckless extravagance pursued by England. He would vote for this reduction in the taxation of Ireland, and he felt perfectly certain that the day was not far distant when the House would have to face the whole question of the financial relations between England and Ireland.

Mr. FLYNN (Cork County, N.) agreed with the chairman of the Irish Nationalist Party that it was most unfair for the Chancellor of the Exchequer to quote figures from a Return without giving copies of that Return to the House. It was a Rule of the House that a Minister should not quote from any Paper unless copies were in the hands of the House. He could in a very few words prove from such Returns as they had that this increasing of the tea duty was growing more and more intolerable, and becoming a great burden on the poorer classes, not only of Ireland, but of England and Scotland. Hon. Members were entitled to rely on the Treasury Returns. It was not fair that when they had been allowed to wander for ten or twelve years through a maze of figures, they should be suddenly told that those figures were not to be relied upon. Where were hon. Members to get these figures if not from the Treasury; and if the Treasury could not rely on their own figures how were hon. Members to do it? Looking at the last Treasury Returns it was found that in 1898–9, when the duty was 4d. per lb., the amount of tea tax collected in Ireland amounted to £345,000 and in Great Britain to £3,805,000. Of the total amount collected Ireland contributed 8·75 per cent. In 1901 the duty was increased to 6d. per cent, and the amount raised from Ireland rose from £345,000 to £570,000; and in Great Britain the amount collected was £5,957,000. Ireland contributed 8·73 per cent. of the entire revenue from tea. The last Return for 1902–3 showed that with a continuance of the duty at 6d.—it pressed heavier on Ireland in proportion than on Great Britain. The amount produced by the tax in Ireland was £549,000, and in Great Britain £5,687,000. Ireland paid 9 per cent. of the whole of the tea tax levied in the United Kingdom. The increase in the levy in the four years from 1898–9 to 1902–3 was 50 per cent., amounting to over £200,000, and that from the poorest population in Europe. Was that a fair tax which commended itself to the sympathetic judgment of the Chancellor of the Exchequer? It was not necessary to labour the point. The hon. and learned Member for Waterford brought to the recollection of the House that similar case submitted to the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol, in regard to Indian corn. The right hon. Gentleman recognised, after prolonged debate, the justice of the Irish case, acknowledged that it had been made out, and consented to reduce the duty on maize by one-half. That was the reason why the Irish Members pleaded with the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Members of this House on this occasion—the more especially as the figures prepared by the Royal Commission on the financial relations of the two countries showed that Ireland was overtaxed already to the extent of £3,000,000 a year. That grievance instead of being abated, had been increased during the nine years that had elapsed since the issue of the Report of the Royal Commission, and the case was becoming more indefensible and the burden heavier year by year.

MR. LOUGH (Islington, W.) said he agreed with all that had been said by the hon. and learned Member for Waterford as to the figures. He himself had put a Question to the Secretary of the Treasury and got a very courteous reply, but the hon. Gentleman did not account for the disappearance of this important Memorandum. These figures should have been forthcoming before this debate, seeing that the Chancellor of the Exchequer six weeks ago said the old figures were wrong.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said that on that occasion he had told the House that he would not present a document the absolute accuracy of the figures in which he could not guarantee. The Returns were not then complete. He had no desire to keep information back a moment after he was in possession of it. He had no information since the debate to which he had alluded; but he would put hon. Members in possession of the information as soon as possible.

MR. LOUGH said he had no desire to introduce this matter in a controversial spirit, but they had been told that there was a Paper in existence which would reconstruct the whole basis on which the case for Ireland had been built up. He himself did not at all believe in the new figures any more than in the old figures. They never had had a fair statement of this matter. Every figure given by the Treasury as to the taxation of Ireland was doctored. The truth was there was no means of getting correct figures on this matter. By a Treasury Minute, which the House had never sanctioned, in 1823 all the trade in Ireland was treated as coast trade, and the result was that Ireland was the only part of the British Empire, the only island or province, which was cruelly deprived of all information on these vital matters. Would the right hon. Gentleman say that he had told the Customs authorities to obtain the absolute figures as to the consumption of tea and any other articles in Ireland? He knew that the House was going to have another set of fictitious figures presented, and when they came to study them a new Chancellor of the Exchequer would start up and say, "Oh, these figures are wrong." He hoped the Committee would get from some responsible member of the Government a promise that these vital facts relating to Ireland would be given in a correct form and in the only way which would make them valuable.

He was unable entirely to agree with the way in which the case was presented in the eloquent and touching speech of the hon. and learned Member who moved the Motion. The hon. and learned Member expressed sympathy with the poor both in Ireland and in this country as the foundation of the case. That was not the foundation of the case. The hon. and learned Member did not touch the great principle on which his Motion could alone be defended from an Irish standpoint. Of course the Chancellor of the Exchequer took advantage of that, and told the Committee that he felt the sufferings of the poor as much as any one. They believed that. And then the right hon. Gentleman went on to say that the burden of this tax fell with equal weight on persons who were equally poor in both countries. Quite true. But suppose there were 20 per cent. of the very poor in Great Britain who felt this tax as a horrible oppression; and then suppose that the proportion of the very poor in Ireland was 70 per cent., that made all the difference. If the whole of the valuation of Ireland was taken it was found to be only three-eighths per head of what it was in Great Britain. Therefore the whole question depended on what was the proportion of these poor people to whom this tax was oppressive. That raised an important question; but it was equally right for the Committee that night to look at the case not from the standpoint of the individual but from that of the nation. Ireland was a separate entity with separate rights as well as Great Britain. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Monmouth had shown that there had been a complete difference between the taxation of Ireland and Great Britain till 1853, and that there was still a difference. It should be realised what a fearful instrument of oppression it was for one country to select the taxes for another country. The tobacco tax, for instance, had formerly been only one-fourth in Ireland what it was in England, and why should not the tea tax in Ireland be made one-fourth what it was in England? With regard to the collection of the tax the British considered they had a right to collect it. They assumed that as the proportion of men in Ireland to those in England was one to eight, that they should collect what Ireland had to pay. Why did the position of the large country give it a right to fix the tax of the small country? No other island but Ireland had been treated in this way. In this question the relationship of tea as an article of food to the diet of the country had to be considered, and if it stood in a different and more intimate relation to the diet of that country than it did in this the tax became very oppressive. Twenty times as much coffee, five or six times as much cocoa, and more than three times as much meat per head were consumed in this country as was consumed in Ireland. Those facts in themselves showed that the diet of the two countries were essentially different, and this principle of paying an equal tax on staple articles must be very harsh and cruel in its effect. The Government inevitably without knowing it favoured their own country. Take the case of the duty on beer and spirits; they taxed beer low because it was the national drink of the country, and they taxed whiskey high; but whiskey was the national drink of Ireland. The whole case had been summed up by the hon. Member for South Tyrone who had shown that the effect of an equal system of taxation between the two countries was to make the richer country more prosperous and the poorer country still more poor. He opposed this tax because it was cruel and unfair to Ireland.

MR. HEMPHILL (Tyrone, N.) said he joined with his countrymen in the House in applying to the Government to yield to this Amendment. He was against this increase in the tea duty and had voted against it in every division which had been taken on the subject. He strongly objected to its being imposed on Ireland. Already the indirect taxation of Ireland amounted to 80 per cent. of the total taxation, and inasmuch as it was the working classes and the poorer classes upon whom this tax must fall the burden must be exceedingly heavy. The argument that the working classes supported the war and therefore must assist in paying for it could not be held to apply to Ireland, which was unanimous in opposing it, besides which he did not think they should make a tax a punishment. Nor was it any argument to say it would be very difficult to differentiate between Ireland and the rest of the United Kingdom in this matter, because up to a certain period the taxes were altogether different in the two countries and no inconvenience resulted from that experience. It was within the recollection of some in this House that when the income-tax was revived by Sir Robert Peel it was not revived in Ireland for many years after, and that when it was imposed on Great Britain, Ireland was exempted until 1853. The spirit and beer duties were also different, and there were other variations. Was it fair or reasonable that a tax which pressed so unfairly on the people of the two countries should be imposed? Was it fair that the Irish peasant with an income of £12 a year should pay the same direct taxation as the English peasant with an income of £40. It was all very well to speak of equality of taxation, but the fundamental principle of the economic law was that equality of taxation meant equality of sacrifice and not burden. A tea duty of 6d. in Ireland was equivalent to a tea duty of 8d. in this country, and on that principle this Amendment ought to be considered. The Irish peasantry was the worst fed, worst housed, and worst clothed peasantry in Europe, and, notwithstanding that, they were supposed to be equal to bearing the same burden as that borne by the richest peasant not only in Europe but in the whole world. That was the misfortune of the position of Ireland with regard to England. Every year she fell backward in the race of nations whilst England progressed by leaps and bounds in the opposite direction, yet no difference could be made in favour of Ireland when it came to taxation to meet the enormous expenditure.

After hearing the figures quoted by the hon. Member for Donegal and by the hon. Member the Leader of the Irish Party, could it astonish any fair-minded man to find that after so many centuries the Irish people should be dissatisfied and discontented when no effort was made to lift them up from the slough of despondency into which they were cast by poverty? The more they went into the history of Ireland and examined what was now going on and had been going on for the greater part of the last century, they would find that the origin and fountain of it all was the poverty of the people and the difficulties they had to meet in their struggle for life. He had mixed with every class in Ireland and was not a blind observer, and to his own knowledge in the poorest parts of Ireland one of the necessaries of life was tea. Formerly they had potatoes in abundance, but that article of food had almost disappeared; formerly they had in the farmhouses quantities of milk, but they could not now afford to partake of it themselves or give it to their children. As to meat, they formerly perhaps were able to have a small portion on a Sunday, but now they had none. Their whole nourishment was now derived from yellow meal, maize, and inferior flour, baked as well as they could bake it, and tea was the liquid that washed down that not very appetising food. Not only the peasants—not only the workmen—not only their wives and children, but all classes of struggling people in Ireland who were on the very verge of starvation used largely as their beverage tea, which could at once cheer and not intoxicate, and surely that should be the very last subject of taxation. Temperance was preached on every side of the House, and they had rich and wealthy people coming forward to denounce the vice of intemperance, but was the way to promote temperance to put a tax on what alone could be a substitute for alcoholic liquor. Coffee was out of the question in Ireland, and yet the main source of the comfort and almost the subsistence of the Irish people was selected by the present Government to be the principal instrument for swelling up the revenue and enabling them to maintain that waste and extravagance which characterised the whole of their expenditure.

MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL (Oldham) called upon the Chancellor of the Exchequer to give to the Committee the figures to which reference had been made that day. The right hon. Gentleman interrupted the hon. Member for Islington to explain how it was that he had not hitherto produced those figures, but he (Mr. Churchill) did not hear the right hon. Gentleman say when he proposed to produce them.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: The hon. Gentleman will bear in mind that I especially guarded myself——

MR. JOHN REDMOND: Will the right hon. Gentleman give us the figures he quoted a month ago and to which he again referred to-day?

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: I can repeat the figures, subject to the qualifications that obtained a month ago, and if the hon. Gentleman wants them he shall have them. I said, then, I was trying to give the best information in my power and hon. Gentlemen opposite expressed their gratification that I had done the best I could to give them the latest figures. I said those figures were subject to revision and that I could not pledge the authorities to the exact figures I then mentioned. As soon as I am able to give the exact figures they shall be in the possession of the House.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL: On a point of order, Mr. Chairman, I would ask whether any one is entitled to quote figures from any Government Return that he does not lay on the Table of the House?

*THE CHAIRMAN: The Rule has hitherto been that if any Minister quoted from a document he must eventually lay that document on the Table of the House, and I have no doubt that the same rule will apply to the figures quoted in this case. If the Chancellor of the Exchequer quoted certain figures from an official document, it will be his duty to lay those figures on the Table of the House.

MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL said after that ruling he concluded that the Chancellor of the Exchequer would at once take steps to lay on the Table of the House the document which a month ago he considered sufficiently complete and accurate to use for the purpose of debate. The right hon. Gentleman had said that he would lay the figures on the Table as soon as possible, but they were entitled to insist that they should be laid, not sooner than possible, but forthwith. It might be quite true that some note would have to be appended qualifying the figures and explaining that there might be some possibility of error. If that proved to be the case the House would not complain of the information being in an incomplete form. In his short experience of the House he had found Ministers ready to say they would produce something as soon as possible. They were going to produce the Army scheme as soon as possible, but the House was put off from day to day, from week to week, and from month to month, and they had never succeeded in arriving at anything definite. The Chancellor of the Exchequer was not even so definite about these figures as the Prime Minister was about the date of introducing the Army scheme. He (Mr. Churchill) did not suppose that the figures in the admittedly incomplete and inaccurate form were of vital importance, but as a point of order and in defence of the rights of the Committee and of the House of Commons they were bound to insist that the rules should be carried out and that documents from which Ministers quoted should be produced and laid on the Table of the House.

His hon. friend the Member of Tyrone used an expression which encouraged him to intervene a moment in this discussion. The hon. Gentleman said this was a preferential Amendment and proposed a preference to Ireland. It was quite true that this Amendment sought to limit and impair the operation of the tea tax by excluding from its scope one part of the British Empire. The hon. Member who moved the Amendment could not have been encouraged by the treatment meted out to a similar Amendment which he (Mr. Churchill) had ventured to move on the preceding night. He hoped the hon. Gentleman's Amendment would meet with more respectful treatment than was accorded to his own, which was designed to exempt Ceylon and our possessions in India. There was a very good reason why this Amendment should be treated with more respect and should meet with a greater measure of support in the division lobby than was accorded to that designed to give colonial preference, because, comparing the claims of Canada and Ireland to a preference, there could not be the slightest doubt that with regard to Imperial taxation the claims of Ireland were far greater than those of Canada. Ireland contributed very much more to Imperial taxation than did all the Colonies put together. Ireland sent more soldiers to South Africa for the war than went from the Colonies, and in addition to those reasons Ireland was a much poorer country than Canada. The latter was a progressive country, whilst Ireland alone amongst the ancient civilised nations in Europe was declining in wealth and general prosperity. Those were sufficient reasons to compel him, as he voted on the previous night for the exemption of Ceylon and India from this tax, to vote for the exemption of Ireland. Frankly, he was against this great increase of tax on tea. He thought it would have been very much better, more prudent, and would have conduced to content and financial economy if the burden thrown on the country at large had been defrayed much more substantially out of the income-tax. He would have liked to see the expenditure on our vast armaments thrown to a far greater measure on the more wealthy people of this country. That class was amused and interested by international complications to a much greater degree than was the great democratic class who had not the leisure to study the questions. If the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer had chosen to meet the deficit with which he was confronted—not through his own fault, but through the policy of which he heartily approved—by making a greater demand on the direct taxpayer——

*THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member is making a Second Reading speech. I must ask him to confine himself to the subject of the Amendment.

MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL said he was explaining to the Committee the reasons which induced him to accept every opportunity of expressing his hostility to the tea tax. The argument brought forward by the hon. Member for Waterford was familiar to the House and had been submitted on many occasions. So long as taxation was at a low level it might be possible that the same system of taxation that was adapted to England was also adapted to Ireland, but in proportion as the expenditure increased it was quite certain that an increased measure of suffering must fall on the weaker partner. He felt himself bound to point out how it was that the height to which they had raised expenditure brought much sooner to the arena of practical politics the questions of having a separate Exchequer for Ireland, and a fixed contribution paid at stated periods. They would, no doubt, have a future opportunity for discussing those questions, but he ventured to say that the treatment which the Chancellor of the Exchequer had accorded to the Amendment had been hard, unbending, and unsympathetic, and he did not think the tone he had adopted, any more than the frequent use of the Closure, was likely to facilitate the passage of the Budget Bill.

MR. CLANCY (Dublin County, N.) said there were two matters in connection with the speech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to which he wished to refer. The first was the curious fact that the information which had usually been furnished before the present period of the session had been delayed until after the discussion in Committee. It looked very like a deliberate delay in order to deprive Irish Members of the opportunity of examining the document to see whether or not the figures were accurate. The second matter was more important. As he understood, the right hon. Gentleman had announced that these Returns were in future to be drawn up on a different basis. That not being contradicted, he assumed that, without notice to Parliament or any Irish Member, the Treasury, at the direction of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, or somebody else, had entered upon an important alteration in the method of calculating the financial relations between England and Ireland. He objected to any such swindle being perpetrated where such vast interests were at stake. ["Order, order!"] If it was not a swindle let the right hon. Gentleman explain what it was. In the Second Reading debate the right hon. Gentleman said that the results of the annual Returns would be somewhat different this year, but nobody gathered from that statement that a change would be made in the method of calculation. The right hon. Gentleman now plainly declared that the method adopted in the past inaccurately showed the movements of trade, and that a new method was to be adopted in the future. Such a fundamental alteration made by one of the parties to an agreement, without notice to the other party or to Parliament, was capable of covering any swindle, and in these circumstances he felt it his duty to put certain questions which he would not otherwise have asked in regard to these Returns. Who initiated the change about to be affected ?

*THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member is getting away from the Amendment before the Committee.

MR. CLANCY said that his excuse, in fact his justification, for what he had said was that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had introduced the matter.

*THE CHAIRMAN: I took no exception to what the hon. Member had said hitherto, but when he proceeded to say that he intended to make a series of inquiries as to the method in which these Returns were prepared, and so forth, I thought those matters would be outside the subject matter of the discussion raised by this Amendment.

MR. CLANCY said that as a matter of fact he had not intended to submit a catechism on the present occasion, but merely to suggest one or two points to which the right hon. Gentleman might turn his attention, and to which Irish Members would undoubtedly give consideration. After the Chairman's intimation, however, he would not pursue the subject further. As to the rest of the case, the speech of the right hon. Gentleman was of the old familiar type, beginning with expressions of sympathy, but containing no practical suggestions for giving effect to those sympathetic utterances. Not only was the case proved for the Amendment, but the time was opportune for granting some measure of justice to Ireland in this matter. He said that the case was proved, because neither on the Second Reading nor on the present occasion had the right hon. Gentlemen attempted to answer the arguments put forward by the representatives of Ireland. The exemption of Ireland from the operation of the increase of the tax was said to be impracticable, but how could a scheme which had been in operation for many years be impracticable? This sort of legislation was usual up to 1853. Even after the amalgamation of the Exchequers taxes were levied in England and not in Ireland, and other taxes levied in England at one rate were levied in Ireland at a lower rate; and this Amendment merely proposed that in the case of a tax which affected the poorest of the population there should be a reversion to that practice on a small scale. What had been done once could be done again; therefore there was no weight in the argument of impracticability. But if the right hon. Gentleman regarded it as an impracticable proposal, why did he not suggest some other method to give effect to the sympathy which he had expressed. He had at his command an abundance of the best paid legal expert assistance to be obtained in the British Empire, and if he liked he could within a very few hours produce an alternative scheme by which Ireland would be given the relief she desired. A man who expressed sympathy, and practically admitted the case to be a just one, but failed to take advantage of the expert assistance at his command with a view to giving practical effect to his sympathy, seemed to be convicted of something very like hypocrisy. The right hon. Gentleman seemed to admit the whole case when he admitted that this tax on tea affected the poor. That was the very point of the whole case. This tax affected Ireland more than was the case in England and Scotland, because there were more poor in Ireland. The right hon. Gentleman said he had selected this tax because it was the fairest and the easiest way of raising the additional taxation he required. It certainly was the easiest way, but he questioned whether, after that debate, anyone would venture to say that it was the fairest. He wished to allude to the motive underlying this persistent treatment of Ireland for the last sixty or seventy years. They had often been reproached for imputing to successive Governments malignant intentions towards Ireland. But supposing he withdrew that charge, what remained? Simply that the Chancellor of the Exchequer and successive British Governments had acted with an entire absence of regard for Ireland, that they had never considered the true interests of Ireland; had paid no regard to her needs, circumstances and requirements, and had never realised that—

> "Evil is wrought by want of thought, as well as want of heart."

Therefore they need not be surprised when Irishmen endeavoured to make the strongest protest they could against the continuance of this policy.

*Mr. FIELD (Dublin, St. Patrick) said that Ireland had always been regarded as a separate fiscal entity in matters of taxation according to the union treaty and the findings of the Royal Commissions on the Financial Relations, therefore Ireland was entitled to separate treatment. Anyone who studied current politics at home or abroad must be aware that political oppression had not always taken the form of shooting down the people, but in civilised communities when the strong desired to oppress the weak that oppression generally took the form of taxation. Those who inquired into Irish history would find that notwithstanding Coercion Acts, the most fatal legislation passed for Ireland was that which instituted a system of taxation by which they were absolutely being taxed and emigrated out of existence. This was being very cleverly accomplished and it was being done in a way that enriched England. Ireland complained that the present system of national book-keeping had been erroneous and ruinous. With regard to this question of tea, the Committee should remember that just as the Irish and the English Exchequers were amalgamated, so were other Departments. They had no separate branch of the Board of Trade for Ireland, consequently all exports and imports were treated as coasting trade, and they had no reliable information as to what was imported into Ireland or what was exported from it. That showed the necessity for a new system being adopted whereby they could separate the Irish exports and imports from those of Great Britain. If they wished to have a correct system of taxation, whereby the incidence of taxation would be just and fair, some such system would have to be devised. The result was that in Ireland the whole system of taxation had become more or less discredited. There was one point of view which had not been touched upon. Recently they had had in the House a great deal of temperance oratory in regard to the licensing question. This tax upon tea would undoubtedly have a certain amount of influence upon temperance, for anything that would cause tea to become dearer would have the effect of driving people to imbibe spirituous liquors, and from this point of view the tea tax was entitled to more consideration than it had yet received. The effect of taxing tea might be that the retailer would not increase the price, but the tea would be reduced in quality, and therefore an inferior quality of tea might be sold and there would be a smaller consumption. This tea duty affected a greater number of people in Ireland in ratio to the population, by reason of the fact that the Irish people consumed more tea proportionately than any other part of the three kingdoms. He was intimately acquainted with the habits of the poor people in Ireland and he wished to impress upon the Committee that in recent years the whole system of living in the country districts had changed, and the element of tea now entered much more largely into consumption than it used to do in former years.

There was one other point he wished to impress upon the Committee. He warned hon. Members in all seriousness that this question of taxation in Ireland had become so intolerable that really the burden was almost impossible to bear, and it was driving the people to seriously consider whether they ought to resist in future the collection of Imperial taxation. What they objected to was that they had not the management of their own affairs in this matter. He warned the right hon. Gentleman that if the taxes in Ireland were increased to such an intolerable extent undoubtedly public opinion would be exercised to know what would be the best way of meeting the difficulty. He had always the courage of his convictions, and he declared that, in his opinion, the proper way for the Irish people to meet the question of over-taxation would be to strike against the payment of all Imperial taxation. He was quite aware that was an unconstitutional idea, and that if he were to give utterance to it outside this House he might be subject to prosecution and imprisonment. But in that case he would not be the first Irishman who had been imprisoned in a good cause. It might come to that, because undoubtedly the burden of Imperial taxation had become so great that people were being taxed and emigrated out of the country. They did not know how to get a remedy. It might be said that this was the mother of Parliaments and that the British people would see that Ireland got fair play. One of the main planks in their system of Government was that there should be no taxation without representation. Ireland had representation here, but it was always over-ruled. No matter what view the Irish Members might take, their opinion was voted down. Although in theory they might be represented, in fact the representation had no effect. He hoped the Chancellor of the Exchequer would give due consideration to the views which had been put forward from the Irish Benches that afternoon.

The right hon. Gentleman might usefully remember that the enforcement of a tax upon tea was the lever which operated to raise the American Republic, and history had a habit of repeating such occurrences.

Captain NORTON (Newington, W.) said that though he represented a London working-class constituency he desired, as an Irishman, to take part in this debate. If the protest against this tax on the part of English working-class constituencies was a good one, it must necessarily be a very much better one with reference to the poor of Ireland. His experience went to show that the working classes of this country desired to do common justice towards the working classes of Ireland. If, as had been stated, the working classes of this country supported the Government in regard to the South African War, it should be remembered that the Irish people almost to a man had protested against the war. In fairness it must be acknowledged that, in a certain sense, no portion of the people did their duty better than the Irish in South Africa. They gave all they had to give. They gave their blood. Yet their friends were to be taxed, not in the same proportion as English working men, but in a far heavier proportion. They were to have a tax of 8d. on tea which was not worth 8d. a pound in itself. The working classes in England lived far better now than forty or fifty years ago, whereas the Irish people lived far worse. Tea of the worst quality was substituted now for milk and other articles of diet. Porridge of Indian meal or oatmeal, when coupled with milk, was a fair diet, but when it was coupled with tea it was practically no diet at all. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had expressed sympathy with Ireland, but if he had any real sympathy he might forego the £200,000 he was going to get through this tax from the peasantry of Ireland when he could get the money with great ease from some other sources. A few years ago he went to Ireland after an absence of many years, and he was shocked at the state of the country. There was no improvement of any kind. There had been not only a tremendous decrease in the population, but what was worse a decrease in the character of the population. There were old people and young children in the country. The remainder of the population of mature years were those who were kept in the country from some special motive, or who had not the courage and determination to go to America and the Colonies in order to better themselves. By increasing the duty on tea the Government were putting a crushing tax on the poorest of the poor in Ireland. It was said that tea was a wholesome beverage. It might be so. It was not detrimental as prepared in Russia where the peasantry consumed it in large quantities. In Ireland it was a rank decoction of the worst quality of tea. According to some authorities the increase of insanity in Ireland was due to the consumption of immense quantities of a decoction of low-class tea. There could be little doubt that insanity had been accentuated to a very great degree in Ireland in consequence of the people not having sufficient nourishment. The Chancellor of the Exchequer said that the tax was fractionally lower than in England. That was certainly not the case if they took into consideration not only the quantity but the quality of the tea. It was a monstrous thing that, for the sake of a few hundred thousand pounds, considering the injustice Ireland laboured under, this extra tax should be imposed.

Mr. SLOAN (Belfast, S.) said Ireland as a whole was against taxation. Taxation of any description was a most unpopular thing. In fact England was against the enormous taxation at the present time. It was inconsistent for hon. Members opposite to be against preference in other parts of His Majesty's dominions and yet to favour preference for Ireland. A great deal, however, had been said from the Irish Benches that he entirely agreed with. Ireland being a part of the United Kingdom she should pay her part of the taxes. The hon. Member for the St. Patrick Division of Dublin said that what they objected to was that they had not the management of their own affairs. That was just the crux of the whole thing. Every injustice that was done to Ireland was, according to some hon. Members, because there was not an Irish Parliament. The hon. Member who had just sat down had said that this tax could be taken from other sources with ease. If that was the fact he was quite willing that it should be taken from other sources, and that tea not only in Ireland but in this country should be left alone. It must not be forgotten that while Ireland was the poorest part of the United Kingdom, there were other poor people in this country who would also suffer through this taxation — people who went for their halfpennyworth of tea. It was a universally unpopular tax for the poor, and if something else could be substituted it would mean a great benefit to the poor, and certainly it would be acceptable to the Irish Members in the House. He was always glad to associate himself with any legitimate and fair demand made from the Irish Benches. This Government had done some unpopular things for Ireland, it had done some unpopular things for England, and it would perhaps do more unpopular things before it had done with the country; but what he maintained was that while they remained a Unionist Government, and while there were Unionist Members representing constituencies in the North of Ireland, they had a perfect right to say that Ireland had no more claim for differentiation in this particular case than England or Scotland. They felt, he admitted, taxation was a most unpopular thing, and, although they desired to make the course of the poor of Ireland more smooth, when it came to a proposal for differentiating between Ireland and the rest of the United Kingdom, it was time a line was drawn, and that Irish Members from the Unionist Benches should get up and make a protest. He wished to make a simple and humble protest against this idea of preference, and he hoped that some hon. Gentleman would give some idea as to a plan for a substitute for the tea tax which the Chancellor of the Exchequer might consider. If that were done and some other reasonable tax were selected instead of the present proposal he would be glad to give it his support.

MR. SHEEHY (Meath, S.) said that the objection to giving preference to Ireland was, to his mind, ridiculous. At present the only preference given to Ireland was the preference of burden. The sympathy of the Chancellor of the Exchequer for Ireland was spoiled by the right hon. Gentleman's remark in his speech that it would be inconvenient to the Government to frame regulations by which Ireland would be free from this tea tax. The tax was imposed to pay for the South African War. This country had started that war gaily, but Ireland had protested against it. England had called the tune and ought to pay the piper. It had been acknowledged that the Irish soldiers had fought the Boers with bravery, and the relatives of the Irish soldiers who bled for England in that war were now being called upon for a double dose of bleeding—a bleeding of their sons and brothers and husbands and a bleeding of taxation—all to forward Imperial interests. Ireland derived no benefit from that war in any shape or form, and yet to pay for it the poorest of the poor were to be exceptionally taxed on their main articles of consumption. Surely the Chancellor of the Exchequer could have found another method of raising the few hundred thousand pounds he wanted. He did not think even if the Amendment were carried that the right hon. Gentleman's Finance Bill would be wrecked. It was the bounden duty of the Irish Members to insist, although they were in a hopeless minority, on making a protest against this treatment so long as they had the misfortune to come to this House at all.

MR. POWER (Waterford, E.) said it had been generally acknowledged that the present system of taxation had done infinite harm to Ireland. They had had a speech from the Chancellor of the Exchequer in which that right hon. Gentleman expressed sympathy for Ireland; but he also used an argument which they had heard so often before, and which had been largely used in this country during the last ten years. The right hon. Gentleman said that there were various taxes which were levied in England and not in Ireland, and he argued that, therefore, Ireland was exceptionally treated. But, as his hon. and gallant friend below him had shown, these taxes, such as the tax on armorial bearings and menservants, were not imposed in Ireland because they would not be worth the cost of collection. The Union had ruined the gentry of Ireland, or had driven them from the country. They had all listened with interest to the speech with which the hon. Member for Donegal had introduced his Motion. It commanded the attention of the House all the more because of its very moderation. But, speaking of the cond tion of the people of Ireland, the hon. Member alluded to the fact that the peasants used butter almost daily at their meals. He himself could not speak for the people of Donegal, but, in his own part of the country, he knew that butter was an unknown food for the peasants. Their breakfast, dinner, and supper consisted altogether of tea and very indifferent bread. Further than that, a number of small farmers in his own constituency did not use butter, and he knew of cases where they had not even milk to their tea. Consequently, his hon. and learned friend had understated his case. Personally, he did not approve of the large amount of tea that was consumed by the Irish people. He thought that both morally and physically they were better men and women when they lived on a vegetable diet. But that diet was out of the question at the present time. It was all very well to say that they should drink cocoa, but every halfpenny was of importance to these people whose wages were often not more than 6s. a week. Tea was cheaper than cocoa or coffee, and people in Ireland drank tea for that reason. Although he objected to the large consumption of tea in Ireland, he was afraid that the effect of this tax would be that the quality of the tea used would be very much inferior to that now used. He differed to some extent from the remarks of his hon. and gallant friend, because he thought that, considering the means of the people, the quality of the tea now used was remarkably good. The effect of the imposition of this extra taxation would be, not to reduce the consumption of tea, but the quality of the tea consumed, and he feared that the general health of the people would not be improved.

Why was indirect taxation increased as it was being increased? It had been proved beyond aye or nay that indirect taxation weighed most heavily on the poor and on the poorest parts of the country, and consequently hit Ireland severely. But how did the right hon. Gentleman deal with direct and indirect taxation? At present direct taxation was 20 per cent. lower than it was during the war, whereas indirect taxation was 33 per cent. greater than during the war. The increase in indirect taxation was, no doubt, imposed in the first instance as a war tax. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol, when he introduced it, said it was a war tax, and that it was only fair that teetotalers who approved of the war should be called upon to pay something towards the expense of the war. He did not, however, understand why indirect taxation should be increased and direct taxation reduced. The present position in Ireland recalled to the mind of every student of history what was predicted with regard to taxation. Curran said that the Union would mean British taxation without the advantage of British trade. That turned out to be true. As had been pointed out by various Members, Ireland occupied an an exceptional position. She was exceptionally poor, and rightly or wrongly—he believed rightly—she protested against the war for which this taxation was imposed. She had no act or part in the origin of the war, and it was monstrous that she should be called upon to pay a large penalty in connection with it.

MR. MURPHY (Kerry, E.) said that his hon. friend who stated that every Irish Member should take part in this debate gave very good advice; because it seemed to him that the grievance which had been brought forward had been so well sustained by argument that no answer could be given to it. One fact that struck him in connection with the debate was that the Chief Secretary, the Irish Attorney-General, and the Solicitor-General for England who represented an Irish constituency, did not think it worth their while to be present to hear arguments connected with the taxation of Ireland. That remark also applied to hon. Members from Ulster, with the exception of the hon. Member for South Tyrone and the hon. Member for South Belfast. No one, however, expected the hon. Member for South Belfast to give any light or leading in connection with a financial discussion; and he did not think that the hon. Gentleman's remarks in the debate disclosed any knowledge of the circumstances connected with the taxation of tea. Even his leader—if he were his leader—the right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Armagh, attended a meeting in Ireland connected with the financial relations, in which he declared that Ireland was overtaxed to the extent of £2,500,000 per annum. It seemed to him that the arguments that had been advanced were unanswerable. The hon. Gentleman the Member for West Islington, who always said something interesting when he spoke on Irish financial questions, pointed out that whereas this tax affected 30 per cent. of the population of this country, it affected 70 per cent. of the population of Ireland, owing to their extreme poverty. The hon. Member who initiated the discussion spoke of Donegal. It was the same in Kerry. Tea was one of the necessities of life for the poor; and the imposition of this additional tax would press very heavily indeed upon them. As one who had some connection with the retail trade in Ireland, he was perfectly confident that the result would be that the quality of the tea would be reduced. The debate disclosed how really hopeless it was for Irish Members to seek a solution of the financial grievance or any other grievance until they had a Government of their own, that could understand Irish questions and apply proper remedies. They could not expect a British Government, ill-informed, and out of touch with the country, to deal with these questions. He could only repeat what had been said by a hon. friend that the imposition of taxation had become such a grievance in Ireland that the people were justified in striking against taxation altogether. They were told by the Chancellor of the Exchequer that an inquiry would be put in operation by the Treasury in order to ascertain how taxation affected people in Ireland. The Irish Members ought to make a strong protest against any such proceeding, adopted behind their backs, and without their being given any means of discussing the proposal or the methods to be pursued. From experience they knew very well that when the Treasury came to deal with Ireland, it would deal with the country in an improper and unjust manner. They knew very well that the additional taxation was a result of war expenditure, over which the Irish Members had no control and against which they protested. It had been remarked that Irish soldiers had participated in the successful fight which had been waged on behalf of England in South Africa; but there were very many Irishmen who, like himself, regretted that Irish soldiers had been engaged in such nefarious and improper proceedings. If Irish soldiers only realised how little success attended appeals from Ireland in consequence of the assistance they had rendered during the war they would come to the conclusion that it would be much better for Irishmen to remain outside the Army.

*THE CHAIRMAN: This has nothing to do with the Amendment.

MR. MURPHY said it might not have anything to do with the Amendment in a direct sense; but he was referring to arguments which had been used by other speakers. He only wished to emphasise the fact that they regretted that Ireland had had any connection with the war, through Irish soldiers or otherwise. Because of the large amount of improper taxation which would be dragged from Ireland, he hoped that every Irish Member would protest against this additional duty.

MR. HAVILAND BURKE (King's County, Tullamore) said the whole argument of the hon. Member for South Belfast was based on the assumption that Ireland had not been joined to England by an Act of Union which was as solemn, emphatic, and distinct a treaty as was ever contracted between two nations. A reference to the Parliamentary Debates of the period during which Pitt brought forward his famous eight Resolutions for the Act of Union would show that even Pitt, whatever his sins against Ireland and the Irish might have been, and however base might be considered the methods by which he achieved his object, argued, as regards to financial relations between the two countries, that they should not be in common, that Ireland should be treated as a separate entity, and that the proportion of taxation should be considered as separate and apart. For a Unionist Member of Parliament to attempt to go back upon William Pitt on one of the most important and essential parts of the treaty was an extraordinary line to adopt. Some hon. Members seem to labour under the impression that the Act of Union converted Ireland into thirty-two British counties. It did nothing of the kind. It made a separate entity of Ireland, with a separate Government, a separate Executive, and a separate everything, and it acknowledged that taxation was to be levied on a separate basis. He submitted, therefore, that to adopt the line of argument followed by the hon. Member for South Belfast was not only morally unfair, but constitutionally wrong. So far from differentiation being an absurd claim, it was *per se* an essentially constitutional claim, warranted in every possible way.

MR. JOSEPH DEVLIN (Kilkenny, N.), as an Ulsterman, though not an Ulster representative, protested against the absence of almost the entire representation of the North of Ireland from the discussion of this important question. Whenever a further lease of coercion was under consideration, the Unionist Party of Ulster were present in solid array, but when the question under discussion was one affecting the conditions and necessities of the poorest of the people, and when there was an opportunity for them to utilise the influence which they unquestionably possessed in order to secure a reduction of taxation, those hon. Members were not in the House of Commons at all, but selected as the one financial representative of intelligent Ulster the hon. Member for South Belfast. The hon. Member had put forward the extraordinary proposition that the true function of an Irish Member was to accept every impost put upon Ireland by the British Parliament. A more preposterous proposition was never placed before the House of Commons. The business of all Irish Members, whether Unionist or Nationalist, was mutually to protect their country from the terrible drain, both in taxation and population, placed upon it by England. The proposal of the Amendment was that Ireland ought not to be called upon to bear an increase of taxation, but here was the democratic Member, returned against the old gang to represent the enlightened principles of the new and glorified democracy of Belfast, actually putting forward a preposterous argument in favour of the continuance of heavy taxation. The hon. Member had said that it was his duty to support everything done by a Unionist Government. Why, then, did he revolt on the question of the drainage of the Bann? If it was necessary to revolt on that simple question, surely it was far more important to revolt against an attempt still further to tax the poor of Ireland. It was satisfactory to know, however, that when the hon. Member spoke of the Unionist Party in this House he spoke of a force which soon would be non-existent. The day of the Unionists in Ulster was over; the people in the North of Ireland were beginning to recognise that with the passage of landlordism the necessity for the maintenance of an ascendancy force to back up and defend the continued robbery of an impoverished country was no longer necessary. He protested against the increased duty on tea because it was an additional tax upon not only a luxury but a necessity of the people, and because it imposed a further burden of £250,000 per annum upon a country already overtaxed. A Commission of financial experts had decided that Ireland was overtaxed to the extent of £2,500,000 a year, but in four years, in consequence of a war for which the Irish people were not responsible, an additional sum of nearly £8,000,000 would have been imposed. He made his protest merely as a matter of form, as no logic, however irresistible, coming from the Nationalist Benches would have any effect upon the Government. But by his speaking he had done his duty to his constituents, and no desire for favours to come would prevent him from raising his voice against what he considered to be a public robbery.

Mr. SYDNEY BUXTON (Tower Hamlets, Poplar) said the Nationalist Members had completely made out their case, and he should certainly support the Amendment. On the first opportunity of protesting against this additional duty on tea, those with whom he acted spoke and voted against it on the general ground that if additional taxation was required this year, it ought to be obtained not by indirect taxation at all, and certainly not from an article of consumption used by the poorest of the people, but by another 1d. on the income-tax. He should support the Amendment, in the first place, because, the addition to the tea duty being in itself an evil, he desired to limit the evil as far as possible, and, in the second place, because it had been conclusively proved that this additional 2d. would fall with special severity on the Irish peasant and the poorest people of the country. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had argued that if the 2d. were remitted in the case of Ireland, there would be cases in Ireland in which people would be relieved who were perfectly able to pay the duty, while, on the other hand, there would be people in the United Kingdom paying the duty who were just as poor as some of the peasants of Ireland who would be relieved. That was perfectly true. Any proposal of this sort was bound to create certain anomalies, but taking the whole situation in Ireland, it was clear to his mind that the extra 2d. would fall with much greater severity on the population of Ireland as a whole than on the population of England as a whole. It had also to be remembered that this was not really a question of the amount of revenue involved. An hon. Member had placed the amount at £250,000. As far as he could make out the reduction of revenue involved was about £180,000, but even if it were £250,000 it would be a very small amount if something considerable was to be gained by the concession. He desired to make an appeal to the Chancellor of the Exchequer in the same way as an appeal was made two years ago to one of his predecessors. In that case the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol had proposed to include maize in his taxation on corn, but on its being represented that the duty would fall with special severity on the poorest inhabitants of Ireland, he recognised the justice of the contention, and reduced the duty on maize by one-half. That was practically on all fours with what the Chancellor of the Exchequer was now asked to do, and he hoped the right hon. Gentleman would see his way to meet the special circumstances of the present case in a similar manner.

Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: I beg to make an urgent appeal to the Committee to come to a decision on this question. It has been very fully discussed, the tax is not a new one, there is simply an addition made to it this year, it raises no new principle, and we have spent the whole of yesterday and the whole of this afternoon without making any but the smallest progress with the Bill. Under these circumstances I venture to ask the Committee to come now to a decision, at any rate, upon this Amendment.

Mr. CULLINAN (Tipperary, S.) thought it was the duty of the Nationalist Members to continue the debate as long as they possibly could in order to extract from the Chancellor of the Exchequer something more than an expression of sympathy and a request to be silent. The right hon. Gentleman had stated that the figures quoted in past years were misleading, and that he had now obtained a new set of figures which altered the situation. Those figures, however, had not been placed before the Committee, and until the Return was published they would adhere to their former arguments. The arguments put forward in the present debate had been quite as strong as those used in regard to the corn duty, when the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol gave way to the views of the Irish Members, and the present Chancellor of the Exchequer would act wisely and well in following the precedent then set by his predecessor. The tax on tea involved a very great hardship on the poorest people in Ireland, and by increasing the duty the right hon. Gentleman would reduce the quality of the tea consumed and seriously injure the health of the people. He entered his strongest protest against the proposal of the Government, and hoped the Amendment would be supported.

Mr. Austen Chamberlain rose in his place, and claimed to move "That the Question be now put."

Question put, "That the Question be now put."

The Committee divided:—Ayes, 260; Noes, 194. (Division List No. 163.)

AYES.

Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
Aird Sir John
Allhusen, Augustus Hen. Eden
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arrol, Sir William
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Aubrey-Fletcher, Rt.Hn.Sir H.
Bailey, James (Walworth)
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour, Rt.Hon. A.J.(Manch'r
Balfour, Capt. C. B. (Hornsey)
Balfour, Rt. Hon. G.W. (Leeds)
Balfour, Kenneth R. (Christch.
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Beckett, Ernest William
Bentinck, Lord Henry C.
Bignold, Arthur
Bigwood, James
Bill, Charles
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Boscawen, Arthur Griffith-
Boulnois, Edmund
Bousfield, William Robert
Bowles,Lt.-Col.H.F.(Middlesex
Brassey, Albert
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Bull, William James
Butcher, John George
Campbell, Rt.Hn.J.A.(Glasgow
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Cautley, Henry Strother

Cavendish, R. F. (N. Lancs.)
Cavendish, V.C.W. (Derbyshire
Cayzer, Sir Charles William
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Cecil, Lord Hugh (Greenwich)
Chamberlain, Rt.Hon.J.(Birm.
Chamberlain,Rt Hn.J.A(Worc.
Chamberlayne, T. (S'thampton
Chaplin, Rt. Hon. Henry
Chapman, Edward
Charrington, Spencer
Clive, Captain Percy A.
Coates, Edward Feetham
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Coddington, Sir William
Coghill, Douglas Harry
Cohen, Benjamin Louis
Collings, Rt. Hon. Jesse
Colomb, Rt.Hn. Sir John C. R.
Colston, Chas. Edw. H. Athole
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Craig, CharlesCurtis(Antrim,S.)
Cripps, Charles Alfred
Cross, Alexander (Glasgow)
Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Cubitt, Hon. Henry
Dalkeith, Earl of
Davenport, William Bromley
Denny, Colonel
Dewar,Sir T.R.(Tower Hamlets
Dickson, Charles Scott
Dickson-Poynder, Sir John P.
Digby, John K. D. Wingfield-
Dimsdale, Rt.Hn. Sir Joseph C.
Dixon-Hartland, SirFredDixon
Doughty, George
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Doxford, Sir William Theodore
Duke, Henry Edward
Durning-Lawrence, Sir Edwin
Dyke, Rt.Hn. Sir William Hart
Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
Fardell, Sir T. George
Fergusson,Rt.Hn.Sir J.(Manc'r
Fielden, Edward Brocklehurst
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
Firbank, Sir Joseph Thomas
Fisher, William Hayes
Fison, Frederick William
FitzGerald,Sir Robert Penrose-
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Flower, Sir Ernest
Forster, Henry William
Foster, P. S. (Warwick, S.W.)
Galloway, William Johnson
Gardner, Ernest
Garfit, William
Gordon, Hn.J.E.(Elgin&Nairn)
Gordon, J. (Londonderry, S.)
Gore,Hn.G.R.C.Ormsby-(Salop
Gore, Hon. S.F.Ormsby-(Linc.)
Goulding, Edward Alfred
Graham, Henry Robert
Greene,Sir E.W(B'rySEdm'nds
Greene, Henry D.(Shrewsbury)
Grenfell, William Henry
Gretton, John
Greville, Hon. Ronald
Gunter, Sir Robert
Hain, Edward
Hall, Edward Marshall
Halsey, Rt. Hon. Thomas F.
Hamilton,RtHn.LordG(Midd'x
Hardy, L. (Kent, Ashford)
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Harris, F. Leverton(Tynem'th)
Haslett, Sir James Horner
Hatch, Ernest Frederick Geo.
Heath, James (Staffords., N.W.
Heaton, John Henniker
Helder, Augustus
Henderson, Sir A. (Stafford,W.
Hickman, Sir Alfred
Hoare, Sir Samuel
Hobhouse,RtHnH.(Somers't,E
Hogg, Lindsay
Hope, J.F.(Sheffield,Brightside
Hornby, Sir William Henry
Horner, Frederick William
Houldsworth, Sir Wm. Henry
Hoult, Joseph
Howard,Jn. (Kent, Faversham
Howard, J. (Midd.,Tottenham)
Hozier, Hn. James Henry Cecil
Hudson, George Bickersteth
Hunt, Rowland
Jebb, Sir Richard Claverhouse
Jeffreys,Rt. Hon. Arthur Fred.
Johnstone, Heywood (Sussex)
Kennaway,Rt.Hn.Sir John H.
Kenyon, Hn. Geo. T. (Denbigh)
Kenyon-Slaney, Col. W. (Salop
Kimber, Henry
King, Sir Henry Seymour
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
Lawson, J. Grant (Yorks., N.R.
Lee, A. H. (Hants., Fareham)
Lees, Sir Elliott (Birkenhead).
Leveson-Gower, Frederick N.S
Loder, Gerald Walter Erskine
Long, Rt.Hn.Walter(Bristol,S.
Lowe, Francis William
Lowther, C. (Cumb., Eskdale)
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas, Reginald J.(Portsmouth
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
Macdona, John Cumming
MacIver, David (Liverpool)
Maconochie, A. W.
M'Arthur, Charles (Liverpool)
M'Killop, James (Stirlingshire)
Majendie, James A. H.
Malcolm, Ian
Martin, Richard Biddulph
Melville, Beresford Valentine
Meysey-Thompson, Sir H. M.
Milner, Rt.Hn. Sir Frederick G.
Milvain, Thomas
Mitchell, William (Burnley)
Molesworth, Sir Lewis
Montagu, G. (Huntingdon)
Montagu, Hn. J. Scott (Hants.)
Moon, Edward Robert Pacy
Morpeth, Viscount
Morrison, James Archibald
Morton, Arthur H. Aylmer
Mount, William Arthur
Mowbray, Sir Robert Gray C.
Muntz, Sir Philip A.
Murray, Rt. Hon. A. G. (Bute)
Murray, Charles J. (Coventry)
Murray, Col. Wyndham (Bath)
Myers, William Henry
Newdegate, Francis A. N.
Nicholson, William Graham
O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
Parkes, Ebenezer
Pease, Herb. Pike (Darlington)
Peel, Hn.Wm.Robert Wellesley
Pemberton, John S. G.
Percy, Earl
Pilkington, Colonel Richard
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Plummer, Walter R.
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Pretyman, Ernest George
Pym, C. Guy
Randles, John S.
Rankin, Sir James
Rasch, Sir Frederic Carne
Ratcliff, R. F.
Reid, James (Greenock)
Renshaw, Sir Charles Bine
Renwick, George
Richards, Henry Charles
Ridley, Hon. M.W.(Stalybridge
Ridley, S.Forde(Bethnal Green
Ritchie, Rt.Hn.Chas. Thomson
Roberts, Samuel (Sheffield)
Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
Robinson, Brooke
Rolleston, Sir John F. L.
Rollit, Sir Albert Kaye
Ropner, Colonel Sir Robert
Round, Rt. Hon. James
Royds, Clement Molyneux
Rutherford, John (Lancashire)
Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford-
Samuel, Sir H. S. (Limehouse)
Sassoon, Sir Edward Albert
Saunderson, Rt.Hn.Col.Edw.J.
Scott, Sir S. (Marylebone, W.)
Sharpe, William Edward T.
Simeon, Sir Barrington
Sinclair, Louis (Romford)
Sloan, Thomas Henry
Smith, Abel H.(Hertford, East)
Smith,H.C.(North'mb,Tyneside
Smith, James Parker(Lanarks.
Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
Spear, John Ward
Spencer, Sir E. (W. Bromwich)
Stanley, Hn. Arthur (Ormskirk
Stanley, Edward Jas.(Somerset
Stanley, Rt. Hon. Lord(Lancs.)
Stewart, Sir Mark J. M'Taggart
Stirling-Maxwell, Sir John M.
Stock, James Henry
Stone, Sir Benjamin
Strutt, Hon. Charles Hedley
Taylor, Austin (East Toxteth)
Thorburn, Sir Walter
Tollemache, Henry James
Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
Tritton, Charles Ernest
Valentia, Viscount
Walker, Col. William Hall
Walrond, Rt.Hn.Sir WilliamH.
Wanklyn, James Leslie
Warde, Colonel C. E.
Webb, Colonel William George
Welby, Lt.-Col.A.C.E(Taunton
Welby, Sir Charles G. E.(Notts.
Wharton, Rt. Hon. John Lloyd
Whiteley, H.(Ashton und.Lyne
Whitmore, Charles Algernon
Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
Wills, Sir Frederick

Wilson, A. Stanley (York, E. R.
Wilson, John (Glasgow)
Wilson-Todd, Sir W.H.(Yorks.)
Wodehouse, Rt.Hn. E.R.(Bath
Wolff, Gustav Wilhelm
Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B. Stuart
Wyndham-Quin, Col. W. H.
Younger, William

Tellers for the Ayes—Sir Alexander Acland - Hood and Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes.

NOES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N.E.)
Abraham, William (Rhondda)
Ainsworth, John Stirling
Allen, Charles P.
Asher, Alexander
Asquith, Rt. Hn. Herb. Henry
Atherley-Jones, L.
Austin, Sir John
Barlow, John Emmott
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Barry, E. (Cork, S.)
Bayley, Thomas (Derbyshire)
Beaumont, Wentworth C. B.
Black, Alexander William
Blake, Edward
Boland, John
Brigg, John
Broadhurst, Henry
Brunner, Sir John Tomlinson
Bryce, Rt. Hon. James
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Burke, E. Haviland-
Burns, John
Burt, Thomas
Buxton, Sydney Charles
Caldwell, James
Cameron, Robert
Campbell, John (Armagh, S.)
Causton, Richard Knight
Cawley, Frederick
Clancy, John Joseph
Cogan, Denis J.
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Craig, Robert Hunter (Lanark)
Crean, Eugene
Cremer, William Randal
Cullinan, J.
Dalziel, James Henry
Davies, Alfred (Carmarthen)
Davies, M.Vaughan-(Cardigan)
Delany, William
Devlin, Chas. Ramsay (Galway
Devlin, Joseph (Kilkenny, N.)
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Doogan, P. C.
Douglas, Charles M. (Lanark)
Duncan, J. Hastings
Dunn, Sir William
Edwards, Frank
Elibank, Master of
Ellis, John Edward (Notts.)
Emmott, Alfred
Evans, Samuel T. (Glamorgan)
Farquharson, Dr. Robert
Farrell, James Patrick
Fenwick, Charles
Ferguson, R. C. Munro (Leith)
Field, William
Fitzmaurice, Lord Edmond
Flynn, James Christopher
Foster, Sir Walter (Derby Co.)
Fowler, Rt. Hon. Sir Henry
Freeman-Thomas, Captain F.
Gilhooly, James
Gladstone, Rt. Hn. Herbert Jn.
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Grant, Corrie
Grey, Rt. Hon. Sir E.(Berwick)
Griffith, Ellis J.
Haldane, Rt. Hon. Richard B.
Hammond, John
Harcourt, Lewis V.(Rossendale
Harcourt,RtHn.Sir.W(Monm't
Hardie,J.Keir(Merthyr Tydvil)
Harwood, George
Hayden, John Patrick
Hayter, Rt.Hon. Sir Arthur D.
Helme, Norval Watson
Hemphill, Rt. Hon. Charles H.
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Holland, Sir William Henry
Horniman, Frederick John
Hutchinson, Dr. Charles Fredk.
Hutton, Alfred E. (Morley)
Jacoby, James Alfred
Johnson, John (Gateshead)
Joicey, Sir James
Jones, D. Brynmor (Swansea)
Jones, William(Carnarvonshire
Joyce, Michael
Kearley, Hudson E.
Kennedy,Vincent P.(Cavan,W.
Kilbride, Denis
Labouchere, Henry
Lambert, George
Langley, Batty
Law, Hugh Alex. (Donegal, W.
Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cornwall)
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Leamy, Edmund
Leese, Sir Jos. F. (Accrington)
Leng, Sir John
Levy, Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Lloyd-George, David
Lough, Thomas
Lundon, W.
Lyell, Charles Henry
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
M'Arthur, William (Cornwall)
M'Crae, George
M'Kenna, Reginald
M'Killop, W. (Sligo, North)
M'Laren, Sir Charles Benjamin
Mansfield, Horace Rendall
Mappin, Sir Frederick Thorpe
Markham, Arthur Basil
Mooney, John J.
Morgan, J. Lloyd (Carmarthen)
Morley, Rt.Hn. John(Montrose
Moulton, John Fletcher
Murphy, John
Nannetti, Joseph P.
Newnes, Sir George
Nolan,Col.John P.(Galway,N.)
Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South)
Nussey, Thomas Willans
O'Brien, James F. X. (Cork)
O'Brien, K. (Tipperary, Mid.)
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Brien, P. J. (Tipperary, N.)
O'Connor, James(Wicklow,W.)
O'Connor, T. P. (Liverpool)
O'Donnell, John (Mayo, S.)
O'Donnell, T. (Kerry, W.)
O'Kelly, Jas. (Roscommon, N.)
O'Malley, William
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
O'Shee, James John
Palmer, Sir CharlesM.(Durham
Parrott, William
Partington, Oswald
Pease, J. A. (Saffron Walden)
Philipps, John Wynford
Pirie, Duncan V.
Power, Patrick Joseph
Price, Robert John
Priestley, Arthur
Rea, Russell
Reckitt, Harold James
Redmond, John E. (Waterford)
Rigg, Richard
Roberts, John Bryn (Eifion)
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.)
Robertson, Edmund (Dundee)
Robson, William Snowdon
Roe, Sir Thomas
Runciman, Walter
Russell, T. W.
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Shackleton, David James
Shaw, Charles Edw. (Stafford)
Sheehan, Daniel Daniel
Sheehy, David
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Slack, John Bamford
Smith, Samuel (Flint)
Soames, Arthur Wellesley
Soares, Ernest J.
Spencer, Rt.Hn.C.R(Northants
Stanhope, Hon. Philip James
Stevenson, Francis S.
Sullivan, Donal
Taylor, Theodore C. (Radcliffe)
Tennant, Harold John
Thomas, Abel (Carmarthen, E.)
Thomas, Sir A. (Glamorgan,E.)
Thomas, D. Alfred (Merthyr)
Tomkinson, James
Toulmin, George
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Wallace, Robert
Walton, J. Lawson (Leeds, S.)
Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan)
Wason,John Cathcart(Orkney)
White, Luke (York, E. R.)
Whiteley, George (York, W.R.)
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
Whittaker, Thomas Palmer
Wilson, Chas. Henry (Hull, W.)
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid.)
Woodhouse,Sir J.T(Huddersf'd
Young, Samuel
Yoxall, James Henry

Tellers for the Noes—Sir Thomas Esmonde and Captain Donelan.

Question put accordingly, "That the words 'or Ireland' stand part of the clause."

The Committee divided:—Ayes, 270; Noes, 185. (Division List No. 164.)

AYES.

Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
Aird, Sir John
Allhusen, Augustus Henry Eden
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arrol, Sir William
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Aubrey-Fletcher, Rt.Hn. Sir H.
Bailey, James (Walworth)
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour, Rt.Hon. A.J.(Manch'r
Balfour, Capt. C. B. (Hornsey)
Balfour, Rt. Hon. G. W.(Leeds)
Balfour, Kenneth R. (Christch.
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Beckett, Ernest William
Bentinck, Lord Henry C.
Bignold, Arthur
Bigwood, James
Bill, Charles
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Boscawen, Arthur Griffith-
Boulnois, Edmund
Bousfield, William Robert
Bowles, Lt.-Col.H.F(Middlesex
Brassey, Albert
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Bull, William James
Butcher, John George
Campbell, Rt.Hn.J.A.(Glasgow
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Cautley, Henry Strother
Cavendish, R. F. (N. Lancs.)
Cavendish, V.C.W. (Derbyshire
Cayzer, Sir Charles William
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Cecil, Lord Hugh (Greenwich)
Chamberlain, Rt.Hon.J.(Birm.
Chamberlain,Rt Hn.J.A(Worc.
Chamberlayne, T.(S'thampton)
Chaplin, Rt. Hon. Henry
Chapman, Edward
Charrington, Spencer
Clive, Captain Percy A.
Coates, Edward Feetham
Cochrane, Hon. Thos H. A. E.
Coddington, Sir William
Coghill, Douglas Harry
Cohen, Benjamin Louis
Collings, Rt. Hon. Jesse
Colomb, Rt.Hn.Sir John C. R.
Colston, Chas. Edw. H. Athole
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Craig, CharlesCurtis(Antrim,S.)
Cripps, Charles Alfred
Cross, Alexander (Glasgow)
Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Cubitt, Hon. Henry
Dalkeith, Earl of
Davenport, William Bromley
Denny, Colonel
Dewar,Sir T.R.(Tower Hamlets
Dickson, Charles Scott
Dickson-Poynder, Sir John P.
Digby, John K. D. Wingfield-
Dimsdale, Rt.Hn. Sir Joseph C.
Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
Dixon-Hartland,Sir FredDixon
Doughty, George
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers
Doxford, Sir William Theodore
Duke, Henry Edward
Durning-Lawrence, Sir Edwin
Dyke, Rt.Hn.Sir William Hart
Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
Fardell, Sir T. George
Fergusson, Rt.Hn.SirJ.(Manc'r
Fielden, Edward Brocklehurst
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
Firbank, Sir Joseph Thomas
Fisher, William Hayes
Fison, Frederick William
FitzGerald, Sir Robert Penrose
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Flower, Sir Ernest
Forster, Henry William
Foster, P. S. (Warwick, S.W.)
Galloway, William Johnson
Gardner, Ernest
Garfit, William
Gordon, Hn.J.E.(Elgin&Nairn)
Gordon, J. (Londonderry, S.)
Gore,Hn G.R.C.Ormsby-(Salop
Gore, Hon. S.F.Ormsby-(Linc.)
Gorst, Rt. Hon. Sir John Eldon
Goulding, Edward Alfred
Graham, Henry Robert
Greene,Sir E.W(B'rySEdm'nds
Greene, Henry D.(Shrewsbury)
Grenfell, William Henry
Gretton, John
Greville, Hon. Ronald
Gunter, Sir Robert
Hain, Edward
Hall, Edward Marshall
Halsey, Rt. Hon. Thomas F.
Hamilton,RtHn LordG(Midd'x
Hardy,Laurence(Kent,Ashford
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Harris, F. Leverton (Tynem'th
Haslett, Sir James Horner
Hatch, Ernest Frederick Geo.
Heath, James (Staffords., N.W.
Heaton, John Henniker
Helder, Augustus
Henderson,Sir A. (Stafford, W.
Hickman, Sir Alfred
Hoare, Sir Samuel
Hobhouse,RtHn.H(Somers't,E
Hogg, Lindsay
Hope, J.F.(Sheffield,Brightside
Hornby, Sir William Henry
Horner, Frederick William
Houldsworth, Sir Wm. Henry
Hoult, Joseph
Howard, Jn.(Kent, Faversham
Howard, J. (Midd.,Tottenham)
Hozier, Hn. James Henry Cecil
Hudson, George Bickersteth
Hunt, Rowland
Jebb, Sir Richard Claverhouse
Jeffreys, Rt. Hon. Arthur Fred.
Johnstone, Heywood, (Sussex)
Kennaway, Rt.Hn.Sir John H.
Kenyon, Hn. Geo. T.(Denbigh)
Kenyon-Slaney, Col. W.(Salop.
Kimber, Henry
King, Sir Henry Seymour
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
Lawson, J. Grant (Yorks., N.R.
Lee, A. H. (Hants., Fareham)
Lees, Sir Elliott (Birkenhead)
Leveson-Gower, Frederick N.S.
Loder, Gerald Walter Erskine
Long, Rt.Hn.Walter(Bristol,S.
Lowe, Francis William
Lowther, C. (Cumb., Eskdale)
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas, Reginald J.(Portsmouth
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
Macdona, John Cumming
MacIver, David (Liverpool)
Maconochie, A. W.
M'Arthur, Charles (Liverpool)
M'Killop, James (Stirlingshire)
Majendie, James A. H.
Malcolm, Ian
Manners, Lord Cecil
Martin, Richard Biddulph
Melville, Beresford Valentine
Megsey-Thompson, Sir H. M.
Milner, Rt.Hn. Sir Frederick G.
Milvain, Thomas
Mitchell, William (Burnley)
Molesworth, Sir Lewis
Montagu, G. (Huntingdon)
Montagu, Hn. J. Scott (Hants.)
Moon, Edward Robert Pacy
Morgan, J. Lloyd (Carmarthen)
Morpeth, Viscount
Morrison, James Archibald
Morton, Arthur H. Aylmer
Mount, William Arthur
Mowbray, Sir Robert Gray C.
Muntz, Sir Philip A.
Murray, Rt. Hon. A. G. (Bute)
Murray, Charles J. (Coventry)
Murray, Col. Wyndham (Bath)
Myers, William Henry
Newdegate, Francis A. N.
Nicholson, William Graham
O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
Parkes, Ebenezer
Pease, Herb. Pike (Darlington)
Peel, Hn.Wm.Robert Wellesley
Pemberton, John S. G.
Percy, Earl
Pilkington, Colonel Richard
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Plummer, Walter R.
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Pretyman, Ernest George
Pym, C. Guy
Randles, John S.
Rankin, Sir James
Rasch, Sir Frederic Carne

Ratcliff, R. F.
Reid, James (Greenock)
Remnant, James Farquharson
Renshaw, Sir Charles Bine
Renwick, George
Richards, Henry Charles
Ridley, Hon. M. W.(Stalybridge
Ridley, S.Forde(Bethnal Green
Ritchie, Rt.Hn.Chas. Thomson
Roberts, John Bryn (Eifion)
Roberts, Samuel (Sheffield)
Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
Robinson, Brooke
Rolleston, Sir John F. L.
Rollit, Sir Albert Kaye
Ropner, Colonel Sir Robert
Round, Rt. Hon James
Royds, Clement Molyneux
Rutherford, John (Lancashire)
Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford
Samuel, Sir H. S. (Limehouse)
Sassoon, Sir Edward Albert
Saunderson, Rt.Hn.Col.Edw.J.
Scott, Sir S. (Marylebone, W.)
Seely, Charles Hilton (Lincoln)
Sharpe, William Edward T.
Simeon, Sir Barrington
Sinclair, Louis (Romford)
Skewes-Cox, Thomas
Sloan, Thomas Henry
Smith, Abel H.(Hertford,East)
Smith, H.C(North'mb.Tyneside
Smith, James Parker(Lanarks.)
Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
Spear, John Ward
Spencer, Sir E. (W. Bromwich)
Stanley, Hn. Arthur (Ormskirk
Stanley, Edward Jas.(Somerset
Stanley, Rt. Hon. Lord (Lancs.
Stewart, Sir Mark J. M'Taggart
Stirling-Maxwell, Sir John M.
Stock, James Henry
Stone, Sir Benjamin
Strutt, Hon. Charles Hedley
Taylor, Austin (East Toxteth
Thorburn, Sir Walter
Tollemache, Henry James
Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. J.
Tritton, Charles Ernest
Valentia, Viscount
Vincent,Col.Sir C.E.H(Sheffield
Walker, Col. William Hall
Walrond, Rt.Hn.Sir WilliamH.
Wanklyn, James Leslie
Warde, Colonel C. E.
Webb, Colonel William George
Welby, Lt.-Col.A.C.E(Taunton
Welby, Sir Charles G.E.(Notts.
Wharton, Rt. Hon. John Lloyd
Whiteley, H.(Ashton und.Lyne
Whitmore, Charles Algernon
Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
Willox, Sir John Archibald
Wills, Sir Frederick
Wilson, A. Stanley (York, E.R)
Wilson, John (Glasgow)
Wilson-Todd, Sir W.H.(Yorks.)
Wodehouse, Rt.Hn. E.R.(Bath
Wolff, Gustav Wilhelm
Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B. Stuart
Wyndham-Quin, Col. W. H.
Younger, William

Tellers for the Ayes—Sir Alexander Acland-Hood and Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes.

NOES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N.E.)
Abraham, William (Rhondda)
Ainsworth, John Stirling
Allen, Charles P.
Asher, Alexander
Asquith, Rt.Hn.HerbertHenry
Atherley-Jones, L.
Austin, Sir John
Barlow, John Emmott
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Barry, E. (Cork, S.)
Bayley, Thomas (Derbyshire)
Beaumont, Wentworth C. B.
Black, Alexander William
Blake, Edward
Boland, John
Brigg, John
Broadhurst, Henry
Brunner, Sir John Tomlinson
Bryce, Rt. Hon. James
Burke, E. Haviland-
Burns, John
Burt, Thomas
Buxton, Sydney Charles
Caldwell, James
Cameron, Robert
Campbell, John (Armagh, S.)
Causton, Richard Knight
Cawley, Frederick
Clancy, John Joseph
Cogan, Denis J.
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Craig, Robert Hunter(Lanark)
Crean, Eugene
Cremer, William Randal
Cullinan, J.
Davies, Alfred (Carmarthen)
Delany, William
Devlin,Chas. Ramsay (Galway)
Devlin, Joseph (Kilkenny, N.)
Doogan, P. C.
Douglas, Charles M. (Lanark)
Duncan, J. Hastings
Dunn, Sir William
Edwards, Frank
Elibank, Master of
Ellis, John Edward (Notts.)
Emmott, Alfred
Evans, Samuel T. (Glamorgan)
Farquharson, Dr. Robert
Farrell, James Patrick
Fenwick, Charles
Ferguson, R. C. Munro (Leith)
Field, William
Fitzmaurice, Lord Edmond
Flynn, James Christopher
Foster, Sir Walter (Derby Co.)
Fowler, Rt. Hon. Sir Henry
Freeman-Thomas, Captain F.
Gilhooly, James
Gladstone, Rt.Hn.HerbertJohn
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Grant, Corrie
Grey, Rt. Hon. Sir E.(Berwick)
Griffith, Ellis J.
Haldane, Rt. Hon. Richard B.
Hammond, John
Harcourt, Lewis V.(Rossendale
Harcourt,RtHn SirW(Monm'th
Hardie, J.Keir(Merthyr Tydvil
Harwood, George
Hayden, John Patrick
Hayter, Rt. Hon. Sir Arthur D.
Helme, Norval Watson
Hemphill, Rt. Hon. Charles H.
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Holland, Sir William Henry
Horniman, Frederick John
Hutchinson, Dr. Charles Fredk.
Hutton, Alfred E. (Morley)
Jacoby, James Alfred
Johnson, John (Gateshead)
Joicey, Sir James
Jones, D. Brynmor (Swansea)
Jones,William (Carnarvonshire
Joyce, Michael
Kearley, Hudson E.
Kennedy,Vincent P.(Cavan,W.
Kilbride, Denis
Labouchere, Henry
Lambert, George
Langley, Batty
Law, Hugh Alex. (Donegal,W.)
Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cornwall)
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Leamy, Edmund
Leese, Sir Jos. F. (Accrington)
Leng, Sir John
Levy, Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Lloyd-George, David
Lough, Thomas
Lundon, W.
Lyell, Charles Henry
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
M'Arthur, William (Cornwall)
M'Kenna, Reginald
M'Killop, W. (Sligo, North)
M'Laren, Sir Charles Benjamin
Mansfield, Horace Rendall
Mappin, Sir Frederick Thorpe
Markham, Arthur Basil
Mooney, John J.
Morley, Rt.Hn.John (Montrose
Moulton, John Fletcher
Murphy, John
Nannetti, Joseph P.
Newnes, Sir George
Nolan,Col.John P.(Galway,N.)
Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South)
Nussey, Thomas Willans
O'Brien, James F. X. (Cork)
O'Brien, K. (Tipperary, Mid.)
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Brien, P. J. (Tipperary, N.)
O'Connor, James (Wicklow,W)
O'Connor, T. P. (Liverpool)
O'Donnell, John (Mayo, S.)
O'Donnell, T. (Kerry, W.)

O'Kelly, Jas. (Roscommon, N.)
O'Malley, William
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
O'Shee, James John
Palmer, Sir Charles M.(Durham
Parrott, William
Partington, Oswald
Pease, J. A. (Saffron Walden)
Philipps, John Wynford
Pirie, Duncan V.
Power, Patrick Joseph
Price, Robert John
Priestley, Arthur
Rea, Russell
Reckitt, Harold James
Redmond, John E. (Waterford)
Rigg, Richard
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.)
Robertson, Edmund (Dundee)
Robson, William Snowdon
Roe, Sir Thomas
Russell, T. W.
Shackleton, David James
Shaw, Charles Edw. (Stafford)
Sheehan, Daniel Daniel
Sheehy, David
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Sinclair, John (Forfarshire)
Slack, John Bamford
Smith, Samuel (Flint)
Soames, Arthur Wellesley
Soares, Ernest J.
Spencer, Rt.Hn.C.R(Northants
Stanhope, Hon. Philip James
Stevenson, Francis S.
Sullivan, Donal
Taylor, Theodore C. (Radcliffe)
Tennant, Harold John
Thomas, Abel (Carmarthen, E.)
Thomas, Sir A. (Glamorgan, E.)
Thomas, D. Alfred (Merthyr)
Tomkinson, James
Toulmin, George
Wallace, Robert
Walton, J. Lawson (Leeds, S.)
Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan)
Wason, Jn. Cathcart (Orkney)
White, Luke (York, E.R.)
Whiteley, George (York, W.R.)
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
Whittaker, Thomas Palmer
Wilson, Chas. Henry (Hull, W.)
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid.)
Woodhouse, Sir J.T(Huddersf'd
Young, Samuel
Yoxall, James Henry

Tellers for the Noes—Sir Thomas Esmonde and Captain Donelan.

Mr. SOARES (Devonshire, Barnstaple) moved an Amendment for the purpose of limiting the operation of Clause 1 (duty on tea) to 1st May instead of 1st August, 1905. He said he did not desire to adhere to the word "May" if the Chancellor of the Exchequer would accept the word "June." His argument was that this was a bad tax and that the sooner it was off the better it would be for the country. Another consideration which he wished to place before the right hon. Gentleman was that by keeping the clause in operation until August he might be binding the Government which was to succeed the present one. Of course, he admitted that he did not know when the general election would take place, but the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham had stated that it must come within a "reasonable time." His ideas and the Prime Minister's might not coincide in regard to that matter. He himself should have thought that if the right hon Gentleman believed in the policy he was advocating a reasonable time would have meant the earliest possible moment.

*The CHAIRMAN: The point the hon. Gentleman has raised is really not relevant to the Amendment. If he means that another Government will be in power next year, this clause will not tie their hands. It would be perfectly open to any subsequent Government in their next Budget to introduce an Amendment.

Mr. SOARES said he was pointing out that the proposal in the clause would put the succeeding Government to the trouble of repealing the tax. He bowed to the ruling, and he would not pursue the point further. If the right hon. Gentleman should be in office at this time next year this tax would enable him to bring in, perhaps, what might be called, with all due deference, an electioneering Budget. If the tax remained on till August next year the right hon. Gentleman would get the benefit of the tax for a third of the ensuing financial year. Supposing he came to the conclusion that this was a tax which should be taken off he would announce, with a great flourish of trumpets, that he intended to take off 3d., though he would be at the same time receiving the benefit of it. He would really be only taking off 2d. That might be good electioneering, but it would be bad finance. There was another objection to the proposal in the Bill. By permitting taxes of this kind to run until August they delayed the bringing in and passing through all its stages of the Finance Bill, and that had a detrimental effect on the course of trade. To his mind the Finance Bill ought to be brought in and passed through all its stages soon after the introduction of the Budget. There was on the Notice Paper now an Amendment standing in the name of the Chancellor of the Exchequer in regard to the tobacco duty, showing that the Budget Resolutions on that point were not quite clear and conclusive. They knew that sometimes it might be necessary to delay the passing of the Finance Bill. This year it was Ascot; another year it might be something else. But traders strongly objected to the Finance Bill being delayed when new taxes were to be imposed. They wanted to know all about them and their true inwardness, so as to take their goods out of, or leave them in, bond. It was in order to ensure that the Finance Bill should be passed at the earliest possible moment that he desired to restrict this tax to the 1st of June next year, and he sincerely hoped that the right hon. Gentleman would accept the Amendment.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 1, line 19, to leave out the word 'August,' and insert the word 'May.'"—(*Mr. Soares.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'August' stand part of the clause."

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said it was not possible for him to accept the Amendment. He was not prepared to break a practice which had been uninterruptedly pursued since 1863, and which had been a convenience not alone to the House, but to the traders concerned. May 1st or even June 1st was a date so close to the end of the financial year that it would tend to the withholding of large stocks if a diminution of the tax were expected, and to great forestalments if an increase were expected. It had been found convenient for these reasons to fix the date of the passage of the Budget two or three months after the expiration of the financial year.

MR. McKENNA (Monmouthshire, N.) said that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had given two extraordinary reasons why he should not accept the Amendment. He said unless he made the 1st of August the date at which the Budget came into operation there would be large withdrawals of stock in anticipation of the change of duty. But the duty came into operation on the introduction of the Budget, and there was not a single case on record in which the Budget had been introduced so late as the 1st of June. The only reason for the present practice was that it enabled the Chancellor of the Exchequer to have a latitude not to introduce his Budget Resolutions until the 31st of July. It was that very latitude that they wanted to stop. It was because they did not desire the Chancellor of the Exchequer to postpone his Budget statement later than 1st May, or at the latest 1st June, that his hon. friend made this proposal. The second statement of the right hon. Gentleman was that the present practice had been carried on uninterruptedly since 1863. But they were living under modern conditions which compelled the Committee to see that the Budget Resolutions were introduced earlier. This was a question for business men who did not like to be kept in doubt as to what the financial proposals of the Government were going to be. They expected now that any changes in the Budget would be introduced in the month of April. In 1901 the Budget was specially introduced in the month of March. Business men wanted it before the month of May. He was quite sure that if the right hon. Gentleman gave his attention to the true apprehension of the Amendment he would understand that the proposal made by the hon. Member for Barnstaple was a very proper one.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES (Lynn Regis) said that this certainly was an Amendment of substance, and although he would not vote for it as it stood, he would vote for it if the word "July" was substituted for "August." The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer had said that it had been the unbroken practice since 1863 to make the Customs duties payable on the 1st August. The right hon. Gentleman was entirely wrong. If he were to refer to the Finance Act of 1895, he would find that the Customs duties on beer were made payable on 1st July. The Committee should remember that although as a matter of fact the existing Acts continued the tea duty for one year, the proposed increase was to be enacted not for a year, but for fifteen months. He thought he was right in saying that the levy of Customs duties by virtue of a Resolution of this House was, strictly speaking, illegal, and that the real legal power did not rest with the Commissioners of Customs to levy these duties until the Finance Bill was passed and had received the Royal Assent. It was by what he would not call a usurpation of power, but by the necessities of the case that the Customs duties to be imposed by the

Finance Bill should be levied immediately on the introduction of the Budget; and the reason was that the imposition of new duties was always intended to be unexpected.

It was reasonable that the Chancellor of the Exchequer should have a fair time in which to introduce his Bill; but that time should never extend to the 1st August. To pass a clause which would enable a Chancellor of the Exchequer to postpone the Finance Bill to 1st August, would be inviting the Government of the day to repeat what the present Government had done, namely, to neglect its business and not to begin to ride until the race was nearly over, and then be reduced to the melancholy device of closure by compartments. That was not right. The Government should be compelled to commence the discussion of the Finance Bill long before the date on which it was commenced this year. The discussion ought to be commenced in May at the latest. Further, the Act of 1895 and the other Acts which continued the existing duty on tea were for one year only; but the present proposal in the Bill was to increase the duty not for a year, but for fifteen months. That was a very serious thing for many reasons. In the first place it was an infringement of the principle that all the financial dealings of the Government should be under the control of the House. There was, however, a very special reason with regard to the tea duty. As the Committee was aware, it was one of the few remaining imposts which were voted for one year, and for one year only. He had no doubt that it was the intention of the Chancellor of the Exchequer that the increased duty should only be for a year; because, long before the 1st of August of next year, the right hon. Gentleman or another Chancellor of the Exchequer would continue the duty, increase it, or, as he confidently hoped, decrease it. He did not know if the Committee appreciated the manner in which annual taxes had been abandoned in late years, and permanent taxation substituted. He would quote figures which were very important in that respect. The amount of revenue estimated to be raised by the State in 1902–3 was £161,789,000; of that no less than £112,504,000 was raised by permanent enactments and £49,285,000 by temporary enactments. The temporary enactments were the tea duty, the income-tax, and the extra duty on beer and spirits. The temporary duties amounted to 30·46 per cent. of the whole revenue. This year the total revenue was estimated at £153,306,000, of which £110,572,000 was raised by permanent enactments, which did not even require the House to assemble, and which the Government could put in force without any further authority; the annual revenue being estimated at £42,734,000. Therefore, in two years the annual revenue had been diminished from 30·46 per cent. of the total to 27·85 per cent. That was a very serious matter; and it had a direct bearing on the propriety or impropriety of the Committee allowing one of these temporary duties to be imposed for a period of fifteen months instead of twelve months. The control of the House over public expenditure was being diminished day by day. He would allude to the enormous increase in Votes on Account.

*THE CHAIRMAN: I really fail to see the relevancy of the hon. Member's remarks now. This is an annual charge; there is not the least doubt about that; and I cannot see what Votes on Account have to do with it.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES said he intended to argue that inasmuch as the control of this House over public expenditure was being lost in many directions that process should not be further extended. He would not, however, pursue that argument. He thought the hon. Member's Amendment was unreasonable. They might not always have Governments with large majorities; and the Chancellor of the Exchequer might find considerable difficulty in getting his Finance Bill through. It was fair that he should be allowed until the 1st July to do it, but no longer. He agreed that there was substance in the Amendment; and, although he could not vote for it in its present form, he would certainly vote for an Amendment which substituted 1st July for 1st June.

MR. LOUGH said that if the Chancellor of the Exchequer would only look at the Amendment from the point of view of the tea duty, he would see that it ought to be accepted. If there was an increase in the tea duty nothing would be lost by the Amendment; but if, as was more likely, there was a reduction it would mean a total collapse of business in the country, as no one would clear any tea. The Chancellor of the Exchequer would have to receive deputations day by day, and would finally have to give in. If the right hon. Gentleman would look back to 1889, the year in which the tea duty was reduced, he would find that the trade immediately approached the Chancellor of the Exchequer on the subject, and that was the experience of every Chancellor of the Exchequer. The trade wanted a fortnight or three weeks to get rid of the old stock and did not want two or three months in which business would be convulsed. All they desired was a reasonable time. His hon. friend had taken six weeks as the period; it would be quite impossible to continue the higher rate of duty for longer than six weeks and he hoped the Chancellor of the Exchequer would see his way to accept the 1st June as being a reasonable date.

Mr. WHITLEY (Halifax) said he had a similar Amendment on the Paper, but after hearing what had been said he thought the 1st June would be a reasonable date to fix. He wished to add a word regarding the inequality shown by the Bill. The income-tax was raised for one year and no more, and yet in the case of a tax imposed on the poorer classes the period was to be one year and three months. That was simply an encouragement to the Government to delay their financial business instead of getting it through with commendable despatch. This year they had had the Licensing Bill and the Scotch Education Bill pushed in front of the Government's financial business. He objected on the ground that the more they allowed the latter business to be put off, the more encouragement they gave to the Treasury and the more they relaxed their control over the Government.

Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said the income-tax was charged over the whole of the year's income, whereas in the case of the tea duty they must make such provision that the trade would not come to a standstill in the weeks just preceding the end of the financial year. He was anxious to meet the Committee on this point. The hon. Member for King's Lynn had made a suggestion, and if it would facilitate progress he would agree to strike out the word August and insert July.

Mr. SYDNEY BUXTON said the right hon. Gentleman had met them very fairly and he hoped the suggestion would be accepted.

Mr. SOARES asked leave to withdraw his Amendment and to substitute the word July.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Mr. GIBSON BOWLES: I think I ought to move to insert the 1st July.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 1, line 19, to leave out the word 'August' and insert the word 'July.'"—(*Mr. Gibson Bowles.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Mr. THEODORE TAYLOR (Lancashire, Radcliffe) said he moved the Amendment standing in his name because this tax fell heavily on the poor, and there should be some discrimination between the consumer of high-class tea and the consumer of lower class tea. This intention was to exempt from taxation entirely the tea used by the poor. He was glad the Chancellor of the Exchequer did not even pretend for a moment that this tax fell on the producer, but had admitted it was a consumer's tax. There was indeed a refreshing contrast between his attitude and the contention set up that increased taxation would injure the producer in Ceylon and India, and therefore it would not injure the consumer in this country. He believed this tax would be injurious both to the producer and to the consumer, but the injury done to the poor consumer was the reason he wished to move this Amendment. They had heard a great deal that afternoon about the burden this tax imposed on the people of Ireland, but within three miles of the House there might be found people in as wretched a position as the peasants of Donegal.

To people of that class the tax was a very real and a very heavy one. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had not shirked anything in the course of the debate. The last Chancellor of the Exchequer but one in introducing a sugar tax said it would be a good thing if it diminished the consumption of lollypops, but the present Chancellor had not represented tea as a bad thing, and to tax it as a beneficent action. To the poorest of the poor a cup of tea was necessary for such happiness as they could possibly enjoy in this world. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, however, took refuge in the plea that the increase in the tax would not much diminish the quantity of tea consumed. He wondered if Members had before their minds the *ad valorem* amount of the tea tax. It was variously estimated by those in the trade at from 100 to 120 per cent. Suppose there was an *ad valorem* tax of 100 per. cent., a proposal to raise it to 133 per cent., which was what the Chancellor's proposal really came to, would never be entertained. Many people who did not now realise the gravity of the tax would do so then. He was very much interested in the woollen trade with Canada, where, as they knew, the present Ministry had brought in a Bill to reduce the preference from 11⅔ to 5 per cent. If this Bill passed woollen goods sent there would pay 30 per cent. instead of 23½ per cent. That was regarded as a very great increase of duty, and one likely to have serious effect on the trade. In the same way this increased tax would have an effect on the consumption of tea, and because this Amendment would impose the duty only on the higher classes of tea and not on the lower classes, he moved it. This increase of duty was a tax on the very poor, and he therefore believed it to be not only bad philanthropy, but a piece of bad political economy. He was in favour of direct taxation entirely and of no indirect taxation, that being the only honest method of taxation.

*The CHAIRMAN: The arguments of the hon. Member are not relevant to the Amendment.

Mr THEODORE TAYLOR said it might be stated that if they heavily taxed the better classes of tea and released from taxation the lower classes they would cause people to use rubbish, and the lower classes of tea only would be used. He believed that the result of this Amendment upon the users of tea would be rather startling and extraordinary. It would enormously increase the use of the better teas, and would cause the rubbishy tea not to be used at all, because it would not be worth anyone's while to buy the rubbish. Those who used the higher class of tea did not mind giving a little more for it. It must be admitted that a tax on the articles used by the rich did not tend to diminish consumption to any such extent as was the case when taxation was put upon articles used by the very poor. It was the very poor who were prevented from buying particular articles because they could get something at a lesser cost, and the people who could not now afford to buy decent tea would be able to do so if the Amendment were to be carried. The poor of Lancashire and Yorkshire took their tea in cans with them when they went to work, and in the early morning one could hear the clatter of the clogs and the clink of the cans as the people went to their employment. He had lived amongst these people and he knew that they consumed a great amount of tea, more especially those who worked in cotton mills, where the temperature was very high, and where they needed some reasonable kind of drink owing to the heat. Those poor people would have their tea made dearer. But there was another view of the question. The largest and best market for Lancashire goods was in India, and any action which resulted in a reduction of the imports of tea from India and Ceylon must reduce the amount of cotton goods imported into these colonies.

*The CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member is again wandering away from the Amendment, and is dealing with the general question with which we have been dealing all the afternoon. I must call his attention to the Standing Order upon this point.

Mr. THEODORE TAYLOR said it was an undoubted fact that if less tea was bought from India there would be less cotton goods bought there. He had only been trying to show why the burden of this tax ought to be lessened as regarded the people of this country. He begged to move.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 1, line 21, after the word 'tea,' to insert the words 'the value of which on import exceeds eightpence per pound.'"—(*Mr. Theodore Taylor.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. GIBSON BOWLES said he was afraid the hon. Member did not realise that the result of his proposal would be the abolition of the duty except as regarded eightpenny tea. Why should the limit be eightpence? Why was the poor eightpenny tea to be taxed at eightpence per pound whilst all other teas at higher prices were to be let off? If the hon. Member wished the higher teas to pay a higher duty then they came to an *ad valorem* duty at once. Upon an article like tea, an *ad valorem* duty was almost impossible. This proposal had all the inconveniences of an *ad valorem* duty without any of its advantages to the revenue.

MR. FLYNN said that if they could not adopt an *ad valorem* duty all round surely they could draw the line somewhere in order that they might not impose the same excessive duty on a low-priced article as they did upon an article which might be double the value. He had made inquiries from a great many different merchants, and they informed him that a large quantity of tea imported into this country was valued at 6d., 6½d., and 7d. per pound. Surely it was unjust to put the same duty upon tea of that value as upon the higher-priced teas. This Amendment did not apply to Ireland so much, because the Irish people did not consume much high-priced tea.

MR. McKENNA said there would be little difficulty in arriving at the value of tea, because by far the larger part of the imports was sold by public auction. He suggested the withdrawal of the Amendment in favour of the simpler form of an *ad valorem* duty to be proposed by the hon. Member for Devonport.

MR. THEODORE TAYLOR said his hon. friend the Member for Devonport had given notice of an Amendment on the same subject in a better form. He would be glad to withdraw his Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

MR. KEARLEY (Devonport) moved an Amendment to make the duty on tea an *ad valorem* one not exceeding 50 per cent. He said it was evident from the cheers of hon. Members that his Amendment was an attractive one. He was not surprised, for it was neither a novel nor an unreasonable one. Until about 1833 the system of levying duties was an *ad valorem* one. Up to that time the East India Company had practically a monopoly of all tea coming into the country, indeed he believed there was an Act making it illegal for anybody else to import tea except by the ships belonging to that company. In 1830, however, it became necessary to curtail and limit this monopoly because, as with all monopolies, abuses grew up, and consumers found themselves assailed by the exorbitant prices being charged. A Parliamentary Committee sat in that year and it advised that the monopoly of the company should be brought to an end as far as tea was concerned, and at an opportune moment the privilege was withdrawn. The Government accepted the opportunity of changing the system, and he believed it was in 1836 that a system of levying a simple duty came into vogue. This historical statement would show that *ad valorem* duties were possible and that they had been practised in this country. What title had he to ask the House to agree to an *ad valorem* duty not to exceed 50 per cent.? He had taken some pains to examine the percentage of duty in relation to the cost price of tea in bond. He found that in the past forty years the percentage of duty to the cost of tea in bond had never exceeded forty-five. He was more generous than that; he wanted to levy an *ad valorem* duty equivalent to 50 per cent.; and, judging by the imports of the past, the tea duty would bring in as much or more than the varying duties of the past forty years. When the duty was reduced to 6d. in the pound, he found that from 1865 to 1875 the average price of tea in bond was 1s. 6d. per pound and therefore the percentage of duty was 33 per cent. During the next ten years, when the average price was 1s. 1½d. per pound, it rose to 45 per cent. If they took the year when the duty was reduced to 4d., the year 1890, when the average price of tea was 10¾d. per pound, they found that the relation of duty to the cost price in bond was only 37 per cent. From 1890 to 1896, when the average price of tea in bond was 10d. per pound and the duty 4d., the percentage was 40 per cent. Thus for forty years, right down almost to the present year, the duty had never exceeded 45 per cent. in relation to the cost of tea in bond. How did they stand to-day? In 1900 the duty was raised to 6d., and now it was proposed to raise it to 8d. The average price of tea was 7¾d., and the duty would therefore be over 100 per cent. Considering, too, that an enormous quantity of tea sold did not fetch more than 6d. per pound, a duty of 8d. was altogether excessive. The Chancellor of the Exchequer would say that a system of *ad valorem* duty was altogether impossible—that it had broken down before and that it would be impossible to put it in practice at the present time. He denied this. It would be quite easy, because 95 per cent. of the tea sold was sold by public auction, and those who dealt in it did not buy in their own name but through a broker, who delivered a contract, which could no doubt be turned into a document sufficiently adequate for the purposes of the tax; and there would be no difficulty in merchants sending, as they did now, cheques to the Customs House accompanied by a declaration that the tea had cost so much and no more. Over 90 per cent. could be checked, because it was sold in this way. The rich bought high-priced tea, and therefore the proportion of duty they paid was smaller than that paid by the poor. It was the poor who paid over 100 per cent., and this was why he considered an *ad valorem* duty would be more equitable. Why did they not put some of the duty on coffee and cocoa, which mainly came from foreign countries, while tea came from India and Ceylon. Here they went to their dependencies; and if for no other reason than that it would bring relief to the Colonies and at the same time a great amount of relief to the tea consumers of the country, he begged to move.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 1, line 21, after the word 'pound, to insert the words 'fifty per cent. *ad valorem*, but not to exceed.' "—(*Mr. Kearley.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

And, it being half-past Seven of the clock, the Chairman left the Chair to make his Report to the House.

Committee report Progress; to sit again this evening.

EVENING SITTING.

FINANCE BILL.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[Mr. J. W. LOWTHER (Cumberland, Penrith) in the Chair.]

Clause 1:—

Amendment again proposed—

"In page 1, line 21, after the word 'pound,' to insert the words 'fifty per cent. *ad valorem*, but not to exceed.' "—(*Mr. Kearley.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. WHITLEY said he thought this Amendment was preferable to the one which had been previously moved, and really deserved the attention of the Committee. It was obvious that if they put the tax beyond a certain limit, say 8d. per lb, the tendency would be to invoice a really higher-priced tea at 8d., in order to evade the payment of the tax. In the coal trade coal under six shillings a ton was free of the export duty, and he believed that large quantities of coal worth 7s. or 8s. per ton were returned as just below the value of 6s. per ton. The system opened a way to the seller, not unnaturally and not dishonestly, to evade the tax. He hoped the Chancellor of the Exchequer would accept the Amendment.

MR. J. F. HOPE (Sheffield, Brightside) said he did not think that anyone, looking at this matter honestly and from an abstract point of view, could come to any other conclusion than that a tax on tea was a bad tax, and only justifiable under present conditions. If anyone were to reconstruct the financial system of England he would come to the conclusion that a tax on tea should be collected in some such way as the Amendment proposed. But personally he was no enthusiast for any tax on tea. A great number of the poorer classes of the community regarded tea as a necessary comfort. He did not doubt for a moment that it would be possible for people to subsist without tea, but if the price of that article was raised beyond the means of the poorer classes of the community, they would lose what was to them practically an indispensable article of daily consumption, and a great deal of cheer would be taken from their lives. That was true also of the moderate use of alcohol. Although in theory a tax on tea was indefensible, even the stricter school of political economists were agreed that, in its application, there was nothing in the nature of the tax which was unorthodox, even when it was not collected by the method proposed in the Amendment. He could not understand the position. Here was a burden which increased the price of a daily comfort to the poorer classes by 100 or 130 per cent.

***THE CHAIRMAN**: The hon. Member is not entitled to go into that side of the question. The only point before the Committee is whether the tea duty should be a fixed sum or *ad valorem*.

MR. JOYCE (Limerick): A forlorn hope.

MR. J. F. HOPE said that undoubtedly an *ad valorem* duty would be the fairest if it could be fairly adjusted, because they would pay an amount of duty proportionate to the natural price of the article. But the history of the tea duty showed that the *ad valorem* system was open to very great objection. The system formerly pursued in this country was not a purely *ad valorem* one, but a compromise between fixed and *ad valorem* duties. The result was continual disputes between the merchants and the Customs House officials. The Customs officials naturally said that the tea was of a higher value than the merchants sought to put upon it, and an immense amount of time was consumed in settling the points at issue. Here they had that painful contrast, which was so noticeable in all human affairs, between the ideal and the practical. Undoubtedly the *ad valorem* system was the ideal, but, alas, experience had proved that in the matter of tea it was not a practical system, and he should greatly deprecate any attempt to revert to that system. The average price of tea at the present time was no more than 7½d. per lb., and if the proposed duty of 8d. per lb. were imposed, the total price would be 1s. 3½d. per lb. These figures he gave on the unquestionable authority of Mr. W. J. Thompson. The hon. Member for Lynn Regis, who had made very short work indeed of the previous Amendment, showed that, looking to the point of view of the revenue, the result of carrying that Amendment would have been to cut off three-fourths of the yield of the tea duty. The hon. Member pointed out that there were luxurious teas worth as much as from 6s. to 8s. per lb., and taking into account that the average price was only 7½d. per lb., it followed that the amount of tea imported at cheap figures was enormously in excess of the amount of the higher-class teas; and the calculation was well within the mark that if this Amendment were carried three fourths of the duty would be lost. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had said that this additional duty of 2d. per lb. was expected to produce £2,000,000 and that he did not anticipate that it would diminish the amount of the imports. The total revenue from tea would be £8,000,000, and therefore if three-fourths of that were knocked off, there would only remain £2,000,000. Now, how could that £6,000,000 of a deficiency in the revenue be made up? Some hon. Gentlemen might say that the deficiency might be met by increased duties on alcohol; but his contention was that the duties on alcohol had already reached their maximum. If a duty was put on any article of import or Excise, the demand fell off, and the higher tax operated in the revenue obtaining less money. Therefore, the £6,000,000 could not be made up by additional duties on beer and spirits. He did not think the death duties on realty should be increased.

but he should like to see them increased on personalty. He was afraid, however, that the Chancellor of the Exchequer would say that in that event evasion would be practised to such a degree that he would not get more money. Then could the deficiency be got from an increase in the income-tax? That would mean 2½d. additional burden on a very deserving class of the community who had to keep up a good appearance on a very narrow margin of income. From a national point of view, also, it would diminish the great national reserve in case of war. They did not want to hypothecate that reserve to civil expenditure. It must be remembered that the Chancellor of the Exchequer was cribbed, cabined, and confined by the present fiscal system, to which he was sure the right hon. Gentleman in his heart of hearts rose superior. Could the revenue be raised by an extra duty on publicans' licences? These duties were already mortgaged for compensation.

MR. EUGENE WASON (Clackmannan and Kinross) asked whether the hon. Member was entitled to go into this question of licences when the hon. Member for Dundee was ruled out of order in referring to them.

MR. J. F. HOPE said he did not want to argue the question.

*THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member is making a rather wide survey of the fiscal field, and it would be better if he narrowed his comments to the Amendment before the Committee.

MR. J. F. HOPE said he only wanted to show the effect of this Amendment, if carried, on the poor consumer; and he thought it would have been as well if another means of raising the deficiency had been suggested. After all, one must not exaggerate in a matter like this. He would compare the price of tea now with that in former times. In the year 1852 the average price of tea was 1s. 1½d., but the duty on tea was 2s. 1d. That worked out at 200 per cent. on the natural price, and he did not think that England was then in a miserable or depressed condition. In 1860, which was the year of Mr. Gladstone's great Budget, the duty was 1s. 5d., and the natural price was 1s. 6¾d.; and even in 1884 the price of tea, plus the duty, amounted to 1s. 5¾d., which was 2¼d. more than the price which would obtain if the proposed duty were imposed. He fully believed that the working of the *ad valorem* system would not be satisfactory either to the consumer or to the revenue. It would be manipulated by the dealers, so that the advantage to the consumer would be lost, and the good relations between the dealers and the Customs would be seriously impaired. There would be no such profits to the public as to compensate for the loss of revenue. He was rather surprised that the hon. Member for West Islington was not yet in his place, but he took it that it would be rather dangerous for him to support the Amendment of the hon. Member for Devonport. It was possible that perhaps in a few years time these hon. Gentlemen would find themselves on that side of the House. In that case, when the *ad valorem* question was raised, what would the Chancellor of the Exchequer do? He presumed that the Chancellor of the Exchequer would be either the hon. Member for Devonport or the hon. Member for West Islington. It was even possible that both of them would have to make way to the superior claims of the hon. Member for Oldham. In that event one of the hon. Gentlemen would have to console himself with the office of President of the Board of Trade and the other with the office of Financial Secretary to the Treasury. What would the Cabinet of the day then be able to do in this matter? He assumed that the Leader of the House would be the hon. Member for Mid-Lanark.

*THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member is looking too far into the future.

MR. J. F. HOPE said that of course three years time was perhaps too long to look ahead, but he might consider his hypothesis as possible next year. In that event what would be done by the hon. Member for Mid-Lanark, who already controlled the House, when he was Leader of the House. What would he say if his hon. friend the Member for Devonport wished to carry out in practice the principles of the Amendment he had put forward?

*MR. RENWICK (Newcastle-on-Tyne) said he was entirely opposed to the principle of an *ad valorem* duty in connection with tea. Many tea dealers were also tea growers who imported their tea into this country and he defied anyone to prove what was the import value of these teas. He could not imagine that the hon. Member for Devonport, fresh from the contest in that constituency, had ventilated this subject there, for, if he had done so, he would have been bound to acknowledge that an alteration of the tea duty, in the direction indicated by the Amendment, would be a tax on the poor. The very fact that there was to be an *ad valorem* duty would be an incentive to import the lower classes of tea, and no one would say that that would be an advantage to the people of this country. The question, however, should also be looked at from the point of view of the Exchequer. When every Budget was introduced, the Chancellor of the Exchequer was expected to tell the House what he anticipated would be the result of the imposition of certain taxes; but, if an *ad valorem* duty was imposed, he would be unable to say within a million or two what the revenue from the tea duty would be. An *ad valorem* duty was, no doubt, in theory correct, but it could not be worked properly in regard to certain articles like tea. The *ad valorem* system was advocated in the case of the coal duties, and coal below 6s. per ton was free from export duty. The Chancellor of the Exchequer must regret that that was the case, because he must know that there were suspicious circumstances in connection with the declared value of much of the exported coal. In the case of tea many superior qualities would be returned at a very low value, and the wholesale dealers would sell them to the retailers, who, in turn, would often sell them to the public as a special brand of tea at 3s. or 4s. per pound, when only 2d. or 3d. duty per pound had been paid on them. Therefore, he thought that the hon. Member, on due consideration, would find that this Amendment was not one which he ought to ask the House to accept. No hon. Member in the House objected to the tea duty more than he did. He recognised that in many respects it was an unjust tax, and he should like to see it abolished. Throughout his political career he had always denounced it; but he recognised that, owing to the action of hon Gentlemen opposite, they had already exacted a pledge from Ministers that, during the existence of this Parliament, the present fiscal policy of the country would not be interfered with. [OPPOSITION ironical laughter.] Hon. Gentlemen might laugh, but he thought he had heard them denounce any alteration of our fiscal system, and he believed that until we had an entirely new arrangement of our fiscal system——

*THE CHAIRMAN: I do not think that the discussion of the fiscal system of the country is in order.

*MR. RENWICK said he did not wish to discuss the re-arrangement of the fiscal system, but there were difficulties in the way of the Chancellor of the Exchequer adopting an *ad valorem* duty. The tea duty could not be altered in the direction indicated, unless there was an entire alteration of the duties on which the present Budget was based; and he was surprised that hon. Members had put down all these Amendments in respect of the tea duty when they knew that they could not be enforced without a re-arrangement of the whole fiscal system. He thought the Chancellor of the Exchequor was on safe ground when he maintained a uniform duty of 8d. per pound on all teas, and for that reason he should certainly oppose the Amendment.

MR. EUGENE WASON said that the hon. Member who had just sat down considered the tea duty unjust. He heartily endorsed that sentiment. It was unjust and cruelly hard on poor people; but he believed it would be much less so if the Amendment of the hon. Member for Devonport were accepted, and a higher duty were placed on the higher grades of tea. He was not a tea grower or a tea dealer, but he was a tea drinker. [MINISTERIAL laughter.] Why not? He supported the Amendment because his constituents were strongly interested in the increased price of tea which would be caused by this addition to the duty, and the Amendment of the hon. Member for Devonport, which he cordially supported, would mitigate its harsh incidence.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said there was one reason which, under any circumstances, would make it impossible for him to accept the proposal of the hon. Member for Devonport. The acceptance of the Amendment would largely decrease the revenue whch he hoped to obtain from the tax on tea, and would thus destroy the balance of the Budget. The hon.

Gentleman himself could give no estimate of the effects of his proposal. The hon. Gentleman, who had special knowledge of the trade, must be aware that the average price of tea sold in bond in this country did not exceed 8d. per pound, and if the duty were arranged so that it would not exceed 50 per cent. of the value of the tea, that would destroy a very large proportion of the revenue which he was seeking to raise. Instead of obtaining an additional £2,000,000 by raising the duty to 8d., the effect of this Amendment would be to give them an even less revenue than was obtained from the present 6d. duty. But that was not by any means the only objection to an *ad valorem* duty on tea. If he rightly understood the hon. Member's argument, it was that as the percentage which the duty bore to the value of the tea in bond was higher now than it had been in the previous year, therefore the tax was more unjust, that was to say, because the price of the article had fallen the duty ought to fall too. If the hon. Member was logical, it would follow that the higher the cost of an article, even though it might be an article of prime necessity to the people, the higher would be the duty they were justified in putting upon it, and *vice versa*. That was surely a *reductio ad absurdum.*

Mr. KEARLEY said his point was that the right hon. Gentleman was not entitled to put a duty of 130 per cent. on an article of daily consumption.

Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said that might have been the object of the hon. Member, but his illustrations would support the logical absurdity he had just indicated. An *ad valorem* duty in the case of tea was in existence up to the year 1833, when the monopoly of the East India Company came to an end. With the close of that monopoly it at once became practically impossible, without inconvenience and injustice to the trade, to levy an *ad valorem* duty, and from 1835 onwards there had been a fixed specific duty upon tea irrespective of value. The hon. Gentleman had said that so large a proportion of the tea now imported was sold under public auction that there would be no difficulty in arriving at its value for the purpose of assessing the duty. But the hon. Member would find that some of the biggest importers of tea into this country imported on their own account, and no public sale by auction took place in their case.

Mr. KEARLEY said that 95 per cent. of the tea imported was sold by public auction.

Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said that it was not desirable that in these cases the Committee should be deprived of the power of arriving at the duty that ought to be paid by methods which were just and fair and not give rise to disputes. Some of the biggest importers of tea on their own account also acted as distributers.

Mr. KEARLEY: No, no.

Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said he had access to some sources of information which the hon. Gentleman would respect, and he was advised that some of the largest individual importers imported on their own account and their teas would not be sold at public auction. If the hon. Member for Devonport was not satisfied with his authority, he would give him another authority who was more intimately associated with the trade than himself. The hon. Member for West Islington, who had special knowledge on this subject, and who had not spoken on this Amendment, spoke in opposition to a proposal to levy an *ad valorem* duty a few years ago, and said—

> "If anyone would think for a moment how the tea trade could be carried on with a graduated tax, it would be enough to make him support the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Such a duty would interfere with the immense trade done in tea in bond, because the seller, the second seller, or the third seller would have to produce the original invoice, so that the duty might be paid upon that. Thus he perceived the price that had been paid by all previous purchasers. It would give a most disastrous blow to the distributers of tea in England, and it would, he thought, accomplish the ruin of the grower of tea in India and Ceylon."

Mr. KEARLEY: I have converted him since then.

Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said that the hon. Member for West Islington continued—

> "He believed it would be impossible to carry on the trade under the scheme proposed by the Amendment."

That Amendment was exactly the Amendment proposed by the hon. Member for Devonport. What, after all, was the object of hon. Gentlemen opposite? The supporters of this Amendment felt that the poor man should not pay as high a duty on his tea as the rich man paid on his. They assumed that the working classes generally drank the cheap and poor quality of tea, and that they would obtain the benefit of this reduction of duty. He doubted that very much.

MR. EUGENE WASON said that the poor man did not pay the same price for his tea as the rich man.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said he would take his argument back a further stage. A specific duty on tea, so far as it had any effect as between one class of tea and another, favoured the use of a better class where they had an *ad valorem* duty. The hon. Gentleman assumed that it was the working classes generally who drank the cheaper and poorer qualities of tea, and that they would find the benefit of this reduction of duty. But he did not think it was economically sound to encourage them to drink the poorest qualities of tea, even if the price were cheaper, because when the quality was taken into account he doubted whether they would get better or as good value for their money. His hon. friend the Member for West Islington, whose knowledge of questions of this kind nobody could dispute, in the subsequent course of the debate to which he had alluded, confirmed the view of his right hon. friend the Member for West Bristol, when Chancellor of the Exchequer, that the poor man well knew what was good tea and what was bad tea, and that he was able to purchase good tea, and did purchase good tea. The hon. Member for West Islington then said—

> "The great difficulty about an *ad valorem* duty on tea in this country, or on any other article, was that it would put a premium on low qualiy: The object of the Committee ought to be to pass such laws as would make all producers give to the people the best quality at the lowest possible price. If the Committee adopted the principle of giving a lower tax on a lower quality it would put a premium on the production of a low quality of goods. The Chancellor of the Exchequer said they must not assume that the poor consumed the cheapest quality. His experience confirmed that opinion. The cheapest quality was bought by mean rich people, who gave it to their servants. The poorest people often distinguished themselves by the excellent taste they displayed, so far as tea and, he believed, other articles of consumption were concerned. If they got little, they demanded that it should be good. That was a sound principle to go upon. There was no real economy in bad quality."

He did not always accept the authority of the hon. Member for West Islington, but he must agree with him on this question when the hon. Member spoke from wide knowledge and large experience. He did not think it would be in the interests of the consumers in this country to encourage the importation and consumption of the worser qualities of tea. He was certain that if they differentiated the tax on the values of tea they would cause great difficulties in carrying on the trade, and would destroy the revenue for which the tax was proposed. For these reasons he was unable to accept the Amendment.

MR. McKENNA said that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had made it abundantly clear that there were difficulties in the way of this duty. Nobody would deny that for a moment. But they had to find an alternative. On the one hand it did seem obviously unfair that tea which was sold at 1s. or 2s. per lb. should bear the same tax as tea which was sold at 6d. The Chancellor of the Exchequer seemed to be under the impression that cheap tea was bought by millionaires and dear tea by the poorer classes.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL said that the Irish peasants drank the most expensive tea.

MR. McKENNA said that very often that might be the case, and he accepted the statement of the hon. Member for South Tyrone as true of Ireland. He thought that would have been a very strong reason why the Amendment moved earlier in the day from the Irish Benches should have been accepted. But the hon. Member for Devonport, who was an authority on this subject, gave contrary testimony. That hon. Gentleman had been asked whether he proposed a reduction of the tea tax during the Devonport election. He would tell the Committee that the electors of

Devonport were asked whether they wanted "Dear food and cheap Chinaman.' If the consumption remained as at present the statement that there would be loss of revenue would be accurate, but he submitted that as the consumption would enormously increase, the right hon. Gentleman would not suffer the loss that he anticipated. If that were the reason why the right hon. Gentleman objected to the *ad valorem* duty he might propose one of 100 per cent., which would have the effect of leaving the existing duty of 6d. per lb. exactly where it now stood on cheap tea, and would impose a considerably heavier tax on dear tea, a burden which would be borne by the people in this country who did not trouble whether the price of their tea was increased. If the Amendment were to be accepted in that form, it would get rid of much of the inconvenience existing under the present tax. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had referred to the difficulty in collecting the tax, and had instanced what took place in 1833, but they had been told that 95 per cent. of the present teas were sold in bond by public auction. The objections of the Chancellor of the Exchequer had been disposed of, and there was no real or substantial reason before the Committee why the Amendment should not be accepted.

Mr. H. C. RICHARDS (Finsbury, E.) said he rose to contradict the statement made by the hon. Member for Devonport. In his constituency there were sold millions of pounds of tea by a gentleman who was one of the largest tea traders in the world, and who did not buy his tea by auction, but owned his own tea gardens. He referred to Sir Thomas Lipton. A report in the *Times* of the annual meeting of the Tower Tea Company stated that the action of the Chancellor of the Exchequer in raising the duty would in no way affect them or their customers, as they had made provision in the matter. If that statement was accurate, why should different statements be brought into the House? This was not a discussion on the merits of the tea duty, but was simply an attempt to prevent the Chancellor of the Exchequer from getting his Budget Bill through. He had seen tea sold in Ceylon on a dull day at 2½d. per lb., which meant that a very large quantity would be put on this market at 3¾d. per lb. Where would be the revenue if the *ad valorem* duty were adopted? It would bring into the market the greatest rubbish: it would encourage the impecunious manufacturer to put his goods on the market at the earliest possible period, and this country would be glutted with tea that was utterly unfit for human consumption. It was the policy of the producers to supply the British public with something that would encourage them to purchase from them again. The growers of India were unanimous on the point that the duty imposed should not be an *ad valorem* one. No argument in favour of that kind of duty had been advanced, and he trusted that the Committee would not agree with the Amendment.

Sir FREDERICK BANBURY (Camberwell, Peckham) said he understood that one of the reasons why hon. Members opposite advocated an *ad valorem* duty was that the great bulk of tea was sold by auction and therefore the Customs officials' duty would be simplified. But what was there to prevent tea growers from sending direct to the seller and sharing the profit, and in that case how would the Customs officials be able to arrive at the actual cost? Again, what was to prevent the sellers in this country purchasing estates in Ceylon and India, and importing their own tea and selling it direct to the consumer? The object of this tax was a revenue object, and therefore the first duty of a Chancellor of the Exchequer was to see how he could raise it without dislocation of the business on which the tax was imposed, and with the least cost to the country. He would point out that the incidence of indirect taxation would be changed if the Amendment were to be carried, and there was no doubt that at the present moment indirect taxation pressed very lightly on those classes who were called upon to bear it, and unless hon. Members opposite could show good reasons for accepting it, he should vote against the Amendment.

Sir JOHN GORST (Cambridge University) said he rose to make a practical suggestion. They had heard speeches from a number of very sound fiscal reformers, who had proved to demonstration the impossibility of an *ad valorem* duty. He would suggest that a member of the Tariff Commission should address the Committee and explain how a wholesale system of *ad valorem* duty could be put into operation.

MR. MARKHAM (Nottinghamshire, Mansfield) wished, now that the Government had a majority, to move an Amendment to the Amendment already before the Committee. It was a well-known principle that the equality or inequality of taxation was based solely and wholly on the ability of those who had to bear it. This tax upon tea had been condemned as being a tax on the poorest section of the community, and in his humble opinion it was not a tax with which the Committee ought to agree. Whether it were proposed by a Liberal or a Conservative Government, he should always be opposed to a tax upon tea, bread, or any other necessary of life being levied on the poorest section of the community. He would therefore move to reduce the tax by the sum of eightpence.

*THE CHAIRMAN: The object of the hon. Gentleman's Amendment is to reject the whole clause, and that would not be in order as an Amendment.

MR. RUNCIMAN (Dewsbury) desired to carry the debate a stage further before the Amendment was taken to a division. The proceedings of the Committee would not redound either to the dignity of Parliament or to a speedy passage of the Bill. His hon. friend had proposed an Amendment before the dinner interval with all seriousness. Since then they had had a series of speeches almost entirely from the other side of the House, some being germane to the Amendment and some quite otherwise. He did not wish to refer to the speech of the hon. Member for Peckham, whose views on this subject were so notorious in this House, but he did desire to refer to a remark made by the hon. and learned Member for Finsbury. The hon. and learned Member had informed the House that a great distributer of tea in his constituency (Sir Thomas Lipton) was a man who did not buy tea in the Mincing Lane auction, but grew all the tea he sold. That simply showed how little the hon. and learned Member knew about the tea distributers of his own constituency. As a matter of fact, Sir Thomas Lipton's buyers were in Mincing Lane every day of the week except Sundays.

MR. H. C. RICHARDS: On whose authority do you say that?

MR. KEARLEY: On mine.

MR. RUNCIMAN: On the authority of the hon. Member for Devonport and the hon. Member for West Islington.

MR. H. C. RICHARDS: I deny it.

MR. RUNCIMAN, continuing, said he might inform the hon. Member that probably more than one-half of the tea sold by the firm of Lipton was not grown by Lipton, Limited, but was bought by them in the London auction. But the whole point which had been raised by his hon. friend who moved the Amendment was that a specific duty of 6d. in the lb., or 8d. in the lb. if this clause were passed, was a duty which fell very unfairly upon the cheap tea, which in itself was a great burden to the trade, and which placed those engaged in the trade in considerable difficulties every time the Budget came round. That was a difficulty which had been faced in many countries of the world, especially in the United States of America, and he commended to tariff reformers the example of America, which in all tariff questions they were prepared to follow. In America it had been found that specific duties were unjust, and there had been a general tendency to return to an *ad valorem* basis. In 1891, for instance, a Congressional Committee which sat upon the subject reported entirely against specific duties and unanimously in favour of levying duties on an *ad valorem* basis. That example might well be followed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, but the right hon. Gentleman was understood to be prevented from following the example of America in fiscal matters by a pledge which he and other members of the Government had given by some vague means to the country. But members of the Opposition were also bound by a pledge not to follow the example of the Government in fiscal matters, and their pledge would forbid them to bind themselves to the principle of levying on the poorest descriptions of tea the same duty as was levied on the more expensive classes, for the simple reason that they held that the poor, if they did not already drink the cheaper teas, should at all events, if the duty was to be increased, have an opportunity of resorting to the cheaper teas in order to escape a portion of the tax. That point of view had been entirely overlooked by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, but it was well worth the attention of the Committee. The disadvantages of the *ad valorem* basis were certainly very great. He would not attempt to describe the ingenuity which would be shown by tea dealers and importers if an *ad valorem* basis were adopted, but there would certainly be a great encouragement to them to discover means for getting round the declarations of value in order that they might, to some extent, avail themselves of the graduation for the lower values. Such a basis would also involve a greater cost of collection, and, however far the Mincing Lane auction might be considered reliable, it would be necessary to institute some means by which the Chancellor of the Exchequer and his officials would be enabled to check the values on which the duty was levied. On the other hand, the advantages of the *ad valorem* basis were great. Importers would know that the imposition of the tax was on an intelligible basis, and that the amount was in proportion to the value of the commodity in which they dealt. He could not see, however, how the simplicity of the specific duty could be secured under an *ad valorem* system. The ease and cheapness of collection at present was so great that, from the tax-collecting point of view, the adoption of an *ad valorem* basis would require greater justification than had yet been shown. He suggested that before any further decision was come to on the subject hon. Members should carefully weigh the arguments on both sides, which he had endeavoured impartially to place before the Committee.

Mr. MARKHAM asked whether he was to understand that his Amendment was ruled out of order.

Mr. Runciman.

***The CHAIRMAN**: Will the hon. Member draft the Amendment? If he will do so, I will then consider it. I do not see how he can, but I invite him to do it.

***Mr. T. W. RUSSELL** said the House was a little fuller than when the discussion on this point began. He had listened to several speeches and heard the extraordinary assertion of the hon. and learned Member for Finsbury that the object of the opposition to this tea duty was to put difficulties in the way of the Chancellor of the Exchequer in carrying the Finance Bill. He thought that that was a very considerable statement in view of what had taken place in the House since nine o'clock. He happened to have been in the House during that time, and had heard speech after speech delivered, the sole object being not to facilitate the passing of the Finance Bill but to delay proceedings in order that the Government majority might be enabled to come down from their dinner before a division was taken. He should not have said anything about the matter; but when an hon. Gentleman on the Government side of the House said that those in opposition to the duty were engaged in the work suggested, he thought it was going a little too far. In the earlier part of the discussion it was asserted that the rich bought the dearer class of tea and the poor the cheaper class. That was the argument for the *ad valorem* duty. That might be so in England; but the peasant in Donegal, Galway, and other places drank an expensive kind of tea, and the way the *ad valorem* duty would work in that case would be that the poor would pay double taxation on the tea they consumed. He was against this whole tax, and he was willing to do anything he could to stop it or to reduce it; but he was not willing to vote for an Amendment which would put a heavier duty on the poor in Ireland than that which they now paid. That was the reason why he opposed the Amendment.

Mr. SYDNEY BUXTON thought some note ought to be taken of the proceedings of the last hour and a half. Members of the Opposition for two days had been endeavouring to discuss Amendments to the Budget Bill in a reasonable spirit; and it could not be contended that they had shown any obstructive tendency or desire. But that could hardly be said of the manner in which hon. Members opposite had conducted the proceedings since the dinner recess. Practically the whole time had been occupied by the "Toriest" Members, such as the hon. Members for Peckham, Finsbury, and Sheffield, who had spoken, not for the purpose of debating the merits of the Amendment, but simply to occupy time. [Cries of "Withdraw."] He would at once withdraw all adverse criticism if any of the hon. Members he had named would assure the Committee that they had risen to discuss the merits of the Amendment and not merely to consume time.

*THE CHAIRMAN: I think the hon. Member has forgotten the rule of Parliament which forbids hon. Members to impute motives.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON said he would at once withdraw the statement and apologise to the three hon. Members referred to. He was quite sure that the sole object with which they had addressed the Committee was to convince hon. Members that the Amendment was not one that ought to be accepted. Personally he did not intend to discuss the merits of the Amendment; an observation made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer was quite sufficient to induce him to vote in its favour. The right hon. Gentleman had stated that the Amendment, if carried, would upset the balance of the Budget. That meant that less revenue would be drawn from indirect taxation, and that the deficit would have to be made up by the income-tax payer. That would be entirely in accord with his views as to what ought to have been the finance of the year, and, therefore, he should support the Amendment.

Question put.

The Committee divided:—Ayes, 148; Noes, 194. (Division List, No. 165.)

AYES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N.E.)
Abraham, William (Rhondda)
Allen, Charles P.
Barry, E. (Cork, S.)
Bayley, Thomas (Derbyshire)
Black, Alexander William
Boland, John
Brigg, John
Broadhurst, Henry
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Burke, E. Haviland
Burt, Thomas
Buxton, Sydney Charles
Caldwell, James
Cameron, Robert
Campbell, John (Armagh, S.)
Causton, Richard Knight
Cawley, Frederick
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Craig, Robert Hunter (Lanark)
Crean, Eugene
Crooks, William
Cullinan, J.
Davies, Alfred (Carmarthen)
Davies, M. Vaughan (Cardigan)
Delany, William
Devlin, Chas. Ramsay (Galway
Devlin, Joseph (Kilkenny, N.)
Dewar, John A. (Inverness-sh.)
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Donelan, Captain A.
Doogan, P. C.
Ellice,Capt E.C(SAndrw'sBghs
Esmonde, Sir Thomas
Evans, Samuel T. (Glamorgan)
Eve, Harry Trelawney
Farrell, James Patrick
Fenwick, Charles
Ferguson, R. C. Munro (Leith)
Fitzmaurice, Lord Edmond
Flynn, James Christopher
Foster, Sir Walter (Derby Co.)
Fowler, Rt. Hon. Sir Henry
Fuller, J. M. F.
Furness, Sir Christopher
Gilhooly, James
Gladstone, Rt.Hn.HerbertJohn
Griffith, Ellis J.
Gurdon, Sir W. Brampton
Haldane, Rt. Hon. Richard B.
Hammond, John
Hayden, John Patrick
Helme, Norval Watson
Hemphill, Rt. Hon. Charles H.
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Horniman, Frederick John
Humphreys-Owen, Arthur C.
Hutton, Alfred E. (Morley)
Jacoby, James Alfred
Johnson, John (Gateshead)
Jones, D. Brynmor (Swansea)
Jones, William(Carnarvonshire
Joyce, Michael
Kennedy,Vincent P.(Cavan,W.
Kilbride, Denis
Law, Hugh Alex. (Donegal,W.)
Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cornwall)
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Leamy, Edmund
Leese, Sir Jos. F. (Accrington)
Leigh, Sir Joseph
Leng, Sir John
Levy, Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Lloyd-George, David
Lough, Thomas
Lundon, W.
Lyell, Charles Henry
Macnamara, Dr. Thomas J.
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
M'Arthur, William (Cornwall)
M'Crae, George
M'Killop, W. (Sligo, North)
M'Laren, Sir Charles Benjamin
Mansfield, Horace Rendall
Markham, Arthur Basil
Mooney, John J.
Morgan, J. Lloyd (Carmarthen)
Morley, Charles (Breconshire)
Murphy, John
Nannetti, Joseph P.
Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South)
O'Brien, K. (Tipperary, Mid.)
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Brien, P. J. (Tipperary, N.)
O'Connor, James (Wicklow,W.
O'Donnell, John (Mayo, S.)
O'Donnell, T. (Kerry, W.)
O'Kelly, Jas. (Roscommon, N.)
O'Malley, William
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
O'Shee, James John
Parrott, William
Partington, Oswald
Pease, J. A. (Saffron Walden)
Pirie, Duncan V.
Power, Patrick Joseph
Priestley, Arthur
Rea, Russell
Redmond, John E. (Waterford)
Reid, Sir R. Threshie(Dumfries
Roberts, John Bryn (Eifion)
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.)
Robertson, Edmund (Dundee)

Robson, William Snowdon
Roe, Sir Thomas
Rose, Charles Day
Runciman, Walter
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Samuel, S. M. (Whitechapel)
Shackleton, David James
Shaw, Charles Edw. (Stafford)
Sheehan, Daniel Daniel
Sheehy, David
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Slack, John Bamford
Soames, Arthur Wellesley
Soares, Ernest J.
Spencer, Rt.Hn.C.R(Northants
Stanhope, Hon. Philip James
Sullivan, Donal
Taylor, Theodore C. (Radcliffe)
Thomas, Abel (Carmarthen,E.)
Thomas, Sir A.(Glamorgan, E.)
Thomas, D. Alfred (Merthyr)
Tomkinson, James
Toulmin, George
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan)
Wason,John Cathcart(Orkney)
White, Luke (York, E.R.)
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
Whittaker, Thomas Palmer
Wilson, Fred. W.(Norfolk,Mid.
Wilson, Henry J. (York, W.R.)
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid.)
Woodhouse,Sir J.T(Huddersf'd
Young, Samuel

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Mr. Kearley and Mr. M'Kenna.

NOES.

Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Allhusen,Augustus HenryEden
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arrol, Sir William
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Aubrey-Fletcher, Rt.Hn.Sir H.
Bagot, Capt. Josceline FitzRoy
Bailey, James (Walworth)
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour, Rt.Hon. A.J.(Manch'r
Balfour, Rt. Hon. G. W. (Leeds
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Bignold, Arthur
Bigwood, James
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Boscawen, Arthur Griffith
Bousfield, William Robert
Bowles, Lt.-Col.H.F(Middlesex
Brassey, Albert
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Bull, William James
Butcher, John George
Carlile, William Walter
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Cautley, Henry Strother
Cavendish, V.C.W. (Derbyshire
Cayzer, Sir Charles William
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Cecil, Lord Hugh (Greenwich)
Chamberlain,Rt Hn.J.A(Worc.
Chapman, Edward
Charrington, Spencer
Coates, Edward Feetham
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Craig, CharlesCurtis(Antrim,S.)
Cripps, Charles Alfred
Cross, Alexander (Glasgow)
Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Dalkeith, Earl of
Davenport, William Bromley
Denny, Colonel
Dickinson, Robert Edmond
Dickson, Charles Scott
Dimsdale, Rt.Hn. Sir Joseph C.
Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
Doughty, George
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers
Doxford, Sir William Theodore
Duke, Henry Edward
Durning-Lawrence, Sir Edwin
Dyke, Rt. Hn.SirWilliam Hart
Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
Faber, Edmund B. (Hants., W.
Fielden, Edward Brocklehurst
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
Fison, Frederick William
Fitzroy, Hn. Edward Algernon
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Flower, Sir Ernest
Forster, Henry William
Galloway, William Johnson
Gardner, Ernest
Gordon, Hn.J.E.(Elgin&Nairn)
Gore,Hn G.R.C.Ormsby-(Salop
Gorst, Rt. Hon. Sir John Eldon
Goulding, Edward Alfred
Gray, Ernest (West Ham)
Grenfell, William Henry
Gretton, John
Greville, Hon. Ronald
Guthrie, Walter Murray
Hain, Edward
Hall, Edward Marshall
Hardy, L. (Kent, Ashford)
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Harris, F. Leverton (Tynem'th
Haslett, Sir James Horner
Hatch, Ernest Frederick Geo.
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Helder, Augustus
Henderson, Sir A.(Stafford, W.
Hermon-Hodge, Sir Robert T.
Hickman, Sir Alfred
Hobhouse, RtHnH(Somers't,E
Hope, J.F.(Sheffield,Brightside
Hoult, Joseph
Howard, Jn.(Kent, Faversham
Howard, J. (Midd.,Tottenham)
Hunt, Rowland
Hutton, John (Yorks., N.R.)
Jameson, Major J. Eustace
Jebb, Sir Richard Claverhouse
Jeffreys, Rt. Hon. Arthur Fred.
Johnstone, Heywood (Sussex)
Kenyon, Hn. Geo. T.(Denbigh)
Kenyon-Slaney, Col. W.(Salop.
Keswick, William
King, Sir Henry Seymour
Lambton, Hon. Frederick Wm.
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
Lawson,Jn. Grant(Yorks., N.R
Lee, A. H. (Hants., Fareham)
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Loder, Gerald Walter Erskine
Long, Rt.Hn.Walter(Bristol,S.
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lowe, Francis William
Lucas, Col. Francis (Lowestoft)
Macdona, John Cumming
MacIver, David (Liverpool)
Maconochie, A. W.
M'Arthur, Charles (Liverpool)
M'Iver,Sir Lewis(Edinburgh,W
M'Killop, James (Stirlingshire)
Majendie, James A. H.
Manners, Lord Cecil
Martin, Richard Biddulph
Milner, Rt.Hn. Sir Frederick G.
Milvain, Thomas
Molesworth, Sir Lewis
Montagu, G. (Huntingdon)
Montagu, Hn. J. Scott (Hants.)
Moon, Edward Robert Pacy
Morpeth, Viscount
Morrison, James Archibald
Mount, William Arthur
Muntz, Sir Philip A.
Murray, Charles J. (Coventry)
Newdegate, Francis A. N.
Nicholson, William Graham
Palmer, Walter (Salisbury)
Parkes, Ebenezer
Pease, Herb. Pike (Darlington)
Percy, Earl
Platt, Higgins, Frederick
Plummer, Walter R.
Pretyman, Ernest George
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Pym, C. Guy
Quilter, Sir Cuthbert
Randles, John S.
Rankin, Sir James
Rasch, Sir Frederic Carne
Ratcliff, R. F.
Reid, James (Greenock)
Remnant, James Farquharson
Renwick, George
Richards, Henry Charles
Ridley, Hon. M.W.(Stalybridge
Ridley, S.Forde(Bethnal Green
Roberts, Samuel (Sheffield)
Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
Rolleston, Sir John F. L.
Rollit, Sir Albert Kaye
Ropner, Colonel Sir Robert
Russell, T. W.
Rutherford, John (Lancashire)
Rutherford, W. W. (Liverpool)
Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford
Seely, Charles Hilton (Lincoln)
Sharpe, William Edward T.
Skewes-Cox, Thomas
Smith,H C(North'mb.Tyneside
Smith, James Parker(Lanarks.)
Spear, John Ward

Stanley, Edward Jas.(Somerset
Stanley, Rt. Hon. Lord(Lancs.)
Stock, James Henry
Stone, Sir Benjamin
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Taylor, Austin (East Toxteth)
Thorburn, Sir Walter
Thornton, Percy M.
Tollemache, Henry James
Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
Tritton, Charles Ernest
Valentia, Viscount
Vincent,Col.Sir C.E.H(Sheffield
Walker, Col. William Hall
Walrond, Rt.Hn.Sir WilliamH.
Webb, Colonel William George
Welby, Lt.-Col.A.C.E(Taunton
Welby, Sir Charles G.E.(Notts.
Wharton, Rt. Hon. John Lloyd
Wilson, A. Stanley (York, E.R.
Wilson, John (Glasgow)
Wodehouse, Rt.Hn. E.R.(Bath
Wolff, Gustav Wilhelm
Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B. Stuart
Wrightson, Sir Thomas
Younger, William

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Sir Alexander Acland - Hood and Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes.

MR. KEARLEY moved to reduce the tea duty from 8d., as proposed by the Bill, to 4d. He said that before the duty had been raised from 4d. to 6d. the consumption of tea per head of the population had been steadily increasing, but within recent years it had absolutely declined. It was also important to bear in mind the effect this increase in the tea duty was having upon the quality of the tea sold. The production of tea of an inferior quality in countries which had not hitherto produced tea was now being encouraged. Last year the United States produced 5,000,000 lbs. of tea. Nobody would have thought that Germany was a tea-producing country, but it was a fact that last year Germany produced 504,000 lbs. of tea. Canada had also commenced shipping tea to this country. What was the explanation of this? The explanation was that the large increase in the duty had thrown the pressure of the demand upon tea of a very inferior character, which these countries supplied, and England had become the dust-bin of the world for all these cheap teas. Let the Committee consider what had been the effect upon our own dependencies. He could quote figures to show that the imports of tea to this country from Ceylon had enormously fallen off during the last few years. There had, during the same period, been a great increase in our importations from China. At one time China had almost ceased to have any influence upon the tea market, because the Indian and Ceylon tea production was sufficient to supply the demand, but this state of things had been altered. In the year 1901, 9,000,000 lbs. of China tea were imported into this country, but in 1903 our importation of teas from China had increased to 15,000,000 lbs.; whilst during the same period there had been a considerable fall in our importation of tea from Ceylon. That state of things arose from the fact that the tea duty had been increased. On the one hand they had a large diminution in their shipments of tea from Ceylon, and,on the other hand, a large increase in their importations of inferior teas from China. That had been brought about by the pressure of the demand for very low-priced tea, and that was one of the reasons why he wanted the duty on tea restored to the condition it was in before the war.

Why had the consumption of tea fallen off? It was because the wage-earning class had only so much money to spend and no more, and therefore when the price of tea was increased the consumption of that commodity was bound to diminish. When the price of tea went up the poor people had to buy an inferior quality. What had been the effect of this upon British trade? How had it affected the home trade? The Chancellor of the Exchequer seemed to pay no particular attention to this aspect of the question. Every business man knew that these continual alterations in the duty upon tea disorganised the trade. The increasing of such duties as the tea duty involved the locking up of a large amount of additional capital. He was surprised to learn the other day that in regard to the alterations made in the tea and sugars duties alone one firm had to sink £20,000 additional capital in order to carry on their business. It was obvious that this duty ought to be reduced. When the war was on none of them made any very great fuss about the tea duty being raised to 6d. because the Chancellor of the Exchequer told them distinctly that it was only being raised for war expenditure, and he assured them that when the war was over the exta 2d. would be taken off again. He had not heard any adequate reasons given by the right hon. Gentleman for placing this tax at so high a figure. He understood that one of the reasons for this tax was that the Chancellor of the Exchequer desired to finance his Budget in such a way that next March he would have a handsome surplus. He believed the right hon.

Gentleman had underestimated the revenue, and that it would be much more than he had budgeted for.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 1, line 21, to leave out the words 'eight pence,' and insert the words 'four pence.'"—(*Mr. Kearley.*)

Question proposed, "That the words 'eight pence' stand part of the clause."

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said the hon. Member suggested that he had not been nearly sanguine enough in his estimates, or that he had concealed the facts from the House with a view to obtaining an abnormal surplus for ulterior motives——

MR. KEARLEY said the Chairman had ruled that motives must not be imputed; he had never made any such suggestion.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said he was glad to hear that. But the charge that he had not been sanguine enough was in direct contradiction to a good deal of the criticism made on the other side of the House. He had framed estimates, on the best advice, which he thought were not more than prudent; and a very short time ago he had consulted the same authorities, who told him that if he were budgeting at the present moment it would not be wise to estimate for a larger revenue. The hon. Member asked him to forego one-half of the revenue he hoped to raise from tea. If he did that he would be deliberately contemplating a deficit, and that was a course he, for one, would not take, whatever charms it might have for a Chancellor of the Exchequer who was anxious to avoid unpopularity. He was obliged to ask the House to agree to this duty in order to obtain the revenue necessary for the year. There was no doubt that in the last few years there had been a decrease in the importation of Ceylon tea. He thought that was in part due to some decrease in the power of consumption on the part of the people. It was certainly not wholly due to increased taxation. It was well known that a few years ago there was a great over-production in Ceylon, and that this country was supplied with a good deal of inferior tea. That brought down the prices of Ceylon tea, and great injury was done to the tea industry of the island. The planters had been recovering from that position, and it was not unnatural that they should have sought for other markets for their products instead of sending them to this country at ruinous prices. If the increased duty were calculated to affect particularly British-grown tea, he could not understand why it should not have affected Indian tea; but each year onward from 1895 showed a steady increase in the imports of Indian tea cleared for home consumption, and since 1900 the imports of Indian tea had increased by nearly as much as the imports of Ceylon tea had diminished. In 1900 the imports of Indian tea were 138,000,000 lbs., but in 1903 they were 150,000,000 lbs., or an increase of 12,000,000 lbs. He did not think that this extra tax upon tea would be specially injurious to our fellow subjects in India and Ceylon, who were producers of tea. He observed that some of the trade journals had concluded that the consumer would be made to pay this additional duty, but whether that would be so or not his position was that he was obliged to impose new taxation. He could not accept an Amendment which, instead of giving him more money, would take away from what he had.

MR. RUNCIMAN said he was surprised at hearing the figures read out by the Chancellor of the Exchequer regarding the consumption of tea, because at an earlier stage of the Budget, when he quoted identically the same figures, the right hon. Gentleman described them as being utterly deceptive. But he now found the right hon. Gentleman using the same figures to prove his case. He put down a Question yesterday and the answer repeated the figures as to the decrease in consumption. The Question asked for the average consumption of tea per head in the United Kingdom during the years 1900–1–2–3, and the answer was that the average consumption could only be adduced approximately and that calculations on the quantity of tea on which duty was paid were apt to be misleading because they took no account of the duty paid on stocks in the hands of dealers and grocers. The figures were—1900, 6·07; 1901, 6·16; 1902, 6·06; 1903, 6·03. The explanation given by the Chancellor of the Exchequer for this drop would, he admitted, be valid if it occurred only in one year, but the same tendency occurred in 1903 as in 1902, and it was conceivable there had been a still further reduction per head of consumption in 1904. This seemed to show that the heavy taxation of recent years was having an effect upon the consumption of tea, that indeed for the first time in fifty years the tendency had been downward for two years in succession. The natural inference was not that the nation was reaching the saturation point in regard to tea, but that it was reaching a point at which it would bring a diminishing return to the Exchequer. Therefore, from that point of view, the Treasury would be well advised in refraining from putting on an extra 2d. this year.

How did this tax on tea compare with other countries? With one or two rather notable exceptions the taxation on tea imposed by the right hon. Gentleman was the highest compared with those nations with which they might reasonably compare this country. In Spain, Denmark, Germany, Holland, Belgium, Switzerland, Greece, the United States, and Turkey the taxation upon tea was much less than it was in this country. The taxation of tea was heavier in Russia, whose fiscal system he understood the right hon. Gentleman wished to copy. There the tax varied from 8d. on brick tea to 1s. 11¼d. on Ceylon or Indian tea. In France tea was taxed 9d. per pound when imported directly from a country out of Europe, and 11¾d. when imported from European entrepôts. In Portugal it reached the remarkable figure of 2s., with the result that the tea there was the vilest that human being ever tasted. In Italy it was 11d., and in Austria 9¾d. So that gradually this country had reached during the last few years the standard of being, so far as tea was concerned, a heavily taxed country. The right hon. Gentleman had made reference to the complaint of the Ceylon tea producers. He held in his hand a very powerful speech made by the late Governor of Ceylon, Sir J. West Ridgeway. He did not say that Ceylon producers were well able to bear the tax. What he said was this—

> "We are told that the loss will fall on the consumer, and not on the producer, but we do not accept that statement. We dispute its accuracy; we say that in the future, as in the past, the loss will fall both on producer and consumer. But we are told that the increased duty will not check consumption. This is a strange doctrine; but this is an age of strange doctrines."

The Chancellor of the Exchequer had not justified the increase of this tax except on the plea that he wanted money, that he had to obtain it somewhere, and that this was the easiest way to obtain it. If that was the principle which actuated the right hon. Gentleman it was one that he might well revise. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman's action in this matter would not be followed by any of his successors.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said he now understood that the reference of the Chairman to the Standing Order against attributing motives was addressed to another hon. Gentleman, and not to the hon. Member for Devonport. He was sorry that he had accused the hon. Member of attributing motives.

MR. LOUGH said this was perhaps the most important Amendment which had been before the Committee on the tea duty. If any of them had a difficulty in following his hon. friend on the last Amendment, he did not think anyone should have the slightest difficulty in supporting him on this. The proposal was that they should reduce the tax on tea to the amount levied before the war. The effect of carrying the Amendment would be to deprive the Chancellor of the Exchequer of £4,000,000. He was glad to find the hon. Member for Devonport making that proposal because it indicated that, so far as he was concerned, he was willing that there should be a reduction of expenditure to that extent. He was glad to find his hon. friend supporting him in a policy of which he had been the solitary advocate on that Bench for many years. He wished to point out to the Chancellor of the Exchequer that some of the interesting figures he gave on this matter were not quite accurate. The right hon. Gentleman in dealing with the tea exported from Ceylon suggested that, because our consumption of Ceylon tea had diminished, the export had diminished. The fact was, that within the last four years there had been a large increase in the export of Ceylon tea. The exports had increased in four years by 22,000,000, so that although the imports into this country had decreased by 12,000,000, Ceylon had not suffered owing to that. That was all right for Ceylon, but how was it for this country? It meant that Ceylon tea was being shut out of this country on account of taxation. The chief country to which it was going was the United States, which had done exactly what the hon. Member for Devonport wished this House to do now. The United States had a war four years ago, and they raised the tea tax to 5d. in the pound, but when the war was finished it was taken off. It was a most extraordinary thing that during the past few years while every civilised country had been reducing the tea duty this country had not done so, though we had a most vital interest in reducing it. His hon. friend's proposal to return to the tea duty which was levied before the war was not one which should be lightly made by anybody who was not willing to face a reduction of expenditure, and to tell the Chancellor of the Exchequer how he was to get on without the duty. The right hon. Gentleman might consider whether he could not knock off a battleship, or an Army Corps—knock off anything—in order to reduce the tea tax to the point it stood at before the war.

Mr. FLYNN said he desired as an Irish Member to support the Amendment. It was certainly a very strange commentary on the financial policy of the Government that in fours years the duty on a necessary food of the people should be doubled. He found, from an examination of the figures, that it really meant to Ireland an increase of £340,000 to £360,000, and that would be raised from the poorest portion of the population. He had followed the controversy between the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the hon. Member for Devonport with some interest. The figures given by the hon. Member for Dewsbury seemed to corroborate those of the hon. Member for Devonport. In 1901 when the duty was 6d. the revenue amounted to £5,960,000, and for the year 1902–3, when the duty was the same, the revenue fell to £5,680,000, and that seemed to show that an increase in the duty led to a marked decrease in consumption.

*Mr. RENWICK said he had with him the latest Returns of foreign import duties for 1904. He found that the duty on tea in the United States was 5d. in the pound. He did think that when they had a statement from an expert like the hon. Member for West Islington it ought to be correct.

Mr. LOUGH said the hon. Member was entirely mistaken. The book the hon. Member quoted from had a blue cover, and on trade matters he was very suspicious of it. There was no duty on tea in the United States. It was removed in 1902.

*Mr. RENWICK said he would allow the Committee to draw its own conclusion. The hon. Member had said that other countries were sweeping away the duties on tea and similar articles. In reply to that he would say that he and others who disapproved of the present fiscal policy in this country were willing to do the same thing here if the revenue could be raised in the same way as in other countries, namely, by placing a tax on imported manufactured goods.

Mr. GODDARD (Ipswich) supported the Amendment on the ground that the tax was excessive having regard to the value of the article. The average wholesale price of tea in this country was 7d. per lb. A tax of 8d. per lb. on that value represented 110 per cent. That in itself was enormous. But they must not lose sight of the fact that there was a large quantity of tea of a very low value imported into the country and used especially by the poor. The proportion of taxation on such tea amounted to no less than 160 per cent., which was altogether an undue proportion. Further he remembered a Report being issued some years ago with reference to a class of people called "sophisticators," who took any kind of tea leaves and treated them with all sorts of colouring matter in order to give them the appearance of the genuine article. By that means an absolutely deleterious article was foisted on the public. He feared that if they unduly increased the duty now it would be a direct temptation to the sophisticators to again supply the public with an article dangerous to health. He considered that the tax was a gross injustice to the poor. It was raised in the first place for the purposes of the war, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer of that day, in common with everybody else, anticipated that immediately the war was over the tax would be reduced. What had been the result? The income-tax payer had had 3d. in the £1, representing some £7,000,000 taken off his burden, while the poor indirect taxpayer had not only had nothing taken off but was now to have an extra 2d. put on an article which was a necessity. In his view nothing could be more unjust.

Mr. SYDNEY BUXTON said the Chancellor of the Exchequer had stated that he required the revenue. He thought he ought to recall to the recollection of the Committee the circumstances under which the additional duty was originally imposed. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol, who was then Chancellor of the Exchequer, justified the addition of 2d. on the ground that it was purely a war tax—an exceptional tax raised for the purpose of the war. He thought, therefore, that his hon. friend was fully justified in moving that the tax should be reduced to 4d. He quite agreed with what fell from his hon. friend the Member for West Islington that the bottom element of all this was the question of expenditure. This Government had run the country into enormous additional annual expenditure, and so long as they had an extravagant Government the country would have to bear extra taxation. The Chancellor of the Exchequer would have inflicted far less hardship on the community, and far less injury on trade, if instead of increasing the burden of indirect taxation he had raised the additional revenue he required by an increased income-tax.

Question put.

The House divided:—Ayes, 201; Noes, 146. (Division List No. 166.)

AYES.

Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
Allhusen, AugustusHenryEden
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arrol, Sir William
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Aubrey-Fletcher, Rt.Hn.Sir H.
Bagot, Capt. Josceline FitzRoy
Bailey, James (Walworth)
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour, Rt.Hon. A.J.(Manch'r
Balfour, Rt. Hon. G. W. (Leeds
Balfour, Kenneth R. (Christch.
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Bignold, Arthur
Bigwood, James
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Boscawen, Arthur Griffith
Bowles, Lt.-Col. H.F(Mid'lesex
Brassey, Albert
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Bull, William James
Burdett-Coutts, W.
Butcher, John George
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Cautley, Henry Strother
Cavendish, V.C.W. (Derbyshire
Chamberlain, RtHn.J.A(Worc.
Chapman, Edward
Charrington, Spencer
Coates, Edward Feetham
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Colomb, Rt.Hn.Sir John C.
Craig,Charles Curtis(Antrim, S.
Cripps, Charles Alfred
Cross, Alexander (Glasgow)
Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Dalkeith, Earl of
Davenport, William Bromley
Dickinson, Robert Edmond
Dickson, Charles Scott
Digby, John K. D. Wingfield
Dimsdale, Rt.Hn. Sir Joseph C.
Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
Doughty, George
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers
Doxford, Sir William Theodore
Duke, Henry Edward
Durning-Lawrence, Sir Edwin
Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
Faber, Edmund B. (Hants.,W.)
Fergusson, Rt.Hn.SirJ(Manc'r
Fielden, Edward Brocklehurst
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
Fison, Frederick William
FitzGerald, Sir Robert Penrose
Fitzroy, Hn. Edward Algernon
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Flower, Sir Ernest
Forster, Henry William
Foster, P. S. (Warwick, S.W.)
Galloway, William Johnson
Gardner, Ernest
Gordon, Hn.J.E.(Elgin&Nairn)
Gore,Hn G.R.C.Ormsby-(Salop
Goulding, Edward Alfred
Graham, Henry Robert
Gray, Ernest (West Ham)
Greene,Sir E.W.(B'rySEdm'nd
Greene, Henry D.(Shrewsbury)
Grenfell, William Henry
Gretton, John
Greville, Hon. Ronald
Hardy, L. (Kent, Ashford
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Harris, F. Leverton (Tynem'th
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Heath, James (Staffords., A.W.
Heaton, John Henniker
Helder, Augustus
Henderson, Sir A.(Stafford,W.)
Hobhouse,RtHn H(Somers't,E
Hope, J.F.(Sheffield,Brightside
Hoult, Joseph
Howard, Jn.(Kent, Faversham
Hozier, Hn. James Henry Cecil
Hudson, George Bickersteth
Hunt, Rowland
Jameson, Major J. Eustace
Jeffreys, Rt. Hon. Arthur Fred.
Jessel, Captain Herbert Merton
Johnstone, Heywood (Sussex)
Kennaway, Rt.Hn.Sir John H.
Kenyon-Slaney, Col.W.(Salop.)
Keswick, William
King, Sir Henry Seymour
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
Lawson, Jn.Grant(Yorks., N.R
Lee, A. H. (Hants., Fareham)
Lees, Sir Elliott (Birkenhead)
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Leveson-Gower, Frederick N.S.
Loder, Gerald Walter Erskine
Long, Rt.Hn. Walter(Bristol,S.)
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lowe, Francis William

Lowther, C. (Cumb., Eskdale)
Lucas, Col. Francis (Lowestoft)
Lucas, Reginald J.(Portsmouth
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
Macdona, John Cumming
MacIver, David (Liverpool)
Maconochie, A. W.
M‘Arthur, Charles (Liverpool)
M‘Iver,Sir Lewis(Edinburgh,W
M‘Killop, James (Stirlingshire)
Majendie, James A. H.
Martin, Richard Biddulph
Melville, Beresford Valentine
Milner, Rt.Hn.Sir Frederick G.
Milvain, Thomas
Molesworth, Sir Lewis
Moon, Edward Robert Pacy
Morpeth, Viscount
Morrison, James Archibald
Mount, William Arthur
Mowbray, Sir Robert Gray C.
Muntz, Sir Philip A.
Murray, Rt. Hon. A. G. (Bute)
Murray, Charles J. (Coventry)
Nicholson, William Graham
Palmer, Walter (Salisbury)
Parkes, Ebenezer
Pease, Herb. Pike (Darlington)
Peel, Hn.Wm.Robert Wellesley
Percy, Earl
Pilkington, Colonel Richard
Plummer, Walter R.
Pretyman, Ernest George
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Pym, C. Guy
Quilter, Sir Cuthbert
Randles, John S.
Rankin, Sir James
Rasch, Sir Frederic Carne
Ratcliff, R. F.
Reid, James (Greenock)
Remnant, James Farquharson
Renwick, George
Ridley, Hon. M.W.(Stalybridge
Roberts, Samuel (Sheffield)
Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
Rolleston, Sir John F. L.
Ropner, Colonel Sir Robert
Round, Rt. Hon. James
Royds, Clement Molyneux
Rutherford, John (Lancashire)
Rutherford, W. W. (Liverpool)
Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford
Sassoon, Sir Edward Albert
Scott, Sir S. (Marylebone, W.)
Seely, Charles Hilton (Lincoln)
Seely, Maj.J.E.B.(Isle of Wight
Sharpe, William Edward T.
Simeon, Sir Barrington
Skewes-Cox, Thomas
Smith, Abel H.(Hertford,East)
Smith,H C(North'mb.Tyneside
Smith, James Parker(Lanarks.)
Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
Spear, John Ward
Stanley, Hn. Arthur (Ormskirk
Stanley, Edward Jas.(Somerset
Stanley, Rt. Hon. Lord(Lancs.)
Stirling-Maxwell, Sir John M.
Stock, James Henry
Strutt, Hon. Charles Hedley
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Taylor, Austin (East Toxteth)
Thorburn, Sir Walter
Thornton, Percy M.
Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
Tritton, Charles Ernest
Valentia, Viscount
Vincent,Col.Sir C.E.H(Sheffield
Vincent, Sir Edgar (Exeter)
Walker, Col. William Hall
Walrond, Rt.Hn.Sir WilliamH.
Webb, Colonel William George
Welby, Lt.-Col.A.C.E(Taunton
Welby, Sir Charles G.E.(Notts.
Wharton, Rt. Hon. John Lloyd
Whitmore, Charles Algernon
Wilson, A. Stanley(York, E.R.)
Wilson, John (Glasgow)
Wodehouse, Rt.Hn. E.R.(Bath
Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B. Stuart
Wrightson, Sir Thomas
Younger, William

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Sir Alexander Acland-Hood and Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes.

NOES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N.E.)
Abraham, William (Rhondda)
Ainsworth, John Stirling
Allen, Charles P.
Asher, Alexander
Asquith, Rt.Hn.HerbertHenry
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Barry, E. (Cork, S.)
Bayley, Thomas (Derbyshire)
Beaumont, Wentworth, C. B.
Black, Alexander William
Boland, John
Brigg, John
Broadhurst, Henry
Brown, George M. (Edinburgh)
Brunner, Sir John Tomlinson
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Burke, E. Haviland
Buxton, Sydney Charles
Caldwell, James
Campbell, John (Armagh, S.)
Causton, Richard Knight
Cawley, Frederick
Churchill, Winston Spencer
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Crean, Eugene
Cullinan, J.
Davies, Alfred (Carmarthen)
Delany, William
Devlin, Chas. Ramsay (Galway
Devlin, Joseph (Kilkenny, N.)
Dewar, John A. (Inverness-sh.
Donelan, Captain A.
Doogan, P. C.
Douglas, Charles M. (Lanark)
Ellice, Capt.E.C(SAndrw'sBghs
Farrell, James Patrick
Fenwick, Charles
Field, William
Fitzmaurice, Lord Edmond
Flynn, James Christopher
Foster, Sir Walter (Derby Co.)
Freeman-Thomas, Captain F.
Fuller, J. M. F.
Gilhooly, James
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Griffith, Ellis J.
Gurdon, Sir W. Brampton
Hammond, John
Harcourt, Lewis V.(Rossendale
Harwood, George
Hayden, John Patrick
Helme, Norval Watson
Hemphill, Rt. Hon. Charles H.
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Holland, Sir William Henry
Horniman, Frederick John
Jacoby, James Alfred
Johnson, John (Gateshead)
Joicey, Sir James
Jones, D. Brynmor (Swansea)
Jones, William (Carnarvonshire
Joyce, Michael
Kearley, Hudson E.
Kennedy,Vincent P.(Cavan,W.
Kilbride, Denis
Labouchere, Henry
Lambert, George
Law, Hugh Alex. (Donegal,W.)
Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cornwall)
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Leese, Sir Jos. F. (Accrington)
Leigh, Sir Joseph
Leng, Sir John
Levy, Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Lough, Thomas
Lundon, W.
Lyell, Charles Henry
Macnamara, Dr. Thomas J.
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
M‘Crae, George
M‘Kenna, Reginald
M‘Killop, W. (Sligo, North)
M‘Laren, Sir Charles Benjamin
Mansfield, Horace Rendall
Markham, Arthur Basil
Morgan, J. Lloyd (Carmarthen)
Morley, Charles (Breconshire)
Murphy, John
Nannetti, Joseph P.
Nolan, Col. JohnP.(Galway,N.)
Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South)
Nussey, Thomas Willans
O'Brien, K. (Tipperary, Mid.)
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Brien, P. J. (Tipperary, N.)
O'Connor, James (Wicklow,W.
O'Donnell, John (Mayo, S.)
O'Donnell, T. (Kerry, W.)
O'Kelly, Jas. (Roscommon, N.)
O'Malley, William
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
O'Shee, James John
Partington, Oswald
Pease, J. A. (Saffron Walden)
Pirie, Duncan V.
Power, Patrick Joseph
Priestley, Arthur
Rea, Russell
Redmond, John E. (Waterford)

Rigg, Richard
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.)
Robson, William Snowdon
Roe, Sir Thomas
Rose, Charles Day
Runciman, Walter
Russell, T. W.
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Samuel, S. M. (Whitechapel)
Shackleton, David James
Shaw, Charles Edw. (Stafford)
Sheehan, Daniel Daniel
Sheehy, David
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Sinclair, John (Forfarshire)
Slack, John Bamford
Soares, Ernest J.
Spencer, Rt.Hn.C.R(Northants
Stanhope, Hon. Philip James
Strachey, Sir Edward
Sullivan, Donal
Taylor, Theodore C. (Radcliffe)
Tennant, Harold John
Thomas, Abel (Carmarthen, E.)
Thomas, D. Alfred (Merthyr)
Tomkinson, James
Toulmin, George
Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan)
Wason, John Cathcart (Orkney)
White, Luke (York, E.R.)
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
Whittaker, Thomas Palmer
Wilson, Henry J. (York, W.R.)
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid.)
Woodhouse, Sir J.T(Huddersf'd

Tellers for the Noes—Mr. Herbert Gladstone and Mr. William M'Arthur.

*The CHAIRMAN: The Amendment in the name of the hon. Member for West Islington should appear as a new clause.

Mr. LOUGH said he desired to raise a question which he could not raise on a new clause.

*The CHAIRMAN: This clause does not deal with commission. That is a separate matter.

Mr. KEARLEY said the object of the Amendment which he now desired to move was to prevent merchants paying duty twice over. In 1900 the then Chancellor of the Exchequer was rather annoyed because there was a great amount of forestalment; and, to prevent that, he introduced a special clause in the Finance Bill. Of course, as regarded forestalment, there was speculation every year as to whether the duty on a particular article would be increased or decreased, and there were anticipatory clearances; but he thought the late Chancellor of the Exchequer had himself very much to blame for the forestalment which occurred. Under the Act of 1900, if a duty were paid, and if it were subsequently increased, the Customs levied the new duty again. That was an innovation, and he thought it was only fair that matters should be restored to the position in which they originally were.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 1, line 21, at end, to add the words 'Provided that the increased duty hereby imposed shall not be levied or paid on any tea lying in a bonded warehouse licensed by His Majesty's Customs upon which the former rate of duty has already been paid.'"—(*Mr. Kearley.*)

Question proposed, "That these words be there added."

Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said that the object of the Amendment was to repeal Section 9 of the Finance Act of 1900, which was introduced by his right hon. friend the Member for West Bristol, with the object of preventing large anticipatory clearances of dutiable goods, at the last moment, when an increase in the duty was expected. He thought it would be in the recollection of the Committee that in 1900, increased taxation having been anticipated, there were very large anticipatory clearances of dutiable goods in order to escape the new duties. It was perfectly legitimate for a trader to speculate in this manner; and, if he correctly anticipated the course of events, he would make a profit, because other traders who had not speculated would be forced to raise the price of the article because of the increased duty, and the trader who had speculated successfully would, of course, also raise the price to his own profit. They could not stop anticipatory clearances altogether, but he thought the Committee would feel that nominal clearances at the very last moment by payment of the duty without the removal of the goods was not a thing which they should be bound to recognise. The law now said that the duty payable should be deemed to be the duty in force at the date of the actual removal of the goods. Therefore it was not possible for a gentleman to enter the Customs House late on the afternoon of the day of the Budget statement, and clear goods by merely paying in his cheque, and thereby escape any increased duty that might be imposed. The trader must now be in a position to remove the goods also; and that was some little check on clearances at the last moment.

Mr. KEARLEY said that the clause was inconvenient, and did not do any good to the Exchequer.

Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said that while he admitted that the clause would not prevent a trader clearing goods five or six days before, it would, nevertheless, act as a check against clearances at the last moment. Under no circumstances would he make any statement that would have an injurious effect on the revenue or have the effect that any future Chancellor of the Exchequer would be obliged to prolong his Budget statement in order to talk against time for the sake of the revenue.

Mr. LOUGH said he wanted to suggest that this hurried enactment was not working quite fairly, and that it aimed a blow at a deserving industry. The proposals of the Chancellor of the Exchequer were a reckless interference with business, and were of a character quite unworthy of the Customs. The effect of the clause would be to make traders feel that if they left their goods in a common warehouse they would be subject to the rule of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, but if they moved them to a private warehouse they would be quite safe. The clause put the business of public warehouses at a disadvantage. He did not think it would work well in the interests of the Customs, any more that it would be for the welfare of the trade. He hoped that the Chancellor of the Exchequer would reconsider the matter, and if he found he could do anything to ameliorate the difficulty he would do it.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Question proposed, "That Clause 1, as amended, stand part of the Bill."

*Mr. SOARES moved to leave out Clause 1. He did not believe in the genesis of the tax conceived, as it was, in the brain of a Protectionist Chancellor of the Exchequer and born to a Government of no settled convictions in fiscal matters. He did not intend, however, to develop that theme or make a speech, as he understood an arrangement had been arrived at to report Progress if the Government were allowed to get Clause 1. The only thing he desired to do was to put a simple question to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in the expectation that he would receive a plain, straightforward answer. Would the right hon. Gentleman, if he had given no pledge and had a majority on which he could rely, have imposed the tax at the present time? Was this a best or second best tax? In other words, were they being driven down a dangerous road by a coachman who had lost his way?

*Mr. AINSWORTH (Argyllshire) asked why it should be considered necessary to spend more money on naval and military matters this year than was expended before the outbreak of the South African War. He would like to quote the words of Lord Beaconsfield: "Expenditure depends upon policy," and he would ask the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer what right he had to say that the working-classes of this country were in any way to blame for that war. It was the policy of the right hon. Gentleman and his friends that brought it about.

He might quote a verse bearing on this question—

"When times are threatening, and when danger's nigh,
'God and the soldier' is the country's cry;
When peace is gained again and wrongs are righted,
God is forgotten, and the soldier slighted."

By this additional tax the lot of the soldier and his family would be made harder, and the old age of the soldier's mother rendered more arduous and comfortless. That was the return to be made by the Government for all the sacrifices of the soldiers during the late war. The hardship of the tax was that it fell with the greatest severity upon those least able to bear it, and above all, that it was an impost upon a necessary of life. No doubt the Army and the Navy had to be paid for, but surely some means might be found by which the necessary funds could be provided without placing such heavy burdens upon the poorest of the community. It would be well if the Government, before they entered on such enormous expenditure, would consider where the money to provide for it was to come from. He thought that if they realised that it was to come to so large an extent from the poorest of the poor they would be more careful.

Mr. TOULMIN (Lancashire, Bury) said the cause of indirect taxation levied for the purposes of the war being not only continued but increased in a time of peace, was the profligate expenditure of a Government which had lost control of the affairs of the nation. The tax, even to a small amount, could scarcely be defended as a permanent tax, because it was essentially unjust. The poorer a person the more he was penalised by the tax. There were signs, however, that the enormous expenditure was finding opponents even within the Cabinet. The country was engaged mainly in probing that body to see if it had a backbone, and if it was found that any particular Member was supplying the necessary backbone in resisting this policy of expenditure he would receive the gratitude of the people. He objected to Clause 1 not merely because it dealt with the tea tax, but because the tea tax was an important part of the indirect taxation of the country. The right hon. Gentleman had claimed credit for restoring the relative proportions of direct and indirect taxation to the position occupied before the war. But those proportions were purely arithmetical; the real standard to go by would be, not the ratio of the total of indirect taxation to the total of direct taxation, but the relation of the respective classes of taxation to the ability of the persons taxed to bear them. The additional tea duty, if persisted in, would leave a sense of injustice until it was removed, and he was convinced that there was nothing that came home more to the poorest of the people than this constantly increasing burden of taxation.

*MR. SHACKLETON (Lancashire, Clitheroe) said he had been surprised to find references to wages of 10s. or 12s. a week received with smiles by hon. Members on the other side of the House. Many Unionist representatives did not appear to realise that half a day's pocket money to them was a week's wages to hundreds of labourers in the country. Many families were actually paying in the tea duty alone three weeks' wages in the course of the year. What hon. Member opposite would be willing to pay three weeks' share of his annual income towards the expenses of the State in one tax? It was all very well to speak about pounds; they ought to consider the people whose wages were counted in shillings, and the House of Commons when levying taxes to be paid by the nation ought to have regard to the relative severity with which the burdens would press on different classes of the community. Even persons whose sympathies were with the poor scarcely realised the effect an additional twopence on a necessary of life would have upon large masses of the people. It was sometimes said that they should not drink tea, that they should take something less expensive. A family of six, out of a pound of tea at 1s. 8d. could obtain 124 cups of tea. That worked out at ·16d. per cup. Where could a cheaper beverage than that be secured? He submitted that the case which had been put forward was one that ought to receive the sympathetic consideration of the Minister in charge of the finances of the country.

Question put.

The Committee divided:—Ayes, 148; Noes, 115. (Division List No. 167.)

AYES.

Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
Allhusen, Augustus Henry Eden
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arrol, Sir William
Aubrey-Fletcher, Rt. Hn. Sir H.
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour, Rt. Hon. A. J. (Manch.)
Balfour, Rt. Hon. G. W. (Leeds
Balfour, Kenneth R. (Christch.
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Bignold, Arthur
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Bowles, Lt.-Col. H. F. (Middlesex
Brassey, Albert
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Burdett-Coutts, W.
Butcher, John George
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Cautley, Henry Strother
Cavendish, V. C. W. (Derbyshire
Chamberlain, Rt. Hn. J. A (Worc.
Chapman, Edward
Charrington, Spencer
Coates, Edward Feetham
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Craig, Charles Curtis (Antrim, S.
Cross, Alexander (Glasgow)
Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Dalkeith, Earl of
Davenport, William Bromley
Dickson, Charles Scott
Dimsdale, Rt. Hn. Sir Joseph C.
Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
Doughty, George
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Durning-Lawrence, Sir Edwin
Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
Faber, Edmund B. (Hants, W.)
Fielden, Edward Brocklehurst
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
Fitzroy, Hn. Edward Algernon
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Forster, Henry William
Foster, P. S. (Warwick, S.W.)
Galloway, William Johnson
Gordon, Hn. J. E. (Elgin & Nairn)
Gore, Hn G. R. C. Ormsby-(Salop
Graham, Henry Robert
Gray, Ernest (West Ham)
Greene, Sir E. W (B'ry S Edm'nds
Grenfell, William Henry
Gretton, John
Greville, Hon. Ronald
Hardy, L. (Kent, Ashford)
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Harris, F. Leverton (Tynem'th)
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Heath, James (Staffords., N.W.
Hope, J. F. (Sheffield, Brightside
Howard, Jn. (Kent, Faversham
Hozier, Hn. James Henry Cecil
Hunt, Rowland
Jeffreys, Rt. Hon. Arthur Fred.
Jessel, Captain Herbert Merton
Kennaway, Rt. Hn. Sir John H.
Kenyon-Slaney, Col. W. (Salop.
Keswick, William
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
Lawson, J. Grant (Yorks., N.R.

Lee, A. H. (Hants, Fareham)
Lees, Sir Elliott (Birkenhead)
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Leveson-Gower, Frederick N.S.
Loder, Gerald Walter Erskine
Long, Rt.Hn.Walter (Bristol,S.
Lowther, C. (Cumb., Eskdale)
Lucas, Col. Francis (Lowestoft)
Lucas, Reginald J.(Portsmouth
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
Macdona, John Cumming
MacIver, David (Liverpool)
Maconochie, A. W.
M'Arthur, Charles (Liverpool)
M'Iver,Sir Lewis(Edinburgh,W
M'Killop, James (Stirlingshire)
Majendie, James A. H.
Martin, Richard Biddulph
Melville, Beresford Valentine
Milner, Rt.Hn.Sir Frederick G.
Milvain, Thomas
Morpeth, Viscount
Morrison, James Archibald
Mount, William Arthur
Mowbray, Sir Robert Gray C.
Muntz, Sir Philip A.
Murray, Rt. Hon. A. G.(Bute)
Murray, Charles J. (Coventry)
Palmer, Walter (Salisbury)
Parker, Ebenezer
Pease, Herb. Pike (Darlington)
Percy, Earl
Pilkington, Colonel Richard
Pretyman, Ernest George
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Pym, C. Guy
Randles, John S.
Rankin, Sir James
Reid, James (Greenock)
Remnant, James Farquharson
Renwick, George
Ridley, Hon. M.W.(Stalybridge
Ridley, S.Forde(Bethnal Green
Roberts, Samuel (Sheffield)
Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
Rolleston, Sir John F. L.
Ropner, Colonel Sir Robert
Royds, Clement Molyneux
Rutherford, John (Lancashire)
Rutherford, W. W. (Liverpool)
Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford-
Sassoon, Sir Edward Albert
Scott, Sir S. (Marylebone, W.)
Seely, Charles Hilton (Lincoln)
Sharpe, William Edward T.
Simeon, Sir Barrington
Skewes-Cox, Thomas
Smith, Abel H.(Hertford,East)
Smith,H.C(North'mb. Tyneside
Smith, James Parker(Lanarks.)
Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
Stanley, Hn.Arthur (Ormskirk)
Stanley, Rt. Hon. Lord(Lancs.)
Stock, James Henry
Strutt, Hon. Charles Hedley
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Taylor, Austin (East Toxteth)
Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
Valentia, Viscount
Walker, Col. William Hall
Walrond, Rt.Hn.Sir WilliamH.
Webb, Colonel William George
Welby, Sir Charles G.E.(Notts.
Wilson, A. Stanley(Yorks, E.R.
Wortley, Rt. Hon. C.B. Stuart-
Wrightson, Sir Thomas

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Sir Alexander Acland-Hood and Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes.

NOES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N.E.)
Ainsworth, John Stirling
Allen, Charles P.
Asher, Alexander
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Barry, E. (Cork, S.)
Bayley, Thomas (Derbyshire)
Beaumont, Wentworth C. B.
Black, Alexander William
Boland, John
Brigg, John
Burke, E. Haviland-
Buxton, Sydney Charles
Caldwell, James
Campbell, John (Armagh, S.)
Causton, Richard Knight
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Crean, Eugene
Cullinan, J.
Davies, Alfred (Carmarthen)
Delany, William
Devlin, Joseph (Kilkenny, N.)
Donelan, Captain A.
Doogan, P. C.
Douglas, Charles M. (Lanark)
Elibank, Master of
Ellice,Capt E.C(SAndrw'sBghs
Evans, Samuel T. (Glamorgan)
Farrell, James Patrick
Fenwick, Charles
Field, William
Flynn, James Christopher
Freeman-Thomas, Captain F.
Fuller, J. M. F.
Gilhooly, James
Grey, Rt. Hon. Sir E.(Berwick)
Griffith, Ellis J.
Gurdon, Sir W. Brampton
Hammond, John
Harcourt,Lewis V.(Rossendale)
Hayden, John Patrick
Helme, Norval Watson
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Holland, Sir William Henry
Horniman, Frederick John
Johnson, John (Gateshead)
Joicey, Sir James
Jones, William(Carnarvonshire
Joyce, Michael
Kennedy,Vincent P.(Cavan,W.
Kilbride, Denis
Labouchere, Henry
Lambert, George
Law, Hugh Alex. (Donegal, W.
Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cornwall)
Leigh, Sir Joseph
Levy, Maurice
Lough, Thomas
Lundon, W.
Lyell, Charles Henry
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
M'Crae, George
M'Kenna, Reginald
M'Killop, W. (Sligo, North)
Markham, Arthur Basil
Murphy, John
Nannetti, Joseph P.
Nolan,Col.John P.(Galway,N.)
Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South)
O'Brien, K. (Tipperary, Mid.)
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Brien, P. J. (Tipperary, N.)
O'Connor, James (Wicklow,W.
O'Donnell, John (Mayo, S.)
O'Donnell, T. (Kerry, W.)
O'Kelly, Jas. (Roscommon, N.)
O'Malley, William
O'Shee, James John
Pease, J. A. (Saffron Walden)
Pirie, Duncan V.
Power, Patrick Joseph
Price, Robert John
Priestley, Arthur
Rea, Russell
Redmond, John E. (Waterford)
Rigg, Richard
Robson, William Snowdon
Roe, Sir Thomas
Rose, Charles Day
Runciman, Walter
Russell, T. W.
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Samuel, S. M. (Whitechapel)
Shackleton, David James
Shaw, Charles Edw. (Stafford)
Sheehan, Daniel Daniel
Sheehy, David
Sinclair, John (Forfarshire)
Slack, John Bamford
Soares, Ernest J.
Spencer, Rt.Hn.C.R(Northants
Stanhope, Hon. Philip James
Sullivan, Donal
Taylor, Theodore C. (Radcliffe)
Thomas, Abel (Carmarthen,E.)
Thomas, D. Alfred (Merthyr)
Tomkinson, James
Toulmin, George
Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan)
Wason,John Cathcart(Orkney)
White, Luke (York, E. R.)
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
Whittaker, Thomas Palmer
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid.)
Woodhouse,Sir J.T(Huddersf'd

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Mr. Herbert Gladstone and Mr. William M'Arthur.

Committee report Progress; to sit again to-morrow.

Adjourned at one minute before One o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Wednesday, 22nd June, 1904.

The House met at Two of the Clock.

MR. SPEAKER'S ABSENCE.

The House being met, the Clerk at the Table informed the House of the unavoidable absence of Mr. SPEAKER.

Whereupon Mr. JAMES WILLIAM LOWTHER, the Chairman of Ways and Means, proceeded to the Table, and after Prayers, took the Chair as Deputy Speaker, pursuant to the Standing Order.

An Asterisk (*) at the commencement of a Speech indicates revision by the Member.

UNOPPOSED PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

Derwent Valley Water Board Bill [Lords]; Lothians Electric Power Bill [Lords]; Newcastle and Gateshead Water Bill [Lords]. Read a second time, and committed.

Selby Urban District Council Bill. Reported, with Amendments, from the Police and Sanitary Committee [Section A]; Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed.

Barrow-in-Furness Corporation Bill [Lords]. Reported, with Amendments; Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed.

PETITIONS.

EDUCATION (SCOTLAND) BILL.

Petition from Zetland, for alteration; to lie upon the Table.

LICENSING BILL.

Petitions against; from Abersychan; Ashfield Magna; Baldhu; Ballachulish; Barrow-in-Furness; Bideford (three); Blackburn; Blackheath; Blantyre; Broadoak; Bronington; Buckley; Budock; Burnham; Bye Lane End; Cadeshead; Calder Vale; Cambois; Carlton; Castle Gresley; Chorlton on Medlock; Cleator Moor; Cleckheaton; Constantine; Croston; Crow's Nest; Cwmnantyneichiaid; Dobwalls; Dolphinholme; Durham; East Howle; Eaton Bishop; Garstang; Glen Magna; Goosnargh; Great Steeping; Grimsby; Hagworthingham; Hanley (two); Heckmondwike; Hedon Hall; Heeley; Helmsley; Hessenford; High Wycombe; Holbeach; Hollin's Lane; Holloway; Horseman's Green; Irlam; Keal; Keighley; Lancaster; Landkey; Lanlivery; Lazonby; Leicester (eleven); Leverton; Liskeard; Littlehampton; Llanfechain; Luton; Manchester (three); Marwood; Mawgan; Melsonby; Menhay Budoch; Midsomer Norton (two); Morecambe; Motherwell; Newbold; Newcastle Emlyn; Nolton; North Bierley; Northgate; Norton and Cuckney; Oakenshaw; Old Bolingbroke; Ollerton; Parkham; Partney; Pensilva; Portsmouth; Prestatyn; Quethiock; Rixton; Robinhood Bay; Rochdale (two); Romsey; Runcorn; St. Austell; St. Albans; St. Pancras; Saltcoats; Scaleby Hill; Scremby and Candlesby; Shafton; Shildon; Shirwell; Shrewsbury (two); Skelmanthorpe; Slough; Spilsby; Stickford; Strichen; Swadlincote; Swimbridge; Tamar; Taunton; Trengrove; Trevelmond; Upton Cross; Urmston; Walesby; Walworth; Wellow; Welton le Marsh; Whalley Range; Whaplode and Moulton; Whaplode Washway; Wharfedale; Whenby; Whitby (four); Woburn Sands; Wolverhampton; and York; to lie upon the Table.

LICENSING BILL.

Petitions for alteration; from Bridport; Leominster; and Newcastle on Tyne; to lie upon the Table.

RE-VACCINATION BILL.

Petition from Leicester, against; to lie upon the Table.

SEA FISHERIES BILL [LORDS].

Petition from Aldeburgh, against; to lie upon the Table.

VACCINATION.

Petition from Blackburn, for alteration of Law; to lie upon the Table.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

COLONIAL REPORTS (ANNUAL).

Copy presented, of Colonial Report, No. 417 (British Honduras, Annual Report for 1903) [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

TRADE REPORTS (ANNUAL SERIES).

Copies presented, of Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Annual Series, Nos. 3188 to 3191 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

Captain Bloomfield's Estate at Castlecaldwell.

Mr. SWIFT MACNEILL (Donegal, S.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the estate of the late Captain Bloomfield at Castlecaldwell, in the county Fermanagh, which was purchased in the Land Judge's Court in 1881, for the payment of the debts of the owner at that time, T. C. Bloomfield, part of the purchase money having been obtained by a loan on mortgage from a Scotch insurance company, is in the Land Judge's Court; if so, how long has it been in that Court; is it solvent or insolvent; and whether it can be sold under the fortieth Section of the Act of 1896 or under the recent Land Purchase Act.

(*Answered by Mr. Wyndham.*) The estate is in the Land Judge's Court. The records of the Court do not show whether it is solvent or insolvent. *Primâ facie* the provisions of Section 40 of the Act of 1896 are applicable to the property, and the case will at once be placed in the Judge's list for his directions.

Glasgow Sore Throat Epidemic and the Milk Supply.

Mr. WEIR (Ross and Cromarty): To ask the Secretary for Scotland whether he is aware that the epidemic of sore throat which recently broke out at the Belvedere Hospital, Glasgow, is, like that at Woking last autumn and at Finchley early this year, attributable to the milk taken from cows out of health; and, seeing that Dr. Chalmers, the medical officer of health for Glasgow, states that the outbreak in that city is due to teat eruption in the stock at the farm from which the milk supply was obtained, will he consider the expediency of introducing at an early date such legislation as may be necessary to insure the occasional examination by a veterinary surgeon of all cows kept for the purposes of a public dairy.

(*Answered by Mr. A. Graham Murray.*) I am informed by the Local Government Board for Scotland that they have Dr. Chalmers' report under consideration. As regards prospective legislation, I can add nothing to the answer given to the Question addressed by the hon. Member on 13th June to the President of the Local Government Board,† but I may point out that under the existing law a local authority in Scotland is entitled to procure a report by a veterinary surgeon on the animals in any dairy from which the medical officer has evidence that infectious disease is likely to be spread.

Telegraphic Withdrawals from Post Office Savings Bank.

Mr. WEIR: To ask the Postmaster-General if he will state the number of withdrawals by telegraph from the Post Office Savings Bank for the year ended 31st December, 1903, and the average cost to the depositor of each such withdrawal; and will he also state the number of telegraph notices of withdrawal for payment on the following day, and the average cost to the depositor of each such telegraph notice.

(*Answered by Lord Stanley.*) The number of withdrawals by telegraph from the Post Office Savings Bank for the year ended 31st December, 1903, was 215,416, and the average cost to depositors for each such withdrawal was about 1s. 3d. The number of telegraph notices of withdrawal for payment on the following day was 15,149, and the average cost to depositors about 9d. per withdrawal.

Postal Facilities in Gweedore and Bunbeg Districts, County Donegal.

Mr. HUGH LAW (Donegal, W.): To ask the Postmaster-General whether he has received complaints respecting the postal service in the districts of Gweedore and Bunbeg, county Donegal; and whether he can say whether an improved service, making use of the new line of railway, will now be given.

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† See (4) *Debates*, cxxxv., 1489.

(*Answered by Lord Stanley.*) I have received application for an improvement of the postal service in the districts of Gweedore and Bunbeg. Inquiries are being made on the subject, and I will communicate the result to the hon. Member as soon as they are completed.

Fatal Accidents to Railway Servants.

MR. CHANNING (Northamptonshire, E.): To ask the President of the Board of Trade what has been the number of fatal accidents to railway servants engaged in the movement of trains during the years 1900, 1901, 1902, and 1903; what has been the number of inquests held on such fatalities; in how many such cases the coroner has used his power to apply to the Board of Trade for a Board of Trade assessor; and in how many such cases the Board of Trade has held an inquiry by one of the inspectors or sub-inspectors of the Board.

(*Answered by Mr. Gerald Balfour.*) The subjoined table gives the required information, so far as in the possession of the Board of Trade, in respect of all fatal accidents in which the running of trains or the movement of railway vehicles was concerned. The Board have no reason to doubt that a coroners' inquest, or in Scotland an inquiry by the procurator-fiscal or sheriff, was held in each case.

Number of Railway Servants killed in accidents connected with the running of trains or the movement of railway vehicles during the years 1900, 1901, 1902, and 1903; the number of Inquiries into such accidents by the Inspecting Staff of the Board of Trade; and the number of such cases in which the Coroner applied for an Assessor.

Year.	Number of servants killed.	Number of Inquiries held by Inspecting Officers, Assistant Inspecting Officers, and Sub-Inspectors.	Number of cases in which Coroner has applied for Assessor.
1900	583	109	2
1901	511	89	2
1902	447	113	0
1903	455	133	1
Total	1,996	444	5

Darenth Pumping Station—Pollution of Water.

MR. PIKE PEASE (Darlington): To ask the President of the Local Government Board if he will say what steps have been taken towards making the inquiry prescribed by The Metropolis Water Act, 1852, into the grounds for the complaint of twenty inhabitant householders that the source of supply of the new pumping station at Darenth, Kent, about to be handed over by the Kent Water Company to the Water Board for London is visibly liable to intermittent pollution by surface drainage.

(*Answered by Mr. Walter Long.*) I recently received the reply of the Water Company to the complaint and I sent a copy of it to the complainants. As the undertaking of the Company will be handed over to the Metropolitan Water Board this week, it appeared to me better to postpone further action in the matter until this event had taken place. I will then communicate with the Water Board on the subject.

Liquor Traffic in Bombay.

MR. HERBERT ROBERTS (Denbighshire, W.): To ask the Secretary of State for India whether he is aware that on the

Soparibag Road in the city of Bombay there are within a distance of 1,640 yards fourteen shops for the sale of intoxicating liquors, and that an application has been made to the collector for permission to open another shop within the same area; whether he will state what steps will be taken to ascertain local public sentiment in the matter before the application is granted; and whether he is aware that permission is frequently given for the opening or transfer of shops without the inhabitants of the locality concerned having had an adequate opportunity of making known their objections.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Brodrick.*) I have been in communication with the Governor of Bombay on the subject, and have ascertained from him that instructions were issued last year for a reduction in the number of shops in the Soparibag Road if, on careful local inquiry, they were found to be excessive. I presume that action has been taken accordingly. I am not aware that an application for permission to open another shop in the same area is pending. A licence for another shop in the Falkland Road has lately been refused. Before an application is granted, notices are posted up in the locality, public proclamation made, and residents personally informed by the Excise officers. The procedure is considered by the Bombay Government to give to the inhabitants an adequate opportunity of making known their objections.

Sanitary Conditionof Quarters of British-Indian Contingent in China.

Sir SEYMOUR KING (Hull, Central): To ask the Secretary of State for India whether the attention of the military authorities in India has been called to the insanitary state of the quarters and barracks of British officers and native ranks of the Indian contingent quartered in China at Shan-hai-kwan, Tientsin, and other stations; whether they are aware that at Shan-hai-kwan nearly every British officer has been at some time or other laid up with fever, dysentery, or diarrhœa, the quarters of both officers and men being in an old yamen, the enclosure of which is the old bed of the River Shi-to and liable to be flooded; whether other foreign contingents at Shan-hai-kwan are well housed in forts captured by the British force in 1900, and at Tientsin have superior accommodation, while those of our own troops have been reported on as in a disgraceful condition, and whether he will call for a report on the sanitary condition of the China stations, and order that measures should be taken to secure healthy quarters for our troops.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Arnold-Forster.*) Money has been taken in the Army Estimates for the improvement of the accommodation at Pekin and Shan-hai-kwan, but there is no information at the War Office to show the exact progress made with the work. Further, no recent information as to the health of the troops has been received at the War Office as the returns are sent to Army headquarters in India, but the question is one of importance, as it concerns the health of officers and men, and I will cause further inquiries to be made.

Alleged Annoyance of Rev. R. D. Patterson, of Dublin.

Mr. SLOAN (Belfast, S.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that the Rev. R. D. Patterson, of St. Barnabas Parish Church, Dublin, has on several occasions made complaints to the police authorities against certain individuals who were guilty of riotous conduct towards him by throwing missiles and calling him offensive names in the public street; and whether in view of the fact that this clergyman was compelled to prosecute two individuals a short time ago and his complaints to the police authorities seemed to be ignored, he will cause inquiries to be made in the matter, with the view of putting a stop to these proceedings.

(*Answered by Mr. Wyndham.*) A complaint of the nature mentioned in the first part of the Question was made by the Rev. Mr. Patterson to the Chief Commissioner of Police in February last. The prosecution referred to was undertaken by the police. Acting on the suggestion of Mr. Patterson, the magistrate inflicted no punishment on the boys, but their parents were required to give sureties for their future good behaviour. The police have since adopted special measures for the protection of the reverend gentleman, who recently informed them that he had no further complaint to make on the subject.

Insanitary Conditions of the Clonmel District.

Sir MICHAEL FOSTER (London University): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the Local Government Board for Ireland is taking the necessary steps towards remedying the insanitary conditions of the Clonmel district, to which the prevalence of tuberculosis in that district has been attributed.

(*Answered by Mr. Wyndham.*) The Board's medical inspector directed attention in 1901 and 1902 to the insanitary condition of this district, and the Board impressed upon the district council the duty of taking all such steps as were necessary to put the district in a satisfactory sanitary condition. The inspector will make another report at an early date and this report when received will be communicated to the local authority. The Board cannot compel the local authority to take action in the matter unless in pursuance of a complaint made to it in pursuance of the 15th section of The Public Health (Ireland) Act, 1896. No such complaint has yet been made to the Board.

City Imperial Volunteers.

Sir JOHN COLOMB (Great Yarmouth): To ask the Secretary of State for War, whether he can state the total numerical strength of the City Imperial Volunteers who went to South Africa; and how many of the units comprising that force actually belonged to other Volunteer corps at the date of volunteering for service with the City Imperial Volunteers.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Arnold-Forster.*) The total numerical strength was 1,667, and all the members belonged to other Volunteers corps, or the Honourable Artillery Company at the time of enlistment.

Strength of Volunteers employed in South African War.

Sir JOHN COLOMB: To ask the Secretary of State for War whether he can state the total numerical strength of the following Volunteer forces, respectively, who went to South Africa, namely, one battery of Artillery and thirty-eight sections Royal Engineers.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Arnold-Forster.*) The strength of this battery was 243, and the total strength of the thirty-eight sections of Royal Engineers was 1,207.

Strength of Volunteer Artillery before the South African War.

Sir JOHN COLOMB: To ask the Secretary of State for War whether he can state the total number of batteries of Artillery Volunteers at the date of the latest Returns previous to the outbreak of war in South Africa.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Arnold-Forster.*) Exclusive of the Honourable Artillery Company, there were ninety-nine Volunteer batteries of position at that time.

Discharges and Suspensions in Government and Private Workshops.

Mr. H. J. WILSON (Yorkshire, W.R., Holmfirth): To ask the Secretary of State for War whether he can state the number of men discharged or suspended during the past twelve months from the Woolwich Arsenal; and whether he can state approximately the number of men who have been similarly discharged, or suspended, in Sheffield and other places, in consequence of the stoppage of Government work.

Mr. H. J. WILSON: To ask the Secretary of State for War whether he is aware that in consequence of the failure of Government orders for armour plate and munitions of war large numbers of workmen in Sheffield have been thrown out of employment and much distress occasioned thereby; whether he is aware that the Lord Mayor of Sheffield opened a charitable fund a few months since for the relief of this distress; and whether the Government in giving out orders will take care to avoid preferential treatment of any particular locality.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Arnold-Forster.*) The number of men discharged during the last twelve months at Woolwich Arsenal was 1,011, of whom 575 were on reduction. I have no information regarding the condition of affairs at Sheffield and other similar places referred to in the Questions. I can, however, assure the hon. Member that localities are not preferentially treated.

Army Estimates—Pay of Soldiers.

MR. FREDERICK WILSON (Norfolk, Mid.): To ask the Secretary of State for War if he will state what proportion of the £36,677,000 spent last year on the English Army went in the pay of private soldiers, and how much was expended in other directions; and whether he can state what were the corresponding amounts spent by France and Germany on private soldiers' pay and how much for other purposes.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Arnold-Forster.*) The amount expended in pay to private soldiers in the year 1902–3 (the latest year for which the accounts are completed) was approximately £7,750,000. The estimated figure for 1903–4 is approximately £5,250,000. It is not possible to give corresponding figures for foreign armies.

Maltese Government Budget Figures.

MR. BOLAND (Kerry, S.): To ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he is now in a position to give the detailed figures showing how the total of £709,999 10s. 6d. in the last Budget of the Maltese Government was arrived at.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Lyttelton.*) The details of the investments of the Maltese Government in Imperial and Colonial Funds are given in the attached table:—

Investments in Imperial and Colonial Funds on 29th February, 1904.

Securities.	Nominal value.	Cost price.	Market price on 29th February 1904.	
			Per £100.	Amount.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
2½ per cent. Consols - - -	258,235 0 4	254,542 2 7	86	222,082 2 3
2½ per cent. Annuities - -	5,966 7 10	6,013 17 7	85¾	5,116 3 7
India 3 per cent. - - -	4,932 2 8	5,015 15 1	94¾	4,673 3 11
Canada 3 per cent. - - -	24,814 7 8	25,438 1 1	97	24,069 19 0
New South Wales 4 per cent. -	69,188 13 10	80,003 17 0	106	73,340 0 3
Do. 3½ per cent. (1918)	19,000 0 0	20,623 11 2	97	18,430 0 0
Gold Coast 3 per cent. - -	10,000 0 0	9,042 11 0	86	8,600 0 0
New Zealand 4 per cent. - -	4,683 15 10	5,015 9 5	105½	4,941 8 0
Do. 3½ per cent. - -	14,000 0 0	15,274 19 3	100⅜	14,052 10 0
Trinidad 3 per cent. - -	10,000 0 0	9,342 11 0	91	9,100 0 0
Queensland 4 per cent. (1924) -	73,654 16 11	80,604 4 7	103¾	76,416 18 1
Ceylon 3 per cent. - - -	40,000 0 0	38,330 18 5	93	37,200 0 0
South Australia 4 per cent. (1882-4) - - - - -	36,820 14 7	69,581 13 5	105	38,661 15 4
Do. (1916-36) - -	26,611 3 1		102¾	27,342 19 3
Transvaal 3 per cent. - -	15,000 0 0	14,782 7 10	95	14,250 0 0
Victoria 4 per cent. (1920) -	54,216 8 3	60,035 10 0	105¾	57,333 17 1
Do. 3½ per cent. - -	15,325 18 4	16,352 1 1	97	14,866 2 9
	682,449 9 4	709,999 10 6		650,476 19 6

Finances of Transvaal.

MR. BUCHANAN (Perthshire, E.): To ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies when will the promised Papers relating to the finances of the Transvaal be in the hands of Members.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Lyttelton.*) I expect that the Papers will be in the hands of the Members in the course of next week.

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE.

Service Rifles.

CAPTAIN NORTON (Newington, W.): I beg to ask the Financial Secretary to the War Office if he can state whether, when the orders placed up to 1905 are completed, the total number of rifles for the Army, Navy, Auxiliary, and Colonial Forces will amount to 276,000 of the new pattern and 276,000 of the converted pattern.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Mr. ARNOLD-FORSTER, Belfast, W.): 276,000 is the total number of new and converted rifles ordered up to 1905.

Government Factories and Private Firms.

CAPTAIN NORTON: To ask the Secretary of State for War whether, in view of the distress caused by the dismissal of experienced workmen in the Government factories at Enfield and Woolwich, and the deterioration which is taking place in plant lying idle, he will consider the advisability of so distributing orders between private firms and Government factories that all the plant of the latter may be kept as far as possible in constant use.

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: The orders have been distributed on the established principle that the resources of the trade as well as those of the Government factories must be utilised, and with the present orders available this must involve part of the Government plant at Enfield and Woolwich lying idle.

MR. CROOKS (Woolwich): May I supplement that Question by asking where and when the principle was established of keeping machinery idle in the interests of contractors?

*MR. J. F. HOPE (Sheffield, Brightside): May I ask whether it is proposed to depart from the lines of the policy in this matter laid down by the right hon. Gentleman's predecessors and to increase the production of guns and military stores at Woolwich and Enfield to the detriment of private firms in Sheffield and elsewhere, and to the consequent loss of work to the men employed by those firms.

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: There is no question in this matter of the interests of contractors in Sheffield or elsewhere. The interests involved are the interests of the nation, represented in this case by the needs of the Army. The principle has been adopted because it is believed to be a sound and desirable principle, and it will be carried out by this, and, I believe, all other Governments, on the ground that it is a reasonable principle in the interest of the Army.

*MR. J. F. HOPE: May I hope there will be no departure from the lines of the policy adopted by the right hon. Gentleman's predecessors?

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: I have already stated that the principle has been adopted and is, to the best of our judgment, being applied fairly.

MR. CROOKS: Then is machinery which is the property of the nation to be allowed to rust out in the interests of contractors?

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: No machinery will be allowed to rust out, but it is necessary in times of peace to leave unemployed a portion of the machinery which would be employed in times of war.

Respective Cost of Gold Coast Railway and Natal Government Railway.

MR. AUSTIN TAYLOR (Liverpool, East Toxteth): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether, in the comparisons recently made between the Gold Coast Railway and the Natal Government Railway, allowance was made for the fact that in the latter case the line was practically relaid twice with heavier rails; and whether the expense so incurred was deducted from the cost per mile which was taken as the basis of comparison with the Gold Coast Railway.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Mr. LYTTELTON, Warwick and Leamington): No, Sir. I understand that the comparisons referred to were of a general character and were based simply upon the total cost of the railways divided by the number of miles.

MR. AUSTIN TAYLOR: Do I understand that no allowance was made for the fact that it was laid twice over?

Cost of Construction of Gold Coast Railway.

MR. AUSTIN TAYLOR: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies what was the original estimate per mile for each section of the Gold Coast Railway; and whether the cost of actual construction recently given as £10,300 per mile includes administration and engineering charges in England; and, if not, how much per mile should be added to cover these and all other incidental charges and contingencies as included in the estimated cost of the railway.

Mr. LYTTELTON: The Gold Coast Railway was authorised in two sections, Sekondi-Tarkwa and Tarkwa-Kumasi. The estimate for the Sekondi-Tarkwa section was £6,000 per mile. This estimate did not include the jetties and wharves at Sekondi or the additional accommodation afterwards provided at Sekondi for the traffic of the Kumasi extension. The estimate for the Kumasi extension was £5,193 per mile. But the route eventually adopted differed materially from that on which this estimate was based, and while a more direct line was secured, the difficulties of construction were largely increased. The £10,300 per mile referred to includes administration and engineering charges in England.

Hut Tax in the Transvaal.

Mr. JOHN ELLIS (Nottinghamshire Rushcliffe): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies what is the amount of hut tax which has been levied upon the natives in the Transvaal under the law passed last year; in what districts has it been levied; and has the levy led to any opposition or breaches of the peace; and in that case, what are the particulars of the same as regard place, time, and magnitude.

Mr. LYTTELTON: Information on the subject is published in No. 13, see particularly p. 113, in Cd. 2025. The only later information which I have is that the collection of the tax has been giving satisfactory results, and I have no reason to suppose that the levy has led to opposition or breaches of the peace.

Native Unrest in the Transvaal.

The Master of ELIBANK (Edinburgh, Midlothian): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he has received any telegraphic communication from Lord Milner regarding the alleged unrest amongst the natives in the Zoutpansberg district of the Transvaal, concerning which he made inquiry.

Mr. LYTTELTON: I am informed by Lord Milner that there is no confirmation of the rumours of unrest; that a mobile troop of South African Constabulary have been dispatched to Pietersburg to allay the fears of the white population, but that so far the utmost vigilance of the Native Affairs Department has failed to discover any signs of unrest.

Resignation of Sir Percy Girouard.

Mr. HERBERT ROBERTS (Denbighshire, W.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he is in a position to make a statement as to the changes in railway administration, proposed by Lord Milner, which have led to the resignation of Sir Percy Girouard; whether it is intended to appoint an Acting Railway Commissioner; and whether this appointment will be a permanent one.

Mr. LYTTELTON: I have been informed by Lord Milner that in consequence of the debates and resolution of the International Council Sir Percy Girouard has tendered his resignation of the office of Railway Commissioner which, Lord Milner has accepted. The question of a future appointment is under consideration.

Chinese Labour in the Transvaal.

Major SEELY (Isle of Wight): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether, in view of the repeated statements made that the majority of the people of the Transvaal are opposed to the introduction of Chinese indentured labour, and, considering that the peculiar circumstances prevailing in that colony render it impossible to ascertain the opinion of the inhabitants except by a vote by ballot, he will give instructions for a vote by ballot to be taken, first in Johannesburg, and afterwards, if necessary, throughout that colony, in order to fulfil the pledges given by the late Colonial Secretary that such importation should not be sanctioned until it should have been clearly ascertained that a great majority of the white inhabitants were in favour thereof.

MR. LYTTELTON: The repetition of statements which we believe to be inaccurate has not altered the decision of His Majesty's Government, which has been communicated to the House on more than one occasion. I am not, therefore, prepared to give such instructions.

MAJOR SEELY: The Question I have asked has not been answered. The Question I asked was whether they would not settle the matter one way or the other in the only possible way it can be settled.

MR. LYTTELTON: I have said I am not prepared to give such instructions.

Wages of Chinese Labourers in the Transvaal.

DR. MACNAMARA (Camberwell, N.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether the minimum wage for day work offered to the adult Kaffir labourer in the Transvaal is 45s. a month, and to the adult Chinese labourer indentured under the Transvaal Labour Ordinance is 30s. a month; and, if so, whether he will state if there is any substantial difference in the nature of the work performed by the adult Kaffir labourer and to be performed by the adult Chinese labourer; and whether he will represent to Lord Milner the undesirableness of permitting such arrangements as will enable the indentured Chinese labourer to undercut the Kaffir labourer doing similar work.

MR. LYTTELTON: The answer to the first Question is, Yes. As to the second, it is anticipated that a certain percentage of adult Chinese labourers will be unable, and a certain percentage unwilling, to perform the work done by the adult Kaffir labourer, and for those I understand that work such as is done by Kaffir youths and boys, and corresponding wages, will be provided. I have already explained that the arrangement made is such as to secure that average Kaffir wages will not be unfairly competed with, or undercut. But in an experiment of this magnitude the occurrence of error is possible, and we have accordingly provided, and the provision is embodied in the contract, that if the first six months working establishes any flaw in our anticipations, the minimum wage of the Chinese labourer shall be raised from 30s. to 45s.

DR. MACNAMARA; Am I now to understand definitely that the minimum wage offered to the adult Kaffir is 45s., and that to the Chinese labourer 30s. a month.

MR. LYTTELTON: I have answered that as clearly as I can answer.

DR. MACNAMARA: I apologise if I have not gathered the answer from the right hon. Gentleman. May I have it repeated?

MR. LYTTELTON: The answer is yes.

DR. MACNAMARA: May I ask whether the Colonial Secretary will communicate to Lord Milner the undesirability of allowing the minimum wage of the Chinese labourer to be fixed at 30s. while that of the adult Kaffir is 45s?

MR. LYTTELTON: I am afraid I spoke too tersely. I have explained that I have not considered it desirable to do that, because sufficient means in my judgment have been taken to prevent any undercutting of Kaffir wages, and if there is any flaw in the calculation and anticipations we have formed, measures have been taken to embody in the contract a provision that the minimum wage of 30s. should be increased to 45s. after the first six months. I do not understand, however, that that will be necessary.

DR. MACNAMARA: I am sorry the right hon. Gentleman refuses to make the representation, and I shall have to ask the Deputy-Speaker to accept a Motion for the adjournment of the House.

MR. JOSEPH WALTON (Yorkshire, W.R., Barnsley): Does the right hon.

Gentleman regard the arrangements he has described as carrying out the pledge he has given to the House that the minimum wage to the Chinese labourer should be not less than 2s. a day.

Mr. LYTTELTON: I gave no such pledge. It is true, as I said before, that I was informed that the Chinese would not come for a less wage than 2s. a day; but we afterwards found that this information, which I received from Chinese authorities, was incorrect. I never promised a minimum wage.

Dr. MACNAMARA: Yes; 21st March.

Mr. LYTTELTON: On the contrary, I thought throughout these debates that to specify a minimum wage was not necessary; but it became necessary, in the interests of the Kaffir, having regard to the amount for which the Chinese were willing to come, to prevent the average scale of Kaffir wages from being competed with or lowered. We have taken measures which we think have completely secured that end; and if on investigation, after six months experiment, we find the average Chinese wage is less than 50s.—which is the average Kaffir wage or a little more than the average wage—we have taken measures to make the minimum wage of the Chinaman 45s.

Mr. CROOKS: Will Lord Milner fix the piece-work rate, or who?

Dr. MACNAMARA asked whether the right hon. Gentleman had not promised definitely on 21st March that the Chinese labourer would get at least 2s. a day?

Mr. LYTTELTON: I quite agree; and I think I said so perfectly frankly to the House the other day. When I gave that assurance, I explained the grounds on which I gave it, and I asked the House to permit me to withdraw that assurance. I explained the error into which I had fallen—owing to the information I had received. The relevancy and materiality of that assurance was made I think, perfectly clear at the time and afterwards. It was material to the question whether the standard of Kaffir wages should be unfairly competed with. I think every fair-minded man would agree that was the materiality of the statement; and, if we secure that the average standard wages of the Kaffir are not unfairly competed with, I think the House and every fair-minded man will say that we have adhered to the real substance of that assurance. If hon. Members do not agree, they can call attention to it in the regular way.

Dr. MACNAMARA asked whether a minimum wage of 30s. did not compete unfairly with the minimum wage of 45s.

Mr. LYTTELTON: I think I am right in saying it will not be so, for this reason. I am sure no opponent of this measure would desire that a man should receive for three years a wage of 45s. or 50s. which he is not earning by reason of incompetence, neglect, or malingering, or the like. There are, I am assured, a certain number of Chinese who will fall into one or other of these categories, and you must allow that a certain amount of inefficients from one cause or another would be included in each hundred of Chinese.

Mr. LOUGH (Islington, W.): And of Kaffirs.

Mr. LYTTELTON: It is proposed that the 30s. minimum should be specified having regard to those persons, so that they should not be paid for more than the work they are able to do. [An Hon. Member: This is a speech.] I am unable to explain otherwise. If, as the result of that minimum being employed for this purpose, the general effect upon the wages be such that the average standard wage is less than 50s. at the end of six months that minimum will be raised to 45s., which is the average wage of the Kaffir.

Mr. GIBSON BOWLES (Lynn Regis) rose, but Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I think this matter has been thrashed out. It is now becoming a discussion.

Mr. JOHN ELLIS: We have had argument and speech from the right hon. Gentleman.

***Mr. DEPUTY-SPEAKER**: Drawn from the right hon. Gentleman by the Questions addressed to him.

AN HON. MEMBER: We want to have an opportunity of reply.

MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton) said when is the House to have an opportunity of granting the Colonial Secretary the right to withdraw the pledge that he has given to the House?

THE PRIME MINISTER AND FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): I presume if that question is to be discussed it could appropriately be discussed on the salary of my right hon. friend. I shall not stand in the way of that being put down as the first Vote on an early Thursday.

Confirmation of Municipal By-Laws for Employment of Children out of School Hours.

DR. MACNAMARA: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department in how many, if any, cases by-laws proposed by municipal councils for the regulation of the employment of school children out of school hours under the Act of 1903 have already been confirmed by his Department; what the names are of the municipalities for which such by-laws have been sanctioned; in how many additional cases are by-laws now under consideration by the Home Office; and whether he will consider the advisableness of laying, as a Parliamentary Paper for the guidance of local authorities, the Home Office model by-laws, together with a selection of the by-laws already actually sanctioned.

*THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. AKERS-DOUGLAS, Kent, St. Augustine's): One set of by-laws under the Act has been formally confirmed and is now in force, viz., for the Borough of Warrington. By-laws have also been provisionally approved for Middlesborough, Hull, Burnley, Swindon, and Todmorden, and are awaiting confirmation in accordance with the procedure prescribed by Section 4 of the Act. Draft by-laws have also been submitted by some thirty to forty other places and are now under consideration. As regards the last paragraph of the Question it does not seem to me desirable to take the course suggested. I think that all that is necessary in this direction has been done by the publication in the Press and the circulation to local authorities of the model by-laws. I can assure the hon. Member that there has been no delay whatever on my part.

Supply for Navy and Army Services.

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON (Dundee): I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer what was the total amount of Supply for Navy and Army Services respectively for the year 1904–5 covered by the Consolidated Fund Act, No. 1; and what is the aggregate amount of the Supply since voted for each Service.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN, Worcester, E.): The Navy Supply for the financial year 1904–5 covered by the Consolidated Fund, No, 1, Act was £8,325,200, and the Army Supply £9,746,000. The Supplies since voted in Committee included £16,560,100 for the Navy and £2,839,000 for the Army.

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON: Am I right in assuming that none of the money that has been voted since last March can be available for the Departments without it is covered by a new Consolidated Fund Act?

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: I believe that is so.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES: Am I not right in saying the total amount covered is £42,000,000?

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: That was not the Question asked.

Fraudulent Spirit Blending.

MR. MACVEAGH (Down, S.): I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether his attention has been called to a recent prosecution by the Islington Borough Council in the North London Police Court, where a wine merchant was convicted and fined for selling a blend of patent spirit and brandy as genuine brandy; and, if so, will he issue intructions to prohibit the labelling in bond, under Government supervision, of blends of patent spirit and whiskey as genuine whiskey, with a view to assisting the local authorities in putting down this fraudulent trading.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: The decision does not appear to have any bearing upon this blending of patent spirit and whiskey. The law has not laid down any definition of "genuine whiskey," and the Select Committee of 1891 expressly advised that no attempt should be made to prescribe a legal definition of whiskey or to restrict the use of the name so long as the spirits added in blending are pure and contain no noxious ingredient. In these circumstances it is not open to the Treasury to issue any such instructions as those suggested by the hon. Member.

MR. MACVEAGH: Arising out of that answer, may I ask the right hon. Gentleman whether he does not think the time has come when the Inland Revenue regulations should be so altered as to prevent these repeated frauds being carried out under Government supervision.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: I am not quite certain what the hon. Member means by these repeated expressions of fraud. I am not aware that there have been repeated frauds, but if the hon. Gentleman has any information with which he can supply me I shall be glad to look into the matter.

MR. MACVEAGH: I have myself asked eight or nine Questions with regard to it.

Sunday Postal Service to Esker, County Longford.

MR. J. P. FARRELL (Longford, N.): I beg to ask the Postmaster-General to grant a Sunday delivery of letters from Longford post office to Esker sub-post office, in Killoe parish, for the convenience of the inhabitants.

THE POSTMASTER - GENERAL (Lord STANLEY, Lancashire, Westhoughton): I have considered the question of affording a Sunday delivery to Esker, but I regret that the cost which would be involved would not be warranted.

Postal Delivery in Killoe Parish, County Longford.

MR. J. P. FARRELL: I beg to ask the Postmaster-General if he will direct that the former system of daily delivery of letters to houses in Killoe parish be reverted to instead of a four days a week delivery as is now the rule.

LORD STANLEY: I find, on inquiry, that prior to the commencement of the present arrangement for serving the houses in Killoe parish to which the hon. Member refers, there was no official delivery at all at those houses. The letters were left at other houses on the route of the postman, and were called for by school children and others. I regret to find that the cost of the present service four days a week is so high in comparison with the revenue from the correspondence, that I should not be justified in affording a daily delivery.

Telephonic Communication Between Padstow and Hawker's Cove.

SIR WALTER GREENE (Bury St. Edmunds): I beg to ask the Postmaster-General if he will state what further steps he proposes to take to improve the telephonic communication between Padstow and Hawker's Cove.

LORD STANLEY: Since answering a Question on this subject on the 15th instant† I have seen Colonel Prideaux Brune, and I am convinced that his refusal to allow the wires to Hawker's Cove to be placed as an overhead line on the present route arose from a misunderstanding. He has now given me full leave to place the wire anywhere on his property in such manner as to secure the best and safest route, and has further offered to defray any additional expense that may be incurred by altering the route or by placing the wire underground, if that should be found to be the best course. I am specially glad to be able to make this announcement, in view of the honourable connection of Colonel Prideaux Brune and his family with life saving. I am informed that his father has for a long time been Chairman of the Padstow Lifeboat Committee, and that four of his sisters have Royal Humane Society Medals; and I fully accept his assurance that nothing was further from his wishes than to interfere with life-saving operations.

MR. CATHCART WASON (Orkney and Shetland): Arising out of that, may I ask the right hon. Gentleman if he will still proceed with his attempt to introduce a Bill that will render the recurrence of this impossible?

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† See page 142.

Lord STANLEY: Yes, I shall ask the House to pass the Bill, but in this case it is perfectly certain that this was the result of an entire misunderstanding. Since I drafted this reply, I have discovered that Colonel Prideaux Brune has often been himself engaged in life-saving operations.

Clonfin Estate, County Longford.

Mr. J. P. FARRELL: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutentant of Ireland whether he is aware that the owner of the Clonfin Estate, North Longford, is willing to sell to the tenants at twenty-one and a half years purchase of the second-term rents, but is prevented doing so by the Scottish Union Provident Assurance Company, which is the mortgagee in possession of the estate; and, if so, whether, in view of the circumstances of this estate, he will direct the attention of the Estates Commissioners to the case of these tenants, with a view to their negotiating for the purchase and resale to the tenants.

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Atkinson, Londonderry, N.): No application has been made to the Estates Commissioners in respect of this estate. Should such an application be made they will be prepared to make inquiries into the circumstances of the estate with a view to purchase.

Mr. J. P. FARRELL: The hon. Gentleman has not answered the last part of the Question.

Mr. ATKINSON: Until an application has been received the Estates Commissioners have no power to institute an inquisitorial inquiry.

Mr. J. P. FARRELL: The tenants cannot make application without the consent of the landlords.

Cusack Estate, County Longford.

Mr. J. P. FARRELL: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he will state the present position for sale of the Cusack (county Longford) Estate; whether the Estates Commissioners have yet decided to avail of the 7th Section of the Act of 1903 in regard to this estate; and, if not, will he explain why they have not done so.

Mr. ATKINSON: The Estates Commissioners have now issued a request in respect of the sale of the entire estate under the provisions of the 7th Section of the Act.

Turbary Rights on the Granard Estate.

Mr. J. P. FARRELL: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that when signing his purchase agreement for the sale of his farm on the Granard Estate in 1893, James J. Scanlan, of Soran, had first inserted in the agreement a clause promising, on the part of the vendor, to give him his usual turbary on the Drummeel Bog; and that, although Scanlan has every year since applied to the Granard Estate bog bailiff for the fulfilment of this promise, no turbary has yet been given him; and, if so, will he direct the attention of the Land Commission to this case.

Mr. ATKINSON: I am informed by the Land Commissioners that the holding in question was vested in Scanlan in the terms of the purchase agreement signed by him, and that the agreement contains no reference to turbary.

Mr. J. P. FARRELL: Is the original agreement in the possession of the Commissioners?

Mr. ATKINSON: Of course the original agreement signed by the parties is.

Dernageas Farm, County Longford.

Mr. J. P. FARRELL: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is prepared to advise the Estates Commissioners to purchase for striping amongst tenants of Currool-Fox, Currool Kenny, and Currool Brennan the farm of Dernageas, in the barony of Rathclive, county Longford; whether he is aware that the landlady is willing and anxious to sell this farm for the benefit of the tenants; and whether, as Newtowncashel parish, in which this farm is situate, may be described as a congested district, he will advise the Estates Commissioners to expend money on the reclamation, fencing, and division of this farm.

Mr. ATKINSON: There is some difficulty in identifying the property referred to from the information given in the Question. If the hon. Member will communicate to me the name of the landlord further inquiry will be made.

Evicted Tenant on Mr. Coltsmann's Estate, County Kerry.

Mr. MURPHY (Kerry, E.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the Estates Commissioners will recommend a grant for restocking and rebuilding to Mr. Daniel Casey, an evicted tenant on the estate of Mr. D. C. Coltsmann, at Glenflesk, county Kerry, who has been restored to his old holding by direct agreement with his landlord and without the intervention of the Commissioners; and, if so, will they cause immediate steps to be taken in the matter.

Mr. ATKINSON: The estate of Mr. Coltsmann has not yet come before the Estates Commissioners to be dealt with. When it does they will consider any application by Daniel Casey for assistance.

Evicted Tenants in County Cork—Applications for Reinstatement.

Mr. FLYNN (Cork County, N.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he can state the number of evicted tenants in the county of Cork who have up to the first day of June made applications to the Estates Commissioners to be reinstated in their former holdings; and also the names or titles of the estates with which these applications are connected.

Mr. ATKINSON: 495 such applications have been received. The information desired in the second part of the Question is being prepared and will be forwarded to the hon. Member.

Galway Harbour.

Mr. CHARLES DEVLIN (Galway): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that the Messrs. Hutchinson, of Glasgow, hold a small mortgage over the harbour of Galway; that as a result when improvements are undertaken or suggested by the Board of Commissioners difficulties are placed in the way, and that the rulings are not allowed to take effect by reason of the opposition of the Messrs. Hutchinson; and whether he can take steps to prevent this mortgage interfering with the management of the harbour by the Board.

The FINANCIAL SECRETARY of the TREASURY (Mr. Victor Cavendish, Derbyshire, W.): Messrs. Hutchinson have a judgment mortgage for over £5,000, puisne to the charge of the Board of Works, on the property of the Galway Harbour Commissioners. Any representations from Messrs. Hutchinson affecting the financial position of the Harbour are properly considered by the Board of Works. So long as their mortgage is not paid off they cannot be refused a hearing; but of course the final decision rests with the Board.

Irish Agricultural Department.

Mr. DELANY (Queen's County, Ossory): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he will give the name, nationality, and religion of the official who has been temporarily appointed in connection with transit work under the Agricultural Department.

Mr. ATKINSON: The name of the official is Walter Gilligan. The Department have no information as to his nationality or religion.

Police Arrangements at Millstreet.

Mr. SHEEHAN (Cork County, Mid.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that, of the fourteen police at present stationed in Millstreet, six are in receipt of lodging-out allowances; and whether, considering that the Millstreet Barracks, when occupied by the military, accommodated two officers and 100 men, he will explain why the expenditure of public moneys occasioned by this lodging-out system is allowed to continue; and whether, seeing that the Millstreet district has for a considerable time shown a complete absence of crime of every kind, will he state the necessity for maintaining the present force of constabulary, and does he intend taking steps to have the Millstreet and Ballyvourney stations attached to Macroom as formerly, thus effecting a substantial saving.

MR. ATKINSON: Seven of the police at Millstreet are in receipt of lodging allowance. The reasons for granting the allowance have not been communicated to me, but inquiry is being made. The question of abolishing the station at Millstreet as a district head-quarters will be considered.

Failure to Collect Amount of County Court Decree—Case of Mrs. Bridget Hovan.

MR. MURPHY: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he will state what was the reason of the failure of the sheriff of the county of Kerry to collect the amount of a County Court decree obtained by the County Council of Kerry against a Mrs. Bridget Hovan of Minish, near Killarney; and if such failure arose from any difference in the law in such matters in Ireland and England.

MR. ATKINSON: Under the statute 8 Anne. c. 14 (England), corresponding to the 9 Anne. c. 8, s. 1 (Ireland), goods cannot be taken in execution till the landlord's rent, not exceeding one year, has been paid or secured. The 19 and 20 Vict., c. 108, enacts that the English statute of Anne shall not apply to goods taken in execution under the warrant of a County Court. There is no similar statute in Ireland, and consequently the Irish statute of Anne applies to Civil Bill decrees.

MR. MURPHY: Will the right hon. Gentleman bring about such a change in the law as to allow the county council to levy for these decrees.

MR. ATKINSON: I cannot give any pledge.

Belfast Anglers' Association and Ballynahinch River.

MR. SLOAN (Belfast, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware of the fact that two members of the Belfast Anglers' Association and three water bailiffs netted the Ballynahinch river on the 6th instant, and removed a number of trout to stock one of their lakes, and that complaints were made by residents in the locality to the police who were in the vicinity at the time; and, if so, will he say whether any action has been taken in the matter; if not, will he cause inquiries to be made.

MR. ATKINSON: The facts are correctly stated in the Question. The matter has been referred to the Department of Agriculture for investigation, the result of which will be communicated to my hon. friend.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

MR. JOHN REDMOND (Waterford): Might I ask the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury whether the arrangement stands that the Irish Labourers Bill will be the first order on Friday and the Irish Land Bill the second.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON (Tower Hamlets, Poplar) asked what business would be taken on Monday.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: As regards the Question of the hon. Member for Waterford whether the arrangement to take the Labourers Bill first on Friday and the Irish Land Bill second will stand, if we finish the Budget Bill to day, as I hope we shall, I see no reason why we should not. If we complete the Committee on the Budget to-day the arrangement will stand, otherwise I shall be obliged to take Friday for the completion of that Bill. On Monday we propose to take the Licensing Bill.

MR. JOHN REDMOND: In the not improbable event of the Budget not being concluded to-night can the right hon. Gentleman give us any assurance that he will give an early day when he will take the Labourers (Ireland) Bill.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The hon. Member knows it is our desire to pass the Bill, but the time that may be occupied with the necessary business of the session rests with others and not with me. At this moment I am not in a position to give any pledge.

Mr. JOHN REDMOND: Will the right hon. Gentleman, in pursuance of distinct and repeated pledges, give an undertaking that this session adequate time shall be given for the discussion of the Labourers Bill.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: I have said that both the Labourers (Ireland) Bill and the Land Bill are Bills we think ought to be passed, and I really cannot say more. The hon. and learned Gentleman seems to think that this Bill in which he is interested has over and above other Bills been the subject of a special pledge.

Mr. JOHN REDMOND: Repeatedly given.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: I am not prepared to minimise any statement made by any Minister on the subject, but it will be admitted that the Budget Bill and other Bills immediately in view are Bills the Government are deeply pledged to proceed with.

Mr. MACVEAGH: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that last night the Finance Bill was obstructed by Members on his own side because Ministerialists were not in their places?

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: I refrain from using the word obstruction, but when I say that I have not observed an anxiety to deal with the Bill in a brief and businesslike spirit I trust I do not use an offensive expression, and I think the truth of it will not be denied.

THE RESIGNATION OF SIR CHARLES ELIOT.

Mr. SIDNEY BUXTON: It is obvious we cannot carry on this discussion by Question and Answer, and may perhaps return to it in Committee; meanwhile I beg to ask a Question on a different matter. Can the right hon. Gentleman inform the House—he was unable to do so the other day—of the reasons which induced Sir C. Eliot to resign his position in East Africa, and whether Sir C. Eliot has asked for an inquiry into the circumstances attending his resignation?

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: The Government have nothing to conceal in this matter. No doubt it may be expedient to publish the correspondence, and if I do not now give a distinct pledge on the subject it is because, as I understand, Sir Charles is now on the high seas, and before publishing his correspondence I confess I should like to have, and the Minister for Foreign Affairs would like to have, an opportunity of consulting with Sir Charles Eliot. If, however, those who are interested take a different view, I have no objection.

THE OUTBREAK OF BERI-BERI AMONG CHINESE COOLIES.

Dr. HUTCHINSON (Sussex, Rye), on private notice, asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether his attention had been directed to the outbreak of beri-beri among the Chinese coolies who recently had arrived in South Africa; whether those who had developed the disease had been actually landed; whether those who had been exposed on board ship to infection had yet been sent up country to the compounds; and whether, having regard to the intensely infectious and dangerous character of this disease, from which South Africa is at present free, he could tell the House what steps had been taken to prevent the spreading of the disease in the colony.

Mr. LYTTELTON: I have received no report from Lord Milner on this subject. I have telegraphed, but have received no reply. I have every confidence that, judging from the admirably efficient measures taken for dealing with the outbreak of plague, every precaution will be taken.

Dr. HUTCHINSON: After this extremely unsatisfactory answer (laughter) —I do not believe there is a single man among those who laugh who knows what this disease is—owing to this unsatisfactory answer, I beg to ask leave to move the Adjournment of the House to call attention to a matter of urgent public importance—do hon. Gentlemen laugh at such a disease—the imminent danger which arises from the introduction of a new, highly infectious, and fatal disease known as beri-beri into South Africa.

*MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: This matter is covered by notices of Motions now on the Order-book. Hon. Members will do me the favour of listening to me. The proposal as to landing is covered by the Motion of the hon. Member for Bermondsey to call attention to the conditions of service and transportation of Asiatic indentured labour in South Africa. The Motion of the hon. Member for Coventry refers to the conditions of employment of labourers in British colonies and protectorates in Africa and to the high rate of mortality among those labourers.

MR. JOHN REDMOND: May I ask, as a point of order, Sir, do you seriously rule that a notice of Motion calling attention to the conditions of transport to South Africa really rules out a discussion of such a matter as the outbreak of a malignant disease of which information has just come to this House?

*MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: The words of the Motion of the hon. Member for Coventry are: "In the opinion of this House it is the duty of His Majesty's Government to take all reasonable measures to secure the health and proper treatment of all labourers in such colonies and protectorates."

MR. LAMBERT (Devonshire, South Molton), as a point of order, pointed out that the Motion now proposed dealt with the danger from a malignant disease to other than labourers. The high rate of mortality referred to by the Motion of the hon. Member for Coventry was mortality in South Africa, and did not refer to labourers being conveyed.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON said the notice of the hon. Member for Coventry had reference to the Blue-book on the treatment of natives in mines, and had nothing to do with this last outbreak of disease. There was no intention in either notice to refer to this matter.

*MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I do not, of course, know what the intention of an hon. Member may have been, but it seems to me he has drafted his notice in such a wide manner that it covers this subject.

MR. JOHN REDMOND: May I ask the Prime Minister, does he intend to take no steps to prevent the House of Commons being permanently reduced to a state of impotence and prevented from discussing any matter of vital importance, however urgent in character, that may arise by the action of some obscure individual in putting down a Motion so vague, so wide in its terms, that the presiding authority in this House feels bound to rule that it practically covers everything?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I will at once answer the Question, and I hope the House will treat this matter with somewhat less heat. I do not complain of the hon. and learned Member's Question; he practically asks me whether I propose to suggest an alteration in the Standing Orders of the House——

MR. JOHN REDMOND: Not only that, but to use influence with your own supporters to prevent them putting down these notices, and with the Whips.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: And whether I will use any influence I may have to induce Members not to put down notices of Motions which may have the effect of preventing Motions for the adjournment of the House. I think he will recognise that is a matter of very great difficulty, and it is made much more difficult in that there is a widespread belief that some adjournment Motions are directed, not so much to public matters of urgency outside the House, as to the progress of business inside the House, and I have not the least doubt that some Motions have been put on the Order-book with a view to preventing adjournment Motions. I do not desire to say more than that I think nobody will criticise that action severely unless he is willing to believe that a Motion for adjournment is never moved with that secondary object I have described. I think there have been errors on both sides, but it is impossible to ask the one side to correct its manner of proceeding unless the other side will do so. But may I reasonably say to the hon. Member who desires to make this Motion, that I think the subject would be much better discussed on the Colonial Secretary's Vote? The Colonial Secretary has not yet any information on the subject; he has telegraphed for information, and has not received it. If, therefore, the object of the hon. Gentleman is to stop beri-beri, if that is his sole object, then he can carry it out much more effectually if he waits until the Colonial Secretary has information to give.

DR. HUTCHINSON said this was an urgent matter, because in the case of a disease like beri-beri every twenty-four hours made a great difference.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES: I wish to ask the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury—

*MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: It is after three o'clock.

MR. LAMBERT asked whether the Motion put down by the hon. Member for Coventry, which called attention only to the colonies and protectorates in Africa, included other people who might be affected by this malignant disease.

*MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: It seems to me that the terms of the Motion are so wide that they include this subject.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES: Do I understand you to rule, Sir, that no Question whatever can be put after Three o'clock because time is rather urgent, and I think, if you refer to the Standing Order, five minutes to Three is the time, after which none but urgent Questions can be asked. The Question I wish to ask the First Lord of the Treasury is whether he has borne in mind in the remarks which he has addressed to the House with reference to blocking Motions, the fact that I have submitted to the right hon. Gentleman a Resolution, and that the right hon. Gentleman has undertaken to bring forward a Resolution dealing with the matter.

*MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER reminded the hon. Member that the only Questions which could be put after five minutes to Three o'clock were those on urgent matters, relating either to matters of public importance, or to the arrangement of the business of the House.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES said his Question related to an urgent matter. He wished to ask the right hon. Gentleman whether he had considered the terms of the Resolution which he had said he would propose to the House in order to deal with blocking Motions.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The hon. Gentleman is labouring under a misapprehension. What I said was that I would put down on the Order Paper of the House a proposed Standing Order embodying my views of the way in which we ought to deal with Motions for adjournment for the holidays. With regard to the other question I gave no pledge. I have never seen a suggestion that could with propriety be made.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES asked whether he was to understand that the right hon. Gentleman refused altogether to entertain any proposal for dealing with blocking Motions.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: No, Sir.

MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL (Oldham) asked whether it would be in order to ask the hon. Member for Coventry whether he contemplated a sudden outbreak of beri-beri when he framed his Motion.

*MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: It is pretty well known that no such Question can be addressed to a private Member. The Clerk will now proceed to read the Orders of the Day.

MR. JOHN REDMOND: Do you say, Sir, that there is a Rule of this House that no Questions can be addressed to private Members, which, in the recollection of the House, have frequently been addressed to private Members.

*MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Not to explain Motions standing in their names.

MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL again rose, amid MINISTERIAL cries of "Order!"

*MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I must remind the hon. Member that I have called upon the Clerk to read the Orders of the Day.

FINANCE BILL.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[Mr. J. W. LOWTHER (Cumberland, Penrith) in the Chair.]

Clause 2:—

MR. WHITLEY (Halifax) who, owing to the noise and disturbance caused by Members leaving the House, was almost inaudible, was understood to say that the object of the Amendment which he proposed to move was to bring the second class of duties under the category of an annual tax. It was an Amendment which would not require a prolonged discussion, but one upon which the Committee might come to a decision without much argument. The principle had been argued on the first class of duties the previous day and, therefore, there would probably be no difficulty in accepting the Amendment. He begged to move.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 2, line 1, after the word "four," to insert the words "until the first day of May, 1905."—(*Mr. Whitley.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN, Worcestershire, E.) said he had had some difficulty in hearing the hon. Member, owing to the movement in the House, but if he had correctly understood him he would deal with the point that had been raised; if he had failed to understand him the hon. Member would attribute that not to any want of attention on his (Mr. Austen Chamberlain's) part but to the disturbance in the House, which had rendered it impossible to hear the hon. Member. He understood that one object of the hon. Member was to pursue the line of argument and policy pursued on the previous day by the hon. Member for King's Lynn, and to retain for the House the control of the finance of the year. The hon. Member was afraid that by the clause, as it stood, undue resources were placed in the hands of the Government, and conceivably it might be possible for the Government to carry on the business of the country out of the taxes voted in perpetuity, and not for one year only, without having recourse to an annual appeal to Parliament. It was an extravagant proposition. The duty on tea was an annual duty although it was true that it did not conclude with the financial year, and the income-tax was an annual duty, and, if there was nothing else, those two resources alone formed so large a part of the national finances that no Government could possibly continue their administration of the country with those taxes withheld. Therefore the control of the House over the finance of the country was absolutely secure. The position with regard to the tobacco duties was this. There were certain duties on tobacco which were imposed as permanent duties, and which were always intended to be a part of the permanent financial resources of the country. Superimposed on those duties was an additional tax upon tobacco, first raised by the right hon. Member for West Bristol during the course of the late war. Those additional duties had always been kept distinct from the duties first voted, so that the sum of money at the disposal of the Government without renewal by the House of Commons was not larger than it was before those duties were superimposed.

MR. WHITLEY, interposing, said that his Amendment referred to the increases being limited to one year, not to the permanent duties at all.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said to find what the exact effect of the Amendment would be it was necessary to see how far these taxes were permanent and how far they had to be renewed. The duties imposed before the war were permanent duties, subject to the power of Parliament to revise them; the duties added during the war were for one year only, and had to be renewed each year, and then came the duties which he had had to impose. Those were special duties on cigars, cigarettes, and stripped tobacco. He ventured to say that if the proposals which he had made were to be accepted at all, they should be accepted as part of the permanent system. It would be disastrous to the trade that alterations of this kind should be made for a year, and a year only, and he would not have submitted these proposals to the Committee if he had not thought that they might very properly become a portion of the permanent taxation of the House. It would be excessively unjust to have these duties for one year, and to leave the matter in complete doubt as to whether the duties would be renewed in the next year or not. It would not be in the interest of any section of the trade, either importers, merchants, or distributers, to be left in doubt whether these taxes would be permanent. He imposed these duties as part of the permanent system. The duty on cigars might be reduced, when a reduction became possible, in the same proportion as the duty on other tobacco was reduced, but the addition now proposed to be charged by this clause should be charged as part of the permanent system of taxation of the country. That was the only possible way.

SIR EDGAR VINCENT (Exeter) said that the Amendment raised a matter of considerable interest. If it were adopted the result would be that in the present year they would first of all suffer by diminished imports, and then at the end of the year, the trade, looking forward to a probable reduction of the tax in the next financial period, would withdraw nothing from bond during the last four months. That appeared to him to be a most undesirable state of things. If a tax was proposed it ought to continue for a full year's working and that full year's working could not be obtained unless the tax was imposed up to at least 1st July of the year following. He would urge on the Chancellor of the Exchequer that, in this matter of imposition and reduction of taxes, he should adhere as strictly as possible to the old rule that a tax should be imposed on all goods cleared after the date of the original Motion.

MR. BUCHANAN (Perthshire, E.) asked if the hon. Member was not now dealing with a matter which was raised by a subsequent matter.

*THE CHAIRMAN said that, as far as he understood the Amendment, it was designed to make the tax of a temporary and not of a permanent character.

SIR EDGAR VINCENT said his point was that all increases should be made on the same basis as the original tax. And in no case should any exemption be allowed.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said he thought his hon. friend did not apprehend the intention of the Amendment. He proposed certain alterations in the scale, and he proposed to make those alterations permanent. If they were to make alterations in the scale, then, in the interests of the trade itself, it was important that those alterations should be enacted once and for all.

MR. DALZIEL (Kirkcaldy Burghs) asked whether it was in order to discuss the scale of the tobacco duty on this Amendment.

*THE CHAIRMAN thought the right hon. Gentleman would be able to show that it was relevant.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN expressed the opinion that it was not only relevant to, but of the essence of, the Amendment. It was because these alterations which arose in the scale concerned particular classes of tobacco, and were not a general percentage of addition on the whole scale, that he laid particular stress, in the interest of trade itself, upon the necessity of making them permanent rather than merely an annual charge.

MR. PARKER SMITH (Lanarkshire, Partick) said that, if hon. Gentlemen opposite accepted the explanation of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and withdrew the Amendment, he would sit down at once. But if with any ulterior objects he proposed to go to a division.

MR. BUCHANAN asked whether it was in order for the hon. Gentleman to attribute motives to hon. Member on that side. It would be in the recollection of the Chairman that he had declined to allow motives to be attributed to hon. Gentleman sitting on the Unionist side of the House by those sitting on the Liberal side.

*THE CHAIRMAN said he did not, as a matter of fact, catch the end of the sentence that fell from the hon. Member, as his voice dropped. But if he was imputing any motives to hon. Members opposite in moving this Amendment, or in not debating it, of course the hon. Member would not be in order.

MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL (Oldham) asked whether the hon. Gentleman was entitled to convey, as he did, that there was an intention to obstruct the business of the House.

***THE CHAIRMAN** said he was afraid he had heard that observation made not on one side only. He could only repeat that it was not in order to attribute motives to anybody, and if the hon. Member was imputing motives to anybody he hoped he would withdraw the expression.

MR. PARKER SMITH said he would not attribute motives; he would only describe conduct. The Amendment, which raised an important point, was moved from the opposite side very shortly, it was then answered by the Chancellor of the Exchequer pretty fully, but no notice was taken of that reply on the other side, either by the *tirailleurs* on the Back Benches or by those who, in the past, had been responsible for the finance of the nation. He had asked whether, since no notice was taken of the reply, it was intended to withdraw the Amendment, in which case he should be happy to sit down at once. He had added that, if a reply was not made to the speech of the Minister, he did not consider that the matter was being fairly debated. He regarded the proposal in the Bill as a permanent increase, and as a wholesome indication of the trend of opinion, which the Budget, to a certain extent, recognised. So far as it had any effect at all, it would undoubtedly increase employment in the cigar and cigarette trade.

MR. GEORGE WHITELEY (Yorkshire, W.R., Pudsey) said this was a most important Amendment, and one which was capable of being applied to other duties. Up to the beginning of the war there were certain tobacco duties which were permanent, and which the House did not deal with annually. During the war additional duties of a temporary character were imposed, for which the sanction of the House had to be asked annually. The question was whether those duties should remain in the category of duties to be levied annually. There was a kind of in and out running in connection with them. It might be that the tax was larger on one kind of tobacco than on another; but still there was an increase all round; and, therefore, he would suggest to the Chancellor of the Exchequer that this was a class of duty which ought to be levied annually. An hon. Gentleman opposite stated that those duties would increase the trade of the country; but he doubted very much whether they would have that result. But whether that result would ensue or not would not be affected by the fact that the duties would be levied annually. It might be said that there would in that case be some uncertainty; and that manufacturers of tobacco who spent money in enlarging their works and engaging hands might be placed in a difficulty. But they would be in exactly the same position if those duties were annual instead of being permanent. The Chancellor of the Exchequer of the day might any year propose an alteration in the tobacco duties. They were not stereotyped for all time. He thought it was not desirable on principle that the taxation of the country should be removed from the control of the House of Commons. A great principle was behind the Amendment. It was all very well for the Chancellor of the Exchequer to say that as the tea duty and the income-tax would be levied annually, the House would have control over the Government and could stop any scheme they might have in contemplation. But he ventured to submit that all taxation should be subject to the annual revision of this House. From time immemorial this House had had full control over taxation, and the annual distribution of that taxation; and he thought it would be more desirable, instead of the House diminishing that control, that it should increase it. He hoped his hon. friend the Member for Halifax, who was an expert in these matters, and who constantly supervised the operations of the Treasury, would insist on taking a division on this Motion. It was not a Motion to be laughed out of court in the airy manner attempted by the Chancellor of the Exchequer; but was a matter which went to the root of the entire fiscal arrangements of the country.

Mr. GIBSON BOWLES (Lynn Regis) said that last evening they had speeches from the hon. Member for the Brightside Division, the hon. Member for the Peckham Division, and the hon. Member for Finsbury who, after an hour and a half had elapsed, allowed the discussion to pursue its regular course. That was sometimes called obstruction, and the result was that there appeared to be a competition in obstruction between both sides of the House which was certainly not to the advantage of the House of Commons. He did not know whether the Committee realised that the scheme of the Chancellor of the Exchequer with reference to the tobacco duties was cut into two parts. One portion was to be a perpetual tax, and the other an annual tax. If hon. Members would refer to Clause 4 they would find that certain additional duties on tobacco were to be paid until the 1st August, 1905, but the duties dealt with in the clause under consideration were to be perpetual duties. That appeared very strange. He was a very strong advocate of the annualty of duties. The annual revision of taxation was the basis of the control of the House of Commons. It was the power of the House of Commons; and if it were taken away the House would for all useful purposes cease to exist. He knew very well the reasons which would be advanced in support of the proposals in the Bill. It would be said that the Chancellor of the Exchequer did not want to add to the amount of the perpetual duties; and that consequently the portion of the tobacco duty hitherto annual should be kept annual, whereas the portion which was perpetual should be kept perpetual. The proper way to deal with this matter would be to make all the tobacco duties annual, and make them cease not on the 1st August but on the 1st July, for reasons which he had given in the preceding day's debate. That would give ample opportunity to the Government to pass their Finance Bill; and it would get rid of the extraordinary anomaly of having two methods of dealing with duties on one article. He did not suppose that the Chancellor of the Exchequer would adopt that view, but it certainly was a sound view.

Mr. SYDNEY BUXTON (Tower Hamlets, Poplar) said the Government being now in possession of a majority could proceed to discuss the Amendment on its merits. The question at issue was whether the additional duties on tobacco should be annual or permanent. The Chancellor of the Exchequer said, and he himself thought there was a good deal in it, that there was a great distinction between a tax which might be temporary and a new tax. There was some force in that. It did not, however, apply to the tax on cigars, because there was an existing duty on cigars, and the new tax was only an addition to it. He confessed he could not see the logic of proposing that an addition which was enacted in 1900 should be temporary, whereas the addition now proposed should be permanent. Further the duties on cigarettes and stripped tobacco were new duties; and that fact alone was a very strong argument for their being temporary. He believed that they would be able to show that the Chancellor of the Exchequer would practically derive no revenue from the duty proposed on stripped tobacco. In that case it was a revenue which ought not to be permanent, and the House of Commons ought to have annually an opportunity of discussing it. There was a great deal in what had been said by the hon. Member for King's Lynn that the House of Commons ought not to consent to diminish its control over the taxation of the country. For some years past taxes which used to be temporary had been placed in the category of permanent taxes; and the result was that the House of Commons had now only control over the tea duty and the income-tax. He thought that the House of Commons ought to exert every effort to maintain control over taxation; and on that ground, and also on the ground that the tax on stripped tobacco would be ineffective, he thought the House of Commons ought to have an opportunity of reviewing those taxes annually.

Mr. AUSTIN TAYLOR (Liverpool, East Toxteth) said he was sure the last thing the tobacco trade would wish was an annual review of the differential duty which the Chancellor of the Exchequer proposed to levy. Already it had been thrown into a state of turmoil by the imposition of the duty. The hon. Member for the Partick Division, he thought, placed the Chancellor of the Exchequer in a somewhat embarrassing position when he said he desired the differential duty to be permanent because it was more or less of a protective character, possibly opening up new sources of employment in this country, and in that sense indicative of the trend of thought in the community. He did not know where the hon. Member gathered his indications of the trend of thought in the community, but if it was to be gathered from the recent by-elections he did not think it could be said to support the hon. Member's view. The Chancellor of the Exchequer might, he thought, very well rise and repudiate the false position in which the hon. Member for the Partick Division had sought to place him. In his opinion there was nothing whatever of a protective character in this differential duty, and some other argument must, therefore, be advanced in favour of making it permanent. He was quite sure the trade did not desire that there should be a series of experiments in the levying of a differential duty, and that if there was to be a difference made between leaf and stripped tobacco it should, in the interests of stability of trade, be made once for all.

Question put.

The Committee divided:—Ayes, 164; Noes, 216. (Division List No. 168.)

AYES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N.E.)
Allen, Charles P.
Asher, Alexander
Ashton, Thomas Gair
Austin, Sir John
Barlow, John Emmott
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Barry, E. (Cork, S.)
Bayley, Thomas (Derbyshire)
Black, Alexander William
Blake, Edward
Boland, John
Broadhurst, Henry
Brown, George M. (Edinburgh)
Bryce, Rt. Hon. James
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Burt, Thomas
Buxton, Sydney Charles
Caldwell, James
Cameron, Robert
Causton, Richard Knight
Cawley, Frederick
Churchill, Winston Spencer
Cogan, Denis J.
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Crean, Eugene
Crombie, John William
Cullinan, J.
Davies, Alfred (Carmarthen)
Davies, M. Vaughan (Cardigan
Delany, William
Devlin, Charles R. (Galway)
Devlin, Joseph (Kilkenny, N.)
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Donelan, Captain A.
Doogan, P. C.
Douglas, Charles M. (Lanark)
Duncan, J. Hastings
Edwards, Frank
Elibank, Master of
Ellis, John Edward (Notts.)
Esmonde, Sir Thomas
Evans, Samuel T. (Glamorgan)
Farrell, James Patrick
Fenwick, Charles
Ferguson, R. C. Munro (Leith)
Fitzmaurice, Lord Edmond
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Flynn, James Christopher
Foster, Sir Walter (Derby Co.)
Fowler, Rt. Hon. Sir Henry
Fuller, J. M. F.
Gladstone, Rt. Hn. Herb. John
Grant, Corrie
Grey, Rt. Hon. Sir E. (Berwick)
Gurdon, Sir W. Brampton
Hammond, John
Hayden, John Patrick
Hayter, Rt. Hn. Sir Arthur D.
Helme, Norval Watson
Hemphill, Rt. Hon. Charles H.
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Holland, Sir William Henry
Horniman, Frederick John
Humphreys-Owen, Arthur C.
Hutchinson, Dr. Charles. Fred.
Hutton, Alfred E. (Morley)
Jacoby, James Alfred
Joicey, Sir James
Jones, D. Brynmor (Swansea)
Jones, W. (Carnarvonshire)
Joyce, Michael
Kennedy, Vincent P. (Cavan, W.
Kitson, Sir James
Labouchere, Henry
Lambert, George
Langley, Batty.
Law, Hugh Alex. (Donegal W.)
Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cornwall)
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Leese, Sir J. F. (Accrington)
Leigh, Sir Joseph
Leng, Sir John
Levy, Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Lloyd-George, David
Lough, Thomas
Lundon, W.
Macnamara, Dr. Thomas J.
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
M'Crae, George
M'Kenna, Reginald
M'Killop, W. (Sligo, North)
Mappin, Sir Frederick Thorpe
Murphy, John
Nannetti, Joseph P.
Nolan, Col. John P. (Galway, N.)
Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South)
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
Nussey, Thomas Willans
O'Brien, James F. X. (Cork)
O'Brien, Kendal (Tipperary, Mid
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Brien, P. J. (Tipperary, N.)
O'Connor, James (Wicklow, W)
O'Donnell, John (Mayo, S.)
O'Donnell, T. (Kerry, W.)
O'Dowd, John
O'Kelly, James (Roscommon, N
O'Malley, William
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
O'Shee, James John
Palmer, Sir Chaless M. (Durh'm
Paulton, James Mellor
Pease, J. A. (Saffron Walden)
Philipps, John Wynford
Pirie, Duncan V.
Power, Patrick Joseph
Price, Robert John
Priestley, Arrthur
Rea, Russell
Redmond, John E. (Waterford)
Reid, Sir R. Threshie (Dumfries)
Rickett, J. Compton
Rigg, Richard
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs)
Robertson, Edmund (Dundee)
Robson, William Snowdon
Roche, John
Roe, Sir Thomas
Russell, T. W.
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Seely, Maj. J. E. B. (Isle of Wight)
Shackleton, David James
Sheehan, Daniel Daniel
Sheehy, David
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Slack, John Bamford
Smith, Samuel (Flint)
Soames, Arthur Wellesley
Soares, Ernest J.
Spencer, Rt. Hn. C. R. (Northants
Stanhope, Hon. Philip James
Strachey, Sir Edward

Sullivan, Donal
Taylor, Theodore C. (Radcliffe)
Thomas, Abel (Carmarthen, E.
Thomas, Sir A. (Glamorgan, E.
Tomkinson, James
Toulmin, George
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Ure, Alexander
Wallace, Robert
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan
Wason, John C. (Orkney)
White, Luke (York, E. R.)
Whiteley, George (York, W.R.)
Whittaker, Thomas Palmer
Wilson, Fred. W. (NorfolkMid.)
Wilson, Henry J. (York, W.R.)
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid.)
Woodhouse, SirJ.T(Huddersf'd
Young, Samuel

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Mr. J. H. Whitley and Mr. Dalziel.

NOES.

Agg-Gardner James Tynte
Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
Allhusen, Augustus Henry E.
Arnold-Forster, Rt.Hn.HughO
Arrol, Sir William
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Aubrey-Fletcher, Rt.Hn.Sir H.
Bagot, Capt. JoscelineFitzRoy
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Balcarres Lord
Balfour, Rt. Hn. A. J. (Manch'r
Balfour, Capt. C. B. (Hornsey)
Balfour, Rt. Hon. G. W. (Leeds
Balfour, Kenneth R.(Christch.)
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Bartley, Sir George C. T.
Bentinck, Lord Henry C.
Bignold, Arthur
Bill, Charles
Boulnois, Edmund
Bousfield, William Robert
Bowles,Lt.-Col.H.F (Middlesex
Bowles,T.Gibson (King's Lynn
Brassey, Albert
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Bull, William James
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Cavendish, R. F. (N. Lancs.)
Cavendish, V. C. W. (Derbysh.
Chamberlain, Rt. Hn.J.(Birm.
Chamberlain, RtHnJ.A(Worc.)
Chaplin, Rt. Hon. Henry
Chapman, Edward
Charrington, Spencer
Clive, Captain Percy A.
Coates, Edward Feetham
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Coghill, Douglas Harry
Cohen, Benjamin Louis
Collings, Rt. Hon. Jesse
Colston, Chas. Edw. H. Athole
Craig, Chas. Curtis (Antrim, S.)
Cross, Herb. Shepherd(Bolton)
Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Dalkeith, Earl of
Davenport, William Bromley
Denny, Colonel
Dickinson, Robert Edmond
Dickson, Charles Scott
Dickson-Poynder, Sir John P.
Digby, John K. D. Wingfield-
Dorington, Rt. Hn. Sir John E.
Doughty, George
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers
Duke, Henry Edward
Dyke, Rt. Hn.Sir William Hart
Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
Fardell, Sir T. George
Fergusson, Rt. Hn. SirJ(Manc'r
Fielden, Edward Brocklehurst
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
Firbank, Sir Joseph Thomas
FitzGerald, Sir Robert Penrose
Fitzroy,Hon. Edward Algernon
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Flower, Sir Ernest
Forster, Henry William
Foster,PhilipS.(Warwick, S.W.
Galloway, William Johnson
Gardner, Ernest
Garfit, William
Gordon,Hn.J.E.(Elgin & Nairn
Gore, HnG.R.C.Ormsby-(Salop
Gore, Hon. S.F.Ormsby-(Linc.)
Graham, Henry Robert
Greene,SirEW (B'rySEdm'nds)
Gunter, Sir Robert
Halsey, Rt. Hon. Thomas F.
Hamilton,Rt.HnLordG(Midd'x
Hardy, L. (Kent, Ashford)
Harris, F. L. (Tynemouth)
Harris, Dr. Fredk. R. (Dulwich
Haslam, Sir Alfred S.
Haslett, Sir James Horner
Hatch, Ernest Frederick Geo.
Heath, Arthur Howard(Hanley
Heath, James (Staffords, N.W.
Hoare, Sir Samuel
Hope,J.F.(Sheffield,Brightside)
Hornby, Sir William Henry
Horner, Frederick William
Hoult, Joseph
Houston, Robert Paterson
Howard, J. (Kent, Faversham)
Howard, J. (Midd.Tottenham)
Hozier, Hn. James Henry Cecil
Hudson, George Bickersteth
Hunt, Rowland
Hutton, John (Yorks. N. R.)
Jeffreys, Rt. Hon. Arthur Fred.
Jessel, Capt. Herbert Merton
Johnstone, Heywood (Sussex)
Kenyon-Slaney, Col. W.(Salop)
Lambton, Hon. Frederick Wm.
Laurie, Lieut.-General
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
Lawson, John G. (Yorks. N.R.)
Lee, A. H. (Hants., Fareham)
Legge, Col. Hon. Henage
Leveson-Gower, Fredk. N. S.
Lockwood, Lieut.-Col. A. R.
Loder, Gerald Walter (Erskine
Long, Col. Chas. W. (Evesham
Long, Rt.Hn.Walter (Bristol, S
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lowe, Francis William
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas, Col. Francis (Lowestoft
Lucas, Reginald J.(Portsm'th)
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
Macdona, John Cumming
MacIver, David (Liverpool)
Maconochie, A. W.
M'Arthur, Charles (Liverpool)
M'Iver,SirLewis(Edinburgh,W.
M'Killop, James (Stirlingshire)
Malcolm, Ian
Manners, Lord Cecil
Melville, Beresford Valentine
Middlemore, J. Throgmorton
Milvain, Thomas
Mitchell, William (Burnley)
Moon, Edward Robert Pacy
Morpeth, Viscount
Morrison, James Archibald
Morton, Arthur H. Aylmer
Mount, William Arthur
Mowbray, Sir Robert Gray C.
Murray,Rt.Hn.A.Graham(Bute
Murray, Charles J. (Coventry
Murray, Col. Wyndham (Bath)
Myers, William Henry
Newdegate, Francis A. N.
Nicholson, William Graham
O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
Palmer, Walter (Salisbury)
Parker, Sir Gilbert
Parkes, Ebenezer
Pease, Herbert P. (Darlington)
Peel, Hn.Wm.Robert Wellesley
Pemberton, John S. G.
Percy, Earl
Pilkington, Colonel Richard
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Pretyman, Ernest George
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Pym, C. Guy
Randles, John S.
Rankin, Sir James
Reid, James (Greenock)
Renshaw, Sir Charles Bine
Richards, Henry Charles
Ridley, Hn. M. W. (Stalybridge
Ritchie, Rt. Hn. Chas.Thomson
Roberts, Samuel (Sheffield)
Rollit, Sir Albert Kaye
Round, Rt. Hon. James
Royds, Clement Molyneux
Rutherford, John (Lancashire)
Rutherford, W. W. (Liverpool)
Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford-
Sadler, Col. Samuel Alexander
Samuel, Sir H. S. (Limehouse)
Sassoon, Sir Edward Albert
Saunderson, Rt.Hn.Col.Edw.J.
Seely, Chas. Hilton (Lincoln)
Sharpe, William Edward T.
Sinclair, Louis (Romford)
Skewes-Cox, Thomas
Sloan, Thomas Henry
Smith,H.C.(North'mbTyneside
Smith, James Parker(Lanarks.
Spear, John Ward
Stanley, Edward J(Somerset)

Stanley, Rt. Hn. Lord (Lancs.)
Stirling-Maxwell, Sir John M.
Stock, James Henry
Stone, Sir Benjamin
Stroyan, John
Strutt, Hon. Charles Hedley
Taylor, Austin (East Toxteth)
Thorburn, Sir Walter
Thornton, Percy M.
Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
Tritton, Charles Ernest
Valentia, Viscount
Vincent, Col.SirC.E.H(Sheffield
Vincent, Sir Edgar (Exeter)
Walker, Col. William Hall
Walrond, Rt. Hn. SirWilliamH
Wanklyn, James Leslie
Warde, Colonel C. E.
Welby, Lt.-Col, A.C.E.(Taunt'n
Welby, Sir Chas. G. E. (Notts.)
Wharton, Rt. Hon. John Lloyd
Whiteley, H.(Ashton und.Lyne
Whitmore, Charles Algernon
Wills, Sir Frederick
Wilson, A. Stanley (York, E.R.
Wilson, John (Glasgow)
Wilson-Todd, SirW.H.(Yorks.)
Wodehouse, Rt.Hn.E.R.(Bath)
Wolff, Gustav Wilhelm
Wrightson, Sir Thomas

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Sir Alexander Acland - Hood and Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes.

MR. LOUGH (Islington, W.) moved to omit the proposed increase of duty on cigars on the ground that the tax was purely protective in its character, and, therefore, a breach of the pledge given by the Government in reference to the fiscal policy. The duty on cigars was 5s. 6d. per lb., and on raw tobacco 3s. or 3s. 3d., so that there was a considerable balance of a protective character, and the present was not a time at which duties of that nature should be increased. The reasons given by the Chancellor of the Exchequer in support of the proposed increase were just those that would lead the Committee to regard it with suspicion. The right hon. Gentleman stated that the duty had lasted for a long time, and that when the tobacco duties were dealt with in 1865 the duty on cigars was left alone. It had to be remembered, however, that when Mr. Gladstone dealt with the tobacco duties the whole scale was avowedly protective in its character; he left one or two small items of little importance, and the question for the Committee to decide was whether they would go forward with the free-trade principles of Mr. Gladstone, and sweep away any remnants of protection, or whether they would increase duties which had a protective effect. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had admitted that the tax contained a good deal of "compensation for the home manufacturer," which was simply another way of saying that the home manufacturer was protected by the tax. The right hon. Gentleman had urged some curious reasons in favour of his proposal. One was that it was a luxury tax. But a protective luxury tax could not be accepted any more than a protective tax on articles of necessity. Luxury taxes, like all others, should be imposed in accordance with the principles of free trade. The Chancellor of the Exchequer stated that it was one of a series of taxes on a process of manufacture. That, however, was no argument why the Committee should accept it, as the principle was altogether hostile to free trade. The duty imposed in 1889 on sparkling wines had been cited as an illustration, but the comparison was absurd, because, inasmuch as sparkling wines were not produced in this country, no matter how high the duty was raised it could not become protective. He suggested that a proper illustration to take would be the sugar duty. The most delicately manufactured articles made out of sugar were imported, such, for instance, as artificial flowers. If it was a sound principle that additional taxation ought to be imposed on luxuries, surely a much heavier duty should be placed on these artificial flowers than on the raw sugar, and yet the amount in each case was exactly the same. When the corn tax existed the same principle was followed. Those were very important considerations for the House to consider before accepting this proposal. He did not think that anything the Chancellor of the Exchequer had said ought to commend this proposal to the acceptance of the Committee. If they passed this clause the money advantage would be extremely small, because the tax was only expected to realise about £50,000.

What would the cost of this tax be to the consumer? That raised the whole question of protection. This clause would raise cigars by 6d. a pound, and the manufacturer would raise his prices and the community would have to pay at least £250,000 or £300,000, and the Exchequer would only get about £50,000. Considering that fact this tax ought not to be accepted. But apart from the payment by the community, which was always the result of protection, there would be another difficulty. This tax was aimed at foreign cigars and the object of this was that home-made cigars, which were very inferior to foreign, should be used instead of foreign. Look at the effect that would have. He had never smoked a cigar and consequently did not know the difference, but friends of his who had smoked both kinds told him that there was a great deal of difference. Why should the people have to smoke these inferior articles? Anything which tended to diminish the stocks of foreign cigars would not, in the long run, help trade with the Colonies or anywhere else. The Chancellor of the Exchequer said that this tax would help the cigar trade with our Colonies.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said his remarks did not refer to this point in any way. What he stated was in reference to the drawbacks.

MR. LOUGH apologised for his mistake. He wished to remind the Committee that Indian cigars were entering strongly into competition with foreign cigars and they would also have to pay the increased duty. Really he thought they were dealing hardly enough with India in regard to the tea tax without giving her another blow by taxing cigars and tobacco. He wanted the Committee to look at this question in a different light from the amount of money involved. The greatest danger to free-trade institutions arose from the acceptance by this House in a time of slackness of principles with regard to sugar one day, the next day in regard to tobacco, and then in regard to shipping, which undermined the whole fabric of free trade. The House accepted hurriedly the sugar duty, and look at the trouble they were now in in consequence. Those engaged in the sugar industry could not get on with their business because of the great difficulties caused by this protective tariff and the wretched Sugar Convention which was set up last year. A year hence there would be difficulties quite as serious which they would have to consider in the same way. A distinguished Member of the Free Food Party objected to his suggestion that these were protective duties, and described them as a mere whiff of protection. The sum of £45,000 was only a small amount, and why should they disturb the harmony of the Party opposite by such a trifle. He cautioned the Committee against accepting the beginnings of a bad principle. When an outbreak of smallpox occurred, the sanitary authorities did not say, "Oh! it is only a whiff of smallpox, and we won't pay any attention to it." On the contrary, sanitary authorities took the most urgent steps to prevent the disease spreading. On the same principle the Committee ought not to excuse this tax as a whiff of protection, but they ought to take steps to prevent if from spreading. The further they went into this clause the worse they got. They were asked now to impose 6d. on cigars and 1s. on cigarettes, and, in fact, the whole clause was steeped in protection. The right hon. Gentleman ought to give some concession to his opponents in order to smooth matters over, and he would remember that last night the first clause was got through by making a concession. The right hon. Gentleman had pledged himself repeatedly not to introduce in this Budget any principle of protection in view of the divergence of opinion in the House and the country, and he challenged him now to carry out that pledge by accepting this Amendment.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 2, line 2, to leave out all the words from the beginning to the word 'in.'"—(*Mr. Lough.*)

Question proposed, "That the words, 'in the case of cigars by,' stand part of the clause."

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN assured the hon. Member for Islington, that it had always been his desire to meet any serious criticisms addressed to the House in a reasonable spirit when he could do so without a loss to the revenue or without upsetting the financial arrangements of the Bill. He always tried to meet the suggestions of hon. Members with courtesy and consideration. The hon. Member for Islington was altogether opposed to this clause, but the only question before them was whether there should be any increase in the duty upon imported cigars. In his concluding remarks the hon. Member said that in opposing this Amendment he would be forgetting the pledge which had been given to the House by the Government in regard to fiscal questions during the present Parliament. That pledge was that they would not invite the House to depart from the accepted fiscal principles of the nation until the country had had an opportunity of deciding the question. Though hon. Members would hardly gather it from the speech of the hon. Member, his arguments were not addressed merely to some new proposal made for the first time in this Budget, but they were arguments against the whole scheme of tobacco duties and a good deal of their Customs duties as well. He did not see why there should not be a sufficient allowance made to compensate the home manufacturer for the expense of working under Excise restrictions on account of the additional cost involved. That argument was directed not against his proposal, but against the whole scheme of the Customs duty on tobacco. The proposal which was now the subject of debate in Committee was to raise an additional sum on tobacco imported in the form of cigars. From the speech of the hon. Member, and one or two remarks made on other occasions, he would like it to be supposed that this was a dangerous innovation springing from ideas which he himself entertained, or rather was supposed to entertain, on fiscal questions generally. He said "was supposed to entertain," because a good many ideas which were attributed to him in the course of the debate were ideas which he should be sorry to adopt any responsibility for. It appeared to the hon. Member that this was a novel proposal which had no precedent in our existing arrangements. All that he proposed to do was to follow the example set by his right hon. friend the Member for West Bristol. It was twice applied by him with regard to this particular tax on foreign cigars, and, as far as he himself knew, it was received by the House and the country with perfect equanimity, without a word of criticism, and without any suggestion that the disastrous consequences which were expected to flow from the extension of it now were at all likely to happen.

While he had been Chancellor of the Exchequer he had had considerable difficulty in finding means of raising revenue, and he had been severely criticised during the last two days for imposing increased taxation on an article of necessity. In the particular case they had now reached they had an article which was not a necessity. However high they might put tobacco, they could not put it as an article of necessity. However high they might put tobacco, the urgency for a supply of cigars must be less than for tobacco in other forms. He could not conceive anything which was more an article of luxury than a cigar, and above all an imported cigar. Accordingly he had taken that article, following the footsteps of his right hon. friend the Member for West Bristol, and he proposed to raise the duty on these imported cigars without putting any corresponding Excise upon the cigars manufactured in this country. Of course the Committee would understand how great would be the difficulty and the interference with trade, and how much agitation there would be produced if anyone attempted to put an Excise on cigars made in this country. They were not to be debarred from raising revenue on an article of pure luxury because they could not exactly adjust their Excise and Customs duties. That never had been the principle on which they had proceeded, and he could not believe that seriously, or at least he was loth to believe, any Member, however much he might be attached to free trade as we had practised it for the past forty, fifty, or sixty years, should desire that it should be embodied in that rigid and absolute form. After all, the imported cigar and the home-made cigar were two different things. The hon. Member for West Islington seemed to have some doubt about that, but then he confessed that he had never smoked a cigar. He yielded to the hon. Member in regard to tea, but having smoked a good many cigars he could express a distinct opinion on that subject. The foreign cigar was a distinct article, and a person who wanted a foreign cigar would not take a home-made one in its place. They did not run the risk of giving protection to a home product when they increased the tax on an article of luxury which was imported as such, and paid for as such. The hon. Member two or three times over in the course of his speech said his own object in making this proposal was to protect a home industry. He never said so. He had said the exact contrary. He had said that his object was to obtain revenue when he set out, and from that point of view, having found a tax that appeared to him to be easily collected, which inflicted no hardship on anyone, and which was paid only by those who indulged in a luxury and who could well afford to pay, it would be absurd to debar himself from taking advantage of that source of revenue, because, incidentally or theoretically, there might be some infinitesimal possibility of protection to a small home industry.

Mr. LOUGH: What I said was that the right hon. Gentleman stated that the duties as they stood before he touched them provided a larger measure of compensation—I quote his exact words—than Mr. Gladstone intended or the home producer actually needed. My argument is that he has increased that compensation, and therefore he has done it deliberately, and must be willing to give a larger measure of what he himself described as protection.

Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said the hon. Member referred to the scale fixed by Mr. Gladstone which included the other rates not specially applicable to cigars. That was not the only passage in his speech. He spoke of the object of protecting the home industry. That was not his object in now proposing the duty. His object, as he had said, was to obtain revenue. It appeared to him it would be absurd that they should debar themselves from obtaining this revenue not very large, but still not to be neglected in days when it was so difficult so obtain it from anything which could be obtained in perfect harmony with the fiscal system they had had in force in the past. It was only a development of the precedent twice set in the taxing of tobacco by his right hon. friend which gave revenue on an article of luxury, and which was in no sense a necessity of the poor. They should not be deprived of revenue from that source by the fear, which he believed to be wholly illusory, that any substantial protection would be given to a home industry in this matter. It had been suggested that there was a certain amount of wine produced in this country which the Exchequer should turn its attention to. [An Hon. Member: You do not call it wine?] Well, it was so called. They justified an extra duty on sparkling wines because they were as distinct from other wines as imported cigars were from home-made cigars. Sparkling wines were more articles of luxury than the other cheaper wines, just as cigars were a greater luxury than the smoking of ordinary pipe tobacco. It seemed to him that that illustration was not an inapplicable one in the present case. It strengthened his argument that the course he was now proposing was one in harmony with that which had been sanctioned by the House on many previous occasions.

Mr. SYDNEY BUXTON said the Chancellor of the Exchequer had stated that some of the fiscal views which were attributed to him had not always been accurately ascribed to him. It would be a matter of interest to the House if the right hon. Gentleman would give them his views on fiscal questions about which, except in regard to the celebrated postscript, they were somewhat ignorant. The right hon. Gentleman based his proposal on two grounds—in the first place that this was a tax on what was admittedly a luxury, and in the second place that he had to look about to find revenue, the state of the finances being such as they were. He had no fault to find with the tax on the ground that it was a tax on a luxury if it were one that would really produce revenue. If it were a tax which was not merely put on one portion of a particular trade or industry he for one would have no special objection to it. If this were a tax on cigars he did not think anyone would object to it being a very high tax indeed. But the drawback of the tax as now proposed was that it appeared to have at all events a strongly protective flavour about it, and merely to call it a luxury tax was not to prevent it being protective. The question was whether the tax on its merits was protective or not. The right hon. Gentleman had told them with great truth that taking the Budget as a whole it was a free-trade one. But there was this particular clause which many of them contended had a considerable flavour of protection in it, both in regard to cigars and cigarettes, and more especially with regard to the question of stripped and unstripped tobacco. The right hon. Gentleman said he was really following up the action of his predecessors, but when this mattter was under discussion before he admitted that there was a slight protective element in this tax. Those who wished to act on free-trade lines did not say that they ought to have exactly the same duty on imported articles as they might have in the shape of Excise on articles made in this country. Obviously in regard to Excise they must give certain allowances, but the whole question was whether the Excise and the Customs duties were on a fair level. In this case there was no Excise duty at all, and obviously any duty put on the imported article must be of a protective character. The Committee should remember that this was not the first addition to the duty on manufactured cigars. There was a start made to enable the home manufacturer to compete on the same level with the manufacturer of imported cigars. At the present moment there was a duty of 2s. 6d., which was largely protective. The right hon. Gentleman now proposed to increase that to 3s. He remembered when the Committee was discussing the corn duty of 1s., which was protective in its character but not protective in practice, he asked the Prime Minister if a 1s. duty would be regarded as protective. The right hon. Gentleman replied in the negative. He then asked the right hon. Gentlemen if a 2s. duty would be protective, and he gave a similar reply; but when he was asked what about 4s. the right hon. Gentleman declined to be catechised further. The position was exactly similar in connection with these duties. He thought the particular duty under discussion was to a certain extent protective. The real point to his mind was, was it worth while raising the question of protection for the amount of revenue that would be received? The Chancellor of the Exchequer said in his original speech in introducing the tax that his object was to get revenue; and he talked to-day a great deal on the question of revenue. Did the Committee know what was the amount of the revenue that would be obtained from this tax which had this protective tendency? The total amount was £45,000 a year, which was a paltry sum out of a total amount of additional taxation of nearly £5,000,000. He thought that there would be a greater loss to the trade and to the consumer than the amount which the revenue would gain An addition of this kind involved the alteration of prices, the providing of new price lists, and a general disturbance in the trade, which would be a great loss to the trade and to consumers generally. Under existing conditions, it was their duty to protest against any step in the direction of protection; and he also protested against the tax because it would result in such a small amount of revenue as would not justify the disturbance in the trade that would ensue.

MR. KEARLEY (Devonport) said the Chancellor of the Exchequer had made a very extraordinary statement. He said that there was no competition between imported cigars and home-made cigars. That showed that the right hon. Gentleman had no knowledge of the commercial interests involved in this question. Anyone who knew anything of the trade knew that cigars from Holland, Belgium, Borneo, and India entered into the closest competition with home-made cigars. He wished to know how the right hon. Gentleman could justify his statement. When he was a member of the Kitchen Committee of the House he remembered perfectly well there was great competition between home-made cigars and foreign cigars. As business men they did not want the Chancellor of the Exchequer to pick and choose for them; they wanted to be left alone. Now apparently those foreign cigars were to be excluded by putting on what was more or less a protective duty. Further, the statement of the right hon. Gentleman that there was no competition between home-made and foreign cigars was erroneous, and must have been made because of lack of information on the subject.

MR. TREVELYAN (Yorkshire, W.R., Elland) said that the Chancellor of the Exchequer complained that they regarded this taxation as a novel proposal, whereas it had been adopted and enlarged by previous Chancellors of the Exchequer. It was perfectly true that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol raised the duty on cigars, and that it was not suggested then that any disastrous consequences would ensue; but the simple reason was that, at that time, no one suspected that the Government were tending in the direction of protection. The situation now was entirely different. They had before them the experience of the bread tax. When that was introduced it was justified on the ground that it was supported by Mr. Gladstone in the sixties; and that was put forward as a reason why free-traders should support it. The Chancellor of the Exchequer asked the Committee to act similarly in connection with this tax, but the situation was now different. The bread tax was brought in as a little innocent free-trade measure; but after a year they found it was made a handle for a great protectionist campaign. He feared exactly the same thing in connection with this tax. They were bound to regard it as a protective tax because they knew it would be so used. Already the cigar manufacturers of Leicester and Nottingham were memorialising the Chancellor of the Exchequer for a greater increase; and, just as the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the Sleaford Division talked of a duty of 4s. or 6s. on corn, the cigar manufacturers, with the little incitement given by the tax, were asking for an additional duty of 4s. on cigars. He was, therefore, justified in regarding the tax as a protective tax. Another reason why they should be suspicious of it was that the Chancellor of the Exchequer emphasised the fact that it was purely a revenue tax. It had been already pointed out how small was the amount of revenue that would be derived from it; and the returns showed that the result of the additional duty imposed by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol was to reduce instead of increase the revenue. That did not look as if the present proposed increase would be of any value to the revenue. He should like to ask the hon. Gentleman the Member for North Bristol, who had so much experience, whether he anticipated that, if the tax were imposed, the Government would be able to realise the increased duty they expected. The figures showed that the last increase did not bring in any additional revenue. The duty was in the main a protective duty; and he could not regard it as being of any other character.

Mr. BARRAN (Leeds, N.) said he had heard it asserted so often that this was a free-trade Budget that he began to wonder whether there was not some meaning in the repetition of the phrase. This tax needed careful scrutiny because it was particularly significant in its relation to protection. They would not be giving the Chancellor of the Exchequer credit for even ordinary ability if they did not understand that he appreciated the use of which this particular part of the Budget was going to be made in the future. The hon. Member for Cambridge University dissipated the theory of a free-trade Budget on the clause that was under consideration on the previous day, and showed that the added tax possessed the possibility of great use in some future campaign. This clause, he ventured to say, was expected to be more useful to the Government in the future politically than financially. The argument would be used that by putting on this further duty it would tend to give further employment to our own people instead of to those of other countries. On this question of employment it might be that the amount at issue was quite insignificant, but there was much in it that might be used as illustrations from which other deductions might be made; and they would be quite as effective as illustrations which had been taken in relation to "jewellery from Morocco," or "pearl buttons." Another point was the imminent danger they had to face in this, as in every other form of protection in which they embarked, *i.e.*, the possibility of strengthening the power of the trusts of the country. If the Chancellor of the Exchequer would look at the figures and make any calculation as to what amount of this duty would be paid by certain firms, and what amount of additional money would go into the hands of certain syndicates, he would see that he would add great strength to some of the most powerful syndicates which had grown up in England in recent years, syndicates which to-day almost monopolised the trade. So much as the duty was increased, by so much would the syndicates hold that monopoly against all comers. Other countries had had to face this question of trusts. He did not propose to leave the narrow limits of this Amendment to touch upon other items of duty, but he would say that if it were not the actual object of this added duty, at any rate the use to which it would certainly be put would be the argument that it would create greater trade in this country. On the other hand it would be an example to be avoided, in that if they were to put duties on any articles, whether luxuries or necessities, and if they excludedthe labour as well as the products of other countries, they were enabling a limited number of manufacturers in this country to make a strong trust that could practically control the whole trade. He hoped those who voted in favour of this increased duty would feel that they gave a vote to a system which, if carried further, would add additional cost to the consumer without giving additional revenue to the Government, and would put the cost on the consumer out of all proportion to the amount going into the Treasury. He opposed every item of this clause on those two principles. It was brought forward with the absolute knowledge that the arguments of increased labour were going to be used unfairly in the future, because, this being an article on which taxation had always been placed, the injury would not be so apparent as if it had been put upon some item which they historically considered as an unsuitable subject for taxation.

Sir ROBERT REID (Dumfries Burghs) was sorry to see the House so listless and exhausted in regard to this subject, because its importance could not be measured by the amount of money involved. This was the first item upon which of late years a duty had been proposed that had an avowedly protective effect, although to only a limited degree. The Chancellor of the Exchequer did not dispute that the effect of this tax would be protective, and one could not help regarding it as the basis of some propaganda which the country would in due time be asked to accept. Then, again, it came in under the guise of a luxury. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had very judiciously based his argument that luxuries ought to be taxed. Luxuries could not be taxed to produce a large revenue and yet people would go about the country and say that the luxuries of the rich man ought to be taxed in order to relieve the burden from the poorer classes. He agreed that if they could tax luxuries without doing any harm that course should be taken. He had no feeling whatever from either an economic or personal point of view against putting a tax upon this or that luxury in itself, but it was very dangerous to use the argument of luxury as the first step to protection. It was an argument introduced under most insidious aspects, and was likely to captivate many persons who would not have accepted it on its real merits. The consequences of it were apparent. It was not an argument to be confined merely to tobacco or to this increased duty, but related to all taxes of the same kind. If they applied protection to this trade other trades would claim the same privilege. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had stated that he did not intend to interfere with the principles of free trade in any proposal to the present Parliament. He ought not to have imposed this tax, as they would see this instance and this clause quoted in support of protection. Whether the right hon. Gentleman was in favour of protection he (Sir Robert Reid) had not been able to gather, but he thought they ought to take this opportunity of protesting against the introduction of this principle.

Question put.

The Committee divided:—Ayes, 242; Noes, 183. (Division List No. 169.)

AYES.

Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
Aird, Sir John
Allhusen, Augustus Henry E.
Arnold-Forster, Rt.Hn.HughO
Arrol, Sir William
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Aubrey-Fletcher, Rt.Hon.SirH
Bagot, Capt. Josceline FitzRoy
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour, Rt.Hon.A.J.(Manch'r)
Balfour, Capt. C. B. (Hornsey)
Balfour, Rt. Hn. G. W. (Leeds)
Banbury, Sir Fredk. George
Bartley, Sir George C. T.
Bentinck, Lord Henry C.
Bhownaggree, Sir M. M.
Bignold, Arthur
Bill, Charles
Boscawen, Arthur Griffith
Boulnois, Edmund
Bowles, T. G. (King's Lynn)
Brassey, Albert
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Burdett-Coutts, W.
Campbell, Rt.Hn.J.A.(Glasgow

Carson, Rt. Hn. Sir Edw. H.
Cavendish, R. F. (N. Lancs.)
Cavendish, V. C. W. (Derbysh.)
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Chamberlain, Rt.Hn.J. (Birm.)
Chamberlain, RtHnJ.A(Worc.)
Chamberlayne, T.(S'thampton)
Chaplin, Rt. Hon. Henry
Chapman, Edward
Charrington, Spencer
Clive, Captain Percy A.
Coates, Edward Feetham
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Coddington, Sir William
Coghill, Douglas Harry
Cohen, Benjamin Louis
Collings, Rt. Hon. Jesse
Colston, Chas. Edw. H. Athole
Craig, Chas. Curtis (Antrim, S.)
Cross, Herb. Shepherd(Bolton)
Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Dalkeith, Earl of
Davenport, William Bromley
Denny, Colonel
Dickinson, Robert Edmond
Dickson, Charles Scott
Digby, John K. D. Wingfield-
Dimsdale, Rt.Hon.SirJosephC.
Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
Dixon-Hartland, SirFredDixon
Dorington, Rt.Hon.SirJohn E.
Doughty, George
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers
Duke, Henry Edward
Durning-Lawrence, Sir Edwin
Dyke, Rt.Hn.SirWilliam Hart
Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
Faber, Edmund B. (Hants, W.)
Fardell, Sir T. George
Fergusson, Rt Hn.SirJ.(Manc'r
Fielden, Edward Brocklehurst
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
FitzGerald, Sir R. Penrose
Fitzroy, Hon. Edw. Algernon
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Flower, Sir Ernest
Forster, Henry William
Foster, P. S. (Warwick, S. W.)
Galloway, William Johnson
Gardner, Ernest
Garfit, William
Gordon, Hn.J.E(Elgin &Nairn)
Gore, HnG.R.C.Ormsby-(Salop
Gore, Hon. S.F.Ormsby-(Linc.)
Graham, Henry Robert
Gray, Ernest (West Ham)
Greene, Sir EW(B'rySEdm'nds
Greene, Henry D.(Shrewsbury)
Greene, W. Raymond (Cambs.)
Gretton, John
Greville, Hon. Ronald
Gunter, Sir Robert
Hall, Edward Marshall
Halsey, Rt. Hon. Thomas F.
Hardy, L. (Kent, Ashford)
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Harwood, George
Haslam, Sir Alfred S.
Haslett, Sir James Horner
Hatch, Ernest Frederick Geo.
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Heath, Arthur Howard (Hanley
Heath, James (Staffords. N.W.
Heaton, John Henniker
Helder, Augustus
Henderson, Sir A. (Stafford, W.
Hickman, Sir Alfred
Hoare, Sir Samuel
Hope, J.F.(Sheffield,Brightside
Hornby, Sir William Henry
Horner, Frederick William
Hoult, Joseph
Houston, Robert Paterson
Howard, J. (Kent, Faversham)
Howard, J. (Midd.,Tottenham)
Hozier, Hon. James H. Cecil
Hudson, George Bickersteth
Hunt, Rowland
Hutton, John (Yorks. N.R.)
Jeffreys, Rt. Hn. Arthur Fred.
Jessel, Capt. Herbert Merton
Johnstone, Heywood (Sussex)
Kenyon, Hn. Geo. T.(Denbigh)
Kenyon-Slaney, Col. W. (Salop
King, Sir Henry Seymour
Lambton, Hon. Fredk. Wm.
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
Lawrence, Wm. F. (Liverpool)
Lawson, John G. (Yorks., N.R.
Lee, A. H. (Hants., Fareham
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Leveson-Gower, Frederick N.S.
Lockwood, Lieut.-Col. A. R.
Loder, Gerald Walter Erskine
Long, Col. Chas. W. (Evesham)
Long, Rt.Hn.Walter (Bristol,S.
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lowe, Francis William
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas, Col. Francis (Lowestoft)
Lucas, R. J. (Portsmouth)
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
Macdona, John Cumming
MacIver, David (Liverpool)
M'Arthur, Charles (Liverpool)
M'Iver, Sir Lewis(EdinburghW
M'Killop, James (Stirlingshire)
Malcolm, Ian
Manners, Lord Cecil
Melville, Beresford Valentine
Middlemore, J. Thorgmorton
Milner, Rt. Hn. Sir Frederick G
Milvain, Thomas
Mitchell, William (Burnley)
Molesworth, Sir Lewis
Moon, Edward Robert Pacy
Morpeth, Viscount
Morrison, James Archibald
Morton, Arthur H. Aylmer
Mount, William Arthur
Mowbray, Sir Robert Gray C.
Muntz, Sir Philip A.
Murray, RtHnA.Graham(Bute
Murray, Charles J. (Coventry)
Murray, Col. Wyndham (Bath)
Myers, William Henry
Newdegate, Francis A. N.
Nicholson, William Graham
O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
Palmer, Walter (Salisbury)
Parker, Sir Gilbert
Parkes, Ebenezer
Pease, Herbert P. (Darlington)
Peel, Hn. Wm.RobertWellesley
Pemberton, John S. G.
Percy, Earl
Pilkington, Colonel Richard
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Pretyman, Ernest George
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Pym, C. Guy
Randles, John S.
Rankin, Sir James
Reid, James (Greenock)
Renshaw, Sir Charles Bine
Richards, Henry Charles
Ridley, Hon. M.W.(Stalybridge
Ritchie, Rt.Hn.Chas.Thomson
Roberts, Samuel (Sheffield)
Robinson, Brooke
Rolleston, Sir John F. L.
Rollit, Sir Albert Kaye
Ropner, Colonel Sir Robert
Round, Rt. Hon. James
Royds, Clement Molyneux
Rutherford, John (Lancashire)
Rutherford, W. W. (Liverpool)
Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford-
Sadler, Col. Samuel Alexander
Samuel, Sir H. S. (Limehouse)
Sassoon, Sir Edward Albert
Saunderson, Rt.Hn.Col.Edw.J.
Sharpe, William Edward T.
Simeon, Sir Barrington
Skewes-Cox, Thomas
Sloan, Thomas Henry
Smith, H.C(North'mbTyneside
Smith, J. Parker (Lanarks.)
Spear, John Ward
Spencer, Sir E. (W. Bromwich)
Stanley, Edw. Jas. (Somerset)
Stanley, Rt. Hon. Lord (Lancs.
Stirling-Maxwell, Sir John M.
Stock, James Henry
Stone, Sir Benjamin
Stroyan, John
Strutt, Hon. Charles Hedley
Taylor, Austin (East Toxteth)
Thorburn, Sir Walter
Thornton, Percy M.
Tollemache, Henry James
Tritton, Charles Ernest
Valentia, Viscount
Vincent, Sir Edgar (Exeter)
Walker, Col. William Hall
Walrond, Rt.Hn.SirWilliam H.
Wanklyn, James Leslie
Warde, Colonel C. E.
Welby, Lt.-Col.A.C.E.(Taunt'n
Welby, Sir Chas. G. E. (Notts.)
Wharton, Rt. Hon. John Lloyd
Whiteley, H.(Ashton und. Lyne
Whitmore, Charles Algernon
Wills, Sir Frederick
Wilson, A. Stanley (York, E.R.
Wilson, John (Glasgow)
Wilson-Todd, Sir W.H.(Yorks.)
Wodehouse, Rt.Hn.E.R. (Bath
Wolff, Gustav Wilhelm
Wortley, Rt. Hn. C. B. Stuart
Wrightson, Sir Thomas
Yerburgh, Robert Armstrong
Younger, William

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Sir Alexander Acland - Hood and Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes.

NOES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N. E
Abraham, William (Rhondda)
Ainsworth, John Stirling
Allen, Charles P.
Ambrose, Robert
Asher, Alexander
Ashton, Thomas Gair
Austin, Sir John
Barlow, John Emmott
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Barry, E. (Cork, S.)
Bayley, Thomas (Derbyshire)
Beaumont, Wentworth C. B.
Bell, Richard
Black, Alexander William
Blake, Edward
Boland, John
Brigg, John
Broadhurst, Henry
Brown, George M. (Edinburgh)
Bryce, Rt. Hon. James
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Burke, E. Haviland
Burt, Thomas
Buxton, Sydney Charles
Caldwell, James
Cameron, Robert
Campbell, John (Armagh, S.)
Causton, Richard Knight
Cawley, Frederick
Churchill, Winston Spencer
Cogan, Denis J.
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Crean, Eugene
Crombie, John William
Cullinan, J.
Dalziel, James Henry
Davies, Alfred (Carmarthen)
Davies, M. Vaughan (Cardigan
Devlin, Charles R. (Galway)
Devlin, Joseph (Kilkenny, N.)
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Donelan, Captain A.
Doogan, P. C.
Douglas, Charles M. (Lanark)
Duncan, J. Hastings
Dunn, Sir William
Edwards, Frank
Elibank Master of
Ellice, CaptEC(S.Andrw'sBghs
Ellis, John Edward (Notts.)
Esmonde, Sir Thomas
Evans, Samuel T. (Glamorgan)
Farrell, James Patrick
Fenwick, Charles
Ferguson, R. C. Munro (Leith)
Field, William
Fitzmaurice, Lord Edmond
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Flynn, James Christopher
Foster, Sir Walter (Derby Co.)
Fowler, Rt. Hon. Sir Henry
Fuller, J. M. F.
Gilhooly, James
Gladstone, Rt. Hn. Herb. John
Grant, Corrie
Grey, Rt. Hon. Sir E. (Berwick
Haldane, Rt. Hon. Richard B.
Hammond, John
Harcourt,RtHnSirW(Monm'th
Hayden, John Patrick
Hayter, Rt. Hon. Sir Arthur D.
Helme, Norval Watson
Hemphill, Rt. Hon. Charles H.
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Holland, Sir William Henry
Horniman, Frederick John
Humphreys-Owen, Arthur C.
Hutchinson, Dr. Charles Fredk.
Hutton, Alfred E. (Morley)
Jacoby, James Alfred
Johnson, John (Gateshead)
Joicey, Sir James
Jones, William (Carnarvonsh.)
Joyce, Michael
Kennedy, V. P. (Cavan, W.)
Kitson, Sir James
Labouchere, Henry
Lambert, George
Langley, Batty
Law, Hugh A. (Donegal, W.)
Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cornwall)
Leamy, Edmund
Leigh, Sir Joseph
Leng, Sir John
Levy, Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Lloyd-George, David
Lundon, W.
Macnamara, Dr. Thomas J.
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
M'Arthur, William (Cornwall)
M'Crae, George
M'Fadden, Edward
M'Kenna, Reginald
M'Killop, W. (Sligo, North)
Mappin, Sir Frederick Thorpe
Morley, Charles (Breconshire)
Morley, Rt.Hn.John (Montrose
Moss, Samuel
Murphy, John
Nannetti, Joseph P.
Newnes, Sir George
Nolan, Col. J. P. (Galway, N.)
Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South)
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
Nussey, Thomas Willans
O'Brien, James F. X. (Cork)
O'Brien, Kendal(TipperaryMid
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Brien, P. J. (Tipperary, N.
O'Connor, J. (Wicklow, W.)
O'Donnell, John (Mayo, S.)
O'Donnell, T. (Kerry, W.)
O'Dowd, John
O'Kelly, James (Roscommon,N
O'Malley, William
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
O'Shee, James John
Palmer, Sir C. M. (Durham)
Parrott, William
Partington, Oswald
Paulton, James Mellor
Pease, J. A. (Saffron Walden)
Pirie, Duncan V.
Power, Patrick Joseph
Price, Robert John
Priestley, Arthur
Rea, Russell
Redmond, John E. (Waterford)
Reid, SirR.Threshie (Dumfries)
Rickett, J. Compton
Rigg, Richard
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.)
Roche, John
Russell, T. W.
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Samuel, S. M. (Whitechapel)
Seely, Maj.J.E.B.(Isle of Wight
Shackleton, David James
Sheehan, Daniel Daniel
Sheehy, David
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Sinclair, John (Forfarshire)
Slack, John Bamford
Soames, Arthur Wellesley
Soares, Ernest J.
Spencer,Rt.Hn.C.R (Northants
Stanhope, Hon. Philip James
Stevenson, Francis S.
Sullivan, Donal
Taylor, Theodore C. (Radcliffe)
Thomas, A. (Carmarthen, E.)
Thomas, Sir A. (Glamorgan, E.)
Thomas, David A. (Merthyr)
Tomkinson, James
Toulmin, George
Ure, Alexander
Wallace, Robert
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan)
Wason, John Cathcart(Orkney)
White, George (Norfolk)
White, Luke (York, E. R.)
Whiteley, George (York, W. R.
Whittaker, Thomas Palmer
Wilson, Chas. Henry (Hull, W.)
Wilson, Fred W. (Norfolk, Mid.
Wilson, Henry J. (York, W. R.
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid.)
Woodhouse, SirJT(Huddersf'd
Young, Samuel
Yoxall, James Henry

Tellers for the Noes—Mr. Kearley and Mr. Trevelyan.

Mr. DUNCAN (Yorkshire, W.R., Otley) moved to reduce the proposed increase of duty on cigars from 6d. to 3d. He said he did not intend to pursue the arguments as to the protective character of the tax—although recognising its protective character he believed a reduction of the tax would be an advantage—nor did he propose to refer to the opportunities which such a tax afforded to the advocates of preferential duties. The object of the Amendment was to place the levying of the tax on a more just basis. Many cigars were sold at a very low price, and the additional duty on each cigar could not be reckoned in a coin of the realm. Consequently, the duty would have to be paid by the manufacturer or retailer, unless it were placed in a grossly aggravated form upon the consumer. But if former increases of duty were taken into account, it would be found that the total tax worked out at nearly 1d. on each cigar, and this was met by the use of inferior material. Manufacturers aimed at producing the best quality cigars possible at a given price; consequently, when they had established any particular commodity on the market, such a tax as that now proposed seriously interfered with the conduct of their business for very inadequate results. The Amendment would leave it open to the Chancellor of the Exchequer to levy a higher duty on the better quality cigars, and to allow the cheaper cigars to be sold at the standard of price which the manufacturers had had in view. If the right hon. Gentleman would accept the principle of an *ad valorem* duty, a sufficiently high duty could be placed on the better cigars to compensate for the loss of revenue on the cheaper article. He begged to move.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 2, line 2, to leave out the words 'six pence' and insert the words 'three pence.'"—(*Mr. Duncan.*)

Question, "That the words 'six pence' stand part of the clause."

Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said the Amendment as moved would not effect the object the hon. Member had in view. It was perfectly true that small alterations of duty were always an inconvenience to the trade concerned, that they rendered necessary adjustments of prices and so forth, but the mere reduction of the additional duty from 6d. to 3d. would not do away with any of the inconveniences involved. The object behind the Amendment, however, was really to raise the question of an *ad valorem* duty upon cigars. Regarded merely as a question of theoretical justice, *ad valorem* duties were very attractive; but the difficulties in the way were very great. *Ad valorem* duties always provided opportunities for fraud, and made it difficult to check the true amount of duty that should be paid; and though he did not say that under no circumstances ought they to be enforced, he thought it desirable wherever possible to have a specific rather than an *ad valorem* duty. If he undertook to bring up a scale of *ad valorem* duties on cigars, he would probably find that he had merely jumped out of the frying-pan into the fire, and that the new proposals would be even more fiercely attacked than those now before the Committee. He was unable, therefore, to accept either the Amendment or the proposal which he understood to be behind it.

Question put.

The Committee divided:—Ayes, 239; Noes, 179. (Division List No. 170)

AYES.

Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
Aird, Sir John
Allhusen, Augustus Henry E.
Arnold-Forster, RtHn.HughO.
Arrol, Sir William
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Aubrey-Fletcher, Rt.Hn. SirH.
Bagot, Capt. JoscelineFitzRoy
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour, Rt.Hon.A.J.(Manch'r.
Balfour, Capt. C. B. (Hornsey)
Balfour, Rt. Hn. G. W. (Leeds
Balfour, Kenneth R. (Christch.
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Bartley, Sir George C. T.
Bentinck, Lord Henry C.
Bhownaggree, Sir M. M.
Bignold, Arthur

Mr. Duncan.

Bill, Charles
Boscawen, Arthur Griffith
Boulnois, Edmund
Bowles, Lt.-Col.H.F.(Middles'x
Brassey, Albert
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Bull, William James
Burdett-Coutts, W.
Campbell, Rt.Hn.J.A.(Glasgow
Carson, Rt.Hn. Sir Edw. H.
Cavendish, R. F. (N. Lancs.)
Cavendish, V.C.W.(Derbyshire
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Chamberlain, Rt. Hon. J(Birm.
Chamberlain, RtHn.J.A.(Worc
Chamberlayne, T. (S'thampton
Chaplin, Rt. Hon. Henry
Chapman, Edward
Charrington, Spencer
Clive, Captain Percy A.

Coates, Edward Feetham
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Coddington, Sir William
Coghill, Douglas Harry
Cohen, Benjamin Louis
Collings, Rt. Hon. Jesse
Colston, Chas. Edw. H. Athole
Craig, Chas. Curtis (Antrim, S.)
Cripps, Charles Alfred
Cross, Herb. Shepherd(Bolton)
Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Dalkeith, Earl of
Davenport, William Bromley
Denny, Colonel
Dickinson, Robert Edmond
Dickson, Charles Scott
Digby, John K. D. Wingfield-
Dimsdale, Rt. Hon. Sir Joseph C.
Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
Dixon-Hartland, SirFredDixon

Dorington, Rt.Hon. Sir John E
Doughty, George
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers
Duke, Henry Edward
Durning-Lawrence, Sir Edwin
Dyke, RtHn.SirWilliam Hart
Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
Faber, Edmund B. (Hants., W
Fardell, Sir T. George
Fergusson,Rt.Hn.Sir J.(Manc'r
Fielden, Edward Brocklehurst
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
FitzGerald, Sir RobertPenrose-
Fitzroy, Hon. Edw. Algernon
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Flower, Sir Ernest
Forster, Henry William
Foster, P. S. (Warwick, S. W.
Gardner, Ernest
Garfit, William
Gordon, Hn.J.E.(Elgin&Nairn
Gore,Hn G.R.C.Ormsby-(Salop
Goulding, Edward Alfred
Graham, Henry Robert
Gray, Ernest (West Ham)
Greene,SirE.W (B'rySEdm'nds
Greene, Henry D.(Shrewsbury
Greene, W. Raymond (Cambs.)
Gretton, John
Greville, Hon. Ronald
Gunter, Sir Robert
Hall, Edward Marshall
Halsey, Rt. Hon. Thomas F.
Hamilton RtHnLordG.(Midd'x
Hardy,Laurence (Kent,Ashford
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Harwood, George
Haslam, Sir Alfred S.
Haslett, Sir James Horner
Hatch, Ernest Frederick G
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Heath, Arthur Howard(Hanley
Heath, James (Staffords.N.W.
Heaton, John Henniker
Helder, Augustus
Henderson,Sir A.(Stafford,W.
Hickman, Sir Alfred
Hoare, Sir Samuel
Hope,J.F.(Sheffield, Brightside
Hornby, Sir William Henry
Horner, Frederick William
Hoult, Joseph
Houston, Robert Paterson
Howard,John(Kent,Faversham
Howard, J. (Midd., Tottenham
Hozier,Hon.James Henry Cecil
Hudson, George Bickersteth
Hunt, Rowland
Hutton, John (Yorks. N.R.
Jeffreys, Rt. Hon. Arthur Fred.
Jessel, Captain Herbert Merton
Johnstone, Heywood (Sussex
Kennaway, Rt. Hon.SirJohnH.
Kenyon-Slaney, Col. W.(Salop)
King, Sir Henry Seymour
Lambton, Hon. Frederick Wm.
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
Lawrence, Wm. F. (Liverpool)
Lawson,John Grant(York.N R)
Lee, ArthurH(Hants.,Fareham
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Leveson-Gower,FrederickN.S.
Lockwood, Lieut.-Col. A. R.
Loder, Gerald Walter Erskine
Long Col.Charles W.(Evesham
Long, Rt.Hn.Walter (Bristol,S
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lowe, Francis William
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas,Col.Francis (Lowestoft
Lucas,ReginaldJ.(Portsmouth)
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
Macdona, John Cumming
MacIver, David (Liverpool)
M'Arthur, Charles (Liverpool)
M'Iver,Sir Lewis (EdinburghW
M'Killop, James (Stirlingshire)
Majendie, James A. H.
Malcolm, Ian
Manners, Lord Cecil
Melville, Beresford Valentine
Middlemore,John Throgmorton
Milner, Rt.Hn. Sir Frederick G.
Milvain, Thomas
Mitchell, William (Burnley)
Molesworth, Sir Lewis
Moon, Edward Robert Pacy
Morrison, James Archibald
Morton, Arthur H. Aylmer
Mount, William Arthur
Mowbray, Sir Robert Gray C.
Muntz, Sir Philip A.
Murray,Rt Hn.A.Graham(Bute
Murray, Charles J. (Coventry
Murray, Col Wyndham (Bath)
Myers, William Henry
Newdegate, Francis A. N.
Nicholson, William Graham
O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
Palmer, Walter (Salisbury)
Parkes, Ebenezer
Pease,Herbert Pike (Darlington
Peel,Hn.Wm.Robert Wellesley
Pemberton, John S. G.
Percy, Earl
Pilkington, Colonel Richard
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Pretyman, Ernest George
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Pym, C. Guy
Randles, John S.
Rankin, Sir James
Renshaw, Sir Charles Bine
Richards, Henry Charles
Ridley, Hn.M.W. (Stalybridge
Ritchie, Rt. Hon ChasThomson
Roberts Samuel (Sheffield)
Robertson, Herbert (Hackney
Robinson, Brooke
Rolleston, Sir John F. L.
Rollit, Sir Albert Kaye
Ropner, Colonel Sir Robert
Round, Rt. Hon. James
Royds, Clement Molyneux
Rutherford, John (Lancashire)
Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford-
Sadler, Col. Samuel Alexander
Samuel, Sir Harry S(Limehouse
Sassoon, Sir Edward Albert
Saunderson,Rt.Hn.Col.Edw.J.
Sharpe, William Edward T.
Simeon, Sir Barrington
Skewes-Cox, Thomas
Sloan, Thomas Henry
Smith, HC.(North'mb.Tyneside
Spear, John Ward
Spencer, Sir E. (W. Bromwich)
Stanley, EdwardJas.(Somerset)
Stanley,Rt.Hon. Lord (Lancs.)
Stirling-Maxwell, Sir John M
Stock, James Henry
Stone, Sir Benjamin
Stroyan, John
Strutt, Hon. Charles Hedley
Taylor, Austin (East Toxteth)
Thorburn, Sir Walter
Thornton, Percy M.
Tollemache, Henry James
Tritton, Charles Ernest
Valentia, Viscount
Vincent, Sir Edgar (Exeter)
Walker, Col. William Hall
Walrond, Rt. Hn SirWilliam H.
Warde, Colonel C. E.
Welby Lt.-Col.A.C.E.(Taunton
Welby, Sir Charles G.E.(Notts.)
Wharton, Rt. Hon. John Lloyd
Whiteley,H.(Ashton und.Lyne
Whitmore, Charles Algernon
Wilson, A. Stanley (York, E. R)
Wilson, John (Glasgow)
Wilson-Todd,SirW.H (Yorks.)
Wodehouse,Rt.Hn.E.R. (Bath)
Wolff, Gustav Wilhelm
Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B. Stuart
Wrightson, Sir Thomas
Younger, William

TELLERS for the Ayes—Sir Alexander Acland-Hood, and Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes.

NOES.

Abraham, William (Cork,N.E.)
Abraham, William (Rhondda)
Ainsworth, John Stirling
Ambrose, Robert
Asher, Alexander
Ashton, Thomas Gair
Austin, Sir John
Barlow, John Emmott
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Barry, E. (Cork, S.)
Bayley, Thomas (Derbyshire
Beaumont, Wentworth C. B.
Bell, Richard
Black, Alexander William
Blake, Edward
Boland, John
Broadhurst, Henry
Brown, George M. (Edinburgh)
Bryce, Rt. Hon. James
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Burke, E. Haviland
Burt, Thomas
Buxton, Sydney Charles
Caldwell, James
Cameron, Robert
Causton, Richard Knight
Cawley, Frederick

Churchill, Winston Spencer
Cogan, Denis J.
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Craig, Robert Hunter (Lanark)
Crean, Eugene
Crombie, John William
Cullinan, J.
Dalziel, James Henry
Davies, Alfred(Carmarthen)
Davies, M. Vaughan-(Cardigan
Delany, William
Devlin,CharlesRamsay(Galway
Devlin, Joseph (Kilkenny, N.)
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Donelan, Captain A.
Doogan, P. C.
Douglas, Charles M. (Lanark)
Dunn, Sir William
Edwards, Frank
Elibank, Master of
Ellice,Capt E C(S. Andrw'sBghs
Ellis, John Edward (Notts.)
Esmonde, Sir Thomas
Farrell, James Patrick
Fenwick, Charles
Ferguson, R. C. Munro (Leith)
Field William
Fitzmaurice, Lord Edmond
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Flynn, James Christopher
Foster, Sir Walter (Derby Co.)
Fowler, Rt. Hon. Sir Henry
Fuller, J. M. F.
Gilhooly, James
Gladstone Rt.Hn.HerbertJohn
Grant, Corrie
Grey, Rt. Hon. Sir E. (Berwick)
Haldane, Rt. Hon. Richard B.
Hammond, John
Harcourt, RtHnSirW(Monm'th
Hayden, John Patrick
Hayter, Rt. Hon. Sir Arthur D.
Helme, Norval Watson
Hemphill, Rt. Hon. Charles H.
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Holland, Sir William Henry
Horniman, Frederick John
Humphreys-Owen, Arthur C.
Hutchinson, Dr. Charles Fredk
Hutton, Alfred E. (Morley)
Jacoby, James Alfred
Johnson, John (Gateshead)
Joicey, Sir James
Jones,William (Carnarvonshire
Joyce, Michael
Kennedy,Vincent P.(Cavan,W
Kitson, Sir James
Labouchere, Henry
Lambert, George
Langley, Batty
Law, Hugh Alex. (Donegal,W.)
Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cornwall)
Leamy, Edmund
Leigh, Sir Joseph
Leng, Sir John
Levy, Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Lloyd-George, David
Lundon, W.
Macnamara, Dr. Thomas R.
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
M'Arthur, William (Cornwall)
M'Crae, George
M'Fadden, Edward
M'Kenna, Reginald
M'Killop, W. (Sligo, North)
M'Laren, Sir Charles Benjamin
Mappin, Sir Frederick Thorpe
Markham, Arthur Basil
Morley,Rt. Hn. John (Montrose
Moulton, John Fletcher
Murphy, John
Nannetti, Joseph P.
Newnes, Sir George
Nolan,Col.John P.(Galway,N.)
Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South)
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
Nussey, Thomas Willans
O'Brien, James F. X. (Cork)
O'Brien,Kendal(Tipperary Mid
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Brien, P. J. (Tipperary, N.)
O'Connor, James(Wicklow,W.)
O'Donnell, John (Mayo, S.)
O'Donnell, T. (Kerry, W.)
O'Dowd, John
O'Kelly,James(Roscommon,N.
O'Malley, William
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
O'Shee, James John
Parrott, William
Partington, Oswald
Paulton, James Mellor
Pease, J. A. (Saffron Walden)
Pirie, Duncan V.
Power, Patrick Joseph
Price, Robert John
Priestley, Arthur
Rea, Russell
Redmond, John E. (Waterford)
Reid, Sir R. Threshie (Dumfries
Rickett, J. Compton
Rigg, Richard
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.
Roche, John
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Samuel, S. M. (Whitechapel)
Seely,Maj.J. E. B.(Isle of Wight
Shackleton, David James
Sheehan, Daniel Daniel
Sheehy, David
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Sinclair, John (Forfarshire)
Slack, John Bamford
Smith, Samuel (Flint)
Soames, Arthur Wellesley
Soares, Ernest J.
Spencer,Rt Hn.C.R.(Northants
Stanhope, Hon. Philip James
Sullivan, Donal
Taylor, Theodore C. (Radcliffe
Thomas, Abel (Carmarthen,E)
Thomas,Sir A.(Glamorgan, E.
Thomas,DavidAlfred(Merthyr)
Tomkinson, James
Toulmin, George
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Ure, Alexander
Wallace, Robert
Walton,John Lawson(Leeds,S.)
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan)
Wason,John Cathcart(Orkney)
White, Luke (York, E. R.)
Whiteley, George (York,W.R.)
Wilson, Chas.Henry(Hull,W.
Wilson,Fred.W.(Norfolk,Mid.)
Wilson,Henry J.(York,W.R.)
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid.)
Woodhouse,SirJ.T.(Huddersf'd
Young, Samuel
Yoxall, James Henry

TELLERS for the Noes—Mr. Hastings Duncan and Mr. Charles Allen.

*SIR WALTER FOSTER (Derbyshire, Ilkeston) said he desired to move the Amendment standing in his name. He did not think there was any proposal in the Bill so serious as the one he asked the Committee by this Amendment to eliminate. This tax would be unproductive to the Exchequer and there was no justification for putting on a tax of this kind when the revenue was not going to benefit by it to any appreciable extent. They might get a paltry sum of £20,000 a year by this proposal, and therefore as regarded productiveness the tax was hardly worth considering. Only a small amount of foreign cigarettes were manufactured in this country, amounting to about 500,000 lbs., and that would bring in about £20,000 a year. If the full amount continued to be imported the tax would bring in about £25,000, and even that was a very small sum in the Budget. There was reason to believe that this would be a diminishingly productive tax as regarded revenue. The impression was that this tax would keep out foreign cigarettes. The Chairman of the United Kingdom Association of Cigarette Makers had said that sooner or later it would keep out foreign cigarettes.

altogether, and it would protect the home manufacturers to such an extent that there would be no foreign competition. Any measure which brought about a condition of things of that kind was not likely to benefit the consumer. The amount raised by this tax was so small that it was not worth the disturbance it would create in the trade and the expense of collecting it. While it would be unproductive to the revenue it would be unjust to the public and to the consumer, upon whom it would fall very heavily. It would take out of the pockets of public a much larger amount than it would put into the Exchequer. That was a great fault in any tax. No tax could be justified which did not give an adequate return to the revenue, and at the same time fairly tax the consuming public. To be fair and just a tax ought to bring money to the revenue and at the same time ought not to oppress the people, but this proposal had the opposite effect and it was likely to prove very oppressive. When he spoke upon the Second Reading, the Chancellor of the Exchequer said that he had produced an ingenious argument on orthodox lines to show that this tax would have a protective effect, and replied by referring him to the cigarette manufacturers. That was a very ingenuous reference, because they were the last people he should ever think of appealing to because they were the people most likely to benefit by it. It had been stated that 10 per cent., or more probably 5 per cent., of the total consumption of cigarettes came from abroad. If the effect of this tax was to raise the price of home-made cigarettes, what would be the effect on the consumer and the trade? Taking the low estimate of 10 per cent. that left 90 per cent. or 4,500,000lbs. manufactured at home. In that case the Chancellor of the Exchequer would receive some £20,000 or £25,000 a year, and the trade by raising the price of the home-manufactured article would put into their pockets £225,000 a year. If they took the percentage at 5 per cent. they got a still more serious state of things, for raising the price by the amount of the duty on 95 per cent. or on 19,500,000lbs. would put £475,000 per annum into the pockets of the trade while the Chancellor of the Exchequer would get on the 500,000lbs. of foreign cigarettes only some £20,000 a year. It ought not to be allowed in the interest of trade morality, and in the interest of consumers.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer had said that he, in his speech on the Second Reading of the Bill, had conjured up these dangers, and that such a condition of things was not likely to arise. The right hon. Gentleman said then that cigarettes were not likely to be increased in price. His answer was that already they were increased in price. If the right hon. Gentleman would apply to various retailers for information on the subject he would find that in many instances the price of home-made cigarettes had gone up 1s. per lb., which proved that the effect of the duty was already being anticipated by the trade. It was perfectly true that it was difficult to get increased profit on penny packets of cigarettes, but it had already been pointed out that the trade was intelligent enough to lower the quality, and in that way put a profit into their pockets. In this direction, he understood, something had already been attempted, and it had been suggested that more cigarettes should be made out of an ounce of tobacco. The contention of the Chancellor of the Exchequer was that the price of the cigarettes would not go up. Since that statement was made a good many meetings had been held of tobacco sellers in various parts of the country. The price of the foreign-made cigarettes —Egyptian and Turkish—had gone up by 1s. in the £. That was the natural result of the duty. In some instances the increase was more. The price of home-made cigarettes had gone up about 3d. a tin of 100 in some cases, and fifty in others. In these instances the additional price was already equivalent to the duty. At a meeting of the Dublin retail trade in connection with this matter it was suggested that ½d. should be put on the half ounce and the one ounce packet of cigarettes. That would bring about 1s. in the pound, which was the duty the Chancellor of the Exchequer proposed to levy. At Leicester the tobacco people held a meeting and agreed that it was necessary to add ½d. to the 3d. packets; at Swansea a resolution was passed that ½d. to 1d. per ounce was the amount they would require to add to the price of the article vended to the public; at Liverpool the United Kingdom Alliance of Tobacconists had determined that the 2½d. packets should be raised to 3d. That would bring something more than the duty to the trade. Afterwards they suggested that another device should be entered upon, namely, that the number of cigarettes should be increased to twenty-eight or thirty per ounce so that they might still be sold at five a penny. At Walsall the increase was ½d. per ounce, and 3d. on the tin of fifty cigarettes; and at Nottingham it was ½d. per ounce, which would bring in 8d. per pound. It was also suggested that at the last mentioned town ½d. should be added to the price of the smaller packets. He knew the Chancellor of the Exchequer would suggest that these alterations in prices were due not so much to the cigarette duty as to the duty he proposed to put upon the tobacco leaf when stripped. If so the duty on the tobacco leaf stripped was altogether condemned by the fact that it had already produced so great a change of price in the trade.

If the Chancellor of the Exchequer said that the competition in this country was too great between the cigarette manufacturers to admit of any alteration in price then he would say that the competition in this country was by no means as free as many people would like to see it, and that there was nothing more calculated to benefit the tobacco manufacturers than this tax, which would put half a million of money into the hands of successful monopolists. Half the tobacco trade was in the hands of a single company. It could be seen, therefore, what possibilities were open when half a million was to be scrambled for. It showed the danger of dabbling with protective duties in the face of a big monopoly growing up in the country. This system of taxation would do great harm to the retail dealer, because he would be cut out by monopolists who would go into the retail trade and take the profits that could be made out of the retail custom. The United Kingdom Alliance of Tobacconists, speaking through the Chairman, Mr. Parry, said that one of the objections to this particular form of taxation of cigarettes was that it would play into the hands of the Imperial Tobacco Company and encourage monopoly. On that account the proposal now before the Committee was one which would be injurious to the retail dealer. It was estimated that 100,000,000 of cheap cigarettes were sold every week. They were sold mostly in 1d. packets. There were, as could be seen, enormous chances for large manipulators of the market to make out of these sales the profits which were at present derived by the small retailers. No small manufacturer or retail trader could stand against such a monopoly. The proposal of the Chancellor of the Exchequer would play into the hands of the great trusts and do harm to the retailers. He pressed the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in the interest of these retailers, to reconsider this tax. It was not a tax which could be defended very keenly, for it would bring in such a small sum to the Imperial revenue. Some people said that it was a part or an example of a protective tax. If so, he did not think they could desire a better object lesson as to the evil which would result from protection. He believed it would work harm to the retail trade of the country, that it would play into the hands of the monopolists, bring in little to the revenue, that in ten years time it would yield no more than £10,000, per annum and that in the meantime it would do irremediable mischief.

Lastly, this tax was put on in a gratuitous frame of mind by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The tax was wholly unnecessary for the protection of British trade. British cigarette manufacturers were perfectly safe from foreign competition. That was proved by the fact that when the American Tobacco Trust attempted to capture the British market it was found that the then existing duty of 10d. was sufficient to prevent the flooding of the market with American cigarettes. There was, therefore, no need for the Chancellor of the Exchequer to put this additional shilling duty on. It might be inferred that he was in favour of anything that would contribute to the consumption of cigarettes. That would be a mistake. He believed the consumption of cigarettes was working much harm to the juvenile population, and he would be very glad to see the pernicious habit of cigarette smoking among the young checked. He did not think it was likely to have any very bad influence on his hon. friend the senior Member for Northampton, who seemed to be immune from the influence of tobacco in the shape of cigarettes, but the growing youth of the country were by no means likely to escape, and he should be very glad if any method could be devised by which this growing habit of consuming cigarettes by the younger members of the population could be checked. He did not believe the Chancellor of the Exchequer's proposal would check it, because the increased duty only applied to foreign cigarettes. If the Chancellor of the Exchequer would add to the tax and would consent to put on an Excise duty equivalent to the Customs duty so that the increased tax was levied on home-made as well as on foreign-made cigarettes, he would support his proposal, because it would do something to diminish the use of this form of tobacco. That suggestion was not his own; it came from the *Economist* newspaper, the highest financial authority in the country. On the grounds he had set forth he commended the Amendment to the favourable consideration of the Committee.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 2, line 2, to leave out from the word 'pound' to the word 'and' in line 3."—(*Sir Walter Foster.*)

Question proposed, "That the words 'and in the case of cigarettes by' stand part of the clause."

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said that in substance the proposal now before the Committee was very similar in principle to the one which had just been discussed; and it was, therefore, open to the same criticism. He perfectly admitted that the objection which the hon. Gentleman took to the additional duty on cigars applied to the additional duty on cigarettes. The first objection was that it would bring in very little to the revenue. That, of course, was the case. There was not a very great weight of cigarettes imported into this country, and accordingly an increased duty of 1s. per lb. would not bring in a large revenue. It was a question whether it was worth while to impose any new duty or raise an old one when the return to the revenue would be small. The temptation to the Chancellor of the Exchequer was to avoid any adjustment of an existing tax, however fair, equitable, and justifiable it might be in itself, because when the revenue to be derived from it was small he felt that that was hardly compensation for the Parliamentary struggle in which he might be engaged in proposing it. But that objection might be carried too far; and Finance Ministers had been prone to carry it too far, if they refrained from doing things which were highly desirable in themselves because they would be opposed in Committee. He did not think that because the revenue to be derived from a tax was small that that was in itself sufficient for its rejection. But the hon. Gentleman went on to say what would be a more serious thing if it were true—that the revenue to be derived would bear no sort of proportion to the amount which the consumer would have to pay. At the last discussion the hon. Gentleman made an estimate as to the cost to the consumer which he thought so extravagant that he did not suppose that the hon. Gentleman would have repeated it on this occasion; but instead of that the hon. Gentleman had gone one better and had doubled his estimate that the new tax would bring in only £25,000 and that it would cost the consumer £450,000.

*SIR WALTER FOSTER said that he had given two sets of figures. If the estimate of the consumption of foreign cigarettes was 10 per cent. of the total consumption, then the new duty would bring some £20,000 to the revenue, and the public would pay to the trade £225,000 more; but if the estimate of the consumption of foreign cigarettes was 5 per cent. of the total, then, while the revenue would still only obtain £20,000 or £25,000, the public would be mulcted to the extent of over £450,000.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said that he thought the estimate of £225,000 was extravagant. But the hon. Gentleman now seemed to think that that was entirely an understatement by one-half as to the cost of the new tax to the public. That was not the view placed before him by the foreign cigarette importers. He had had a very interesting interview with a deputation of these foreign cigarette importers in regard to this Budget proposal. They said that the article which they imported was an entirely different article from anything which could be made in this country; and it became perfectly clear from what they said that the public would demand these imported cigarettes and that they would pay the increased duty upon them. What the deputation were afraid of was that fraudulent imitations of the foreign article would induce the public to purchase English-made cigarettes under the impression that they were getting the foreign cigarettes. He was convinced that there was no real competition between the genuine imported cigarette and the home-made cigarette—each under its own proper description. The imported article was admitted to be an article of luxury, and it seemed to him to be the very article to tax. The hon. and learned Member for Dumfries, speaking on a previous Amendment, said that, on principle, he did not object to a tax on luxuries, but that it was difficult to obtain a large revenue from them, and that to tax them would be a prelude to protection. The hon. and learned Member did his ingenuity great honour.

The hon. Gentleman's arguments were not consistent. The hon. Gentleman said that this tax would be ruinous to the manufacturers; but then he also said that it would be a highly protective tax which would have the effect of raising the price of the article without increasing the cost to the manufacturer. Further, the hon. Gentleman defended himself against any suspicion that he was an advocate of cigarette smoking among the youth of the country; but he also said that hon. Gentlemen had arrived at such an age that they might smoke cigarettes without injuring their constitution. He also stated that the tax would have the effect of checking consumption, which he would be glad to see checked; but later the hon. Gentleman said it would not check consumption. He himself never pretended that it would. He thought the hon. Gentleman was more correct when he said that consumption would not be effected and that the price would not be raised. He did not think it possible in a trade like this that because they placed an additional duty on an imported article, distinct in character from a home-made article, therefore it would be possible for the home-manufacturers to raise their price to an equivalent extent. The hon. Member for Ilkeston had refuted his own arguments. If the tax was unfair to the retailer because he could not recover from the consumer the additional cost thrown on him, then that destroyed the argument that the consumer would pay. The hon. Gentleman could not have it both ways. He could not say that the consumer would have to pay ten times or twenty times the amount of the tax, and that the retailer could not recover from the consumer a tenth or a twentieth part of the increase. He thought the hon. Gentleman's arguments taken as a whole answered themselves very well and dispensed him from the necessity of making an elaborate reply. The hon. Gentleman said that the effect of the tax would be to play into the hands of the great combine which had been formed in the trade; but if the effect of the tax would be to cause a great combine to invade to a greater extent the retail trade, it could not be that the retailer's business would be rendered unprofitable by the tax, because in that case it would not attract the combine. The hon. Gentleman's arguments were mutually destructive. His last observation was that the tax was needless, because it was not required for the protection of the tobacco trade. He had never himself presented this tax to the House as a protective tax, or sought any support for it on that ground. But he could not but be struck by the suggestion of the hon. Member that the trade needed no protection because the taxes already in force had enabled our tobacco trade to defeat a great American combination which tried to acquire it. Did the hon. Member mean the Committee to understand that we should be unable to maintain our own tobacco trade without a duty which he considered protective? He did not put the tax forward on protective grounds, he did not argue for it on those lines at all; but he thought the hon. Gentleman's desire to attack the tax had led him to advance arguments which were dangerous from the hon.

Gentleman's point of view. He would not pursue that; this was, he thought, almost the first time that, under many temptations in that discussion, he had allowed himself for a moment to depart from the questions which were immediately before the House. He submitted that the tax was one which would certainly not have the injurious effect on the import trade in these foreign-made cigarettes which the hon. Gentleman feared, that it was a tax which would give them some revenue, though not a large amount, and that it was raised wholly from an article of foreign production, and would be levied without unfairness and harshness.

MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton) said he could not understand why the Chancellor of the Exchequer should talk of a tax on foreign tobacco as a luxury tax. It was all nonsense. Why was it supposed that a person should pay more for a foreign cigarette than an English cigarette as a matter of luxury? Did the right hon. Gentleman understand where and how cigarettes were made? Cigarettes came from Russia and were called Odessa cigarettes, but the tobacco of which they were made was raised, not in Russia, but in Turkey, and was sent to Odessa to be worked up, precisely as it was sent to England at the present time. Hon. Members thought that what they called Egyptian cigarettes were made from tobacco grown in Egypt, but as a matter of fact it was grown in Turkey. The question as to whether a cigarette was good or bad depended to a certain extent on how the water was thrown on the tobacco before rolling, secondly on the rolling itself. A cigarette rolled in this country was a better cigarette—a better rolled cigarette—than one rolled in Turkey, Egypt, or in any other part of the world. Another mistake made was that there was something injurious to the constitution in smoking. That was the biggest mistake ever made. His hon. friend the Member for the Ilkeston Division of Derbyshire had told them that the rising generation would be absolutely ruined unless it was weaned from the habit of smoking cigarettes. He looked round at the rising generation in that House, including even the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and he saw no cause for such a statement. If they went all over the world, to Spain or to South America, they would see children smoking cigarettes. And what was the result of smoking? His belief was that all that system of microbes which was so injurious to health was done away with in childhood. In the course of his life he had been unwell, and had sent for a doctor, who shook his head and told him he must stop smoking, upon being informed that he indulged in the habit. Upon asking him later to have a cigarette he found his sage smoking like a chimney. No one had ever yet found that a cigarette did harm to man, woman, or child. Almost all those who had reached a ripe old age were strong smokers, and he did not believe in the theory put forward by the hon. Gentleman. Did his hon. friend smoke?

*SIR WALTER FOSTER: Yes.

MR. LABOUCHERE said it was his hon. friend's precept and not his practice that they were invited to follow. But let them leave the matter to the people and not ask them to believe that the rising generation would be ruined if they did not refrain from smoking cigarettes. The hon. Member should not, after making such a statement, suggest a reduction in the duty on cigarettes. He expected to hear the hon. Gentleman propose a heavy Excise or Customs duty, but instead of that he wanted the Committee to reduce the duty on foreign cigarettes. Why should the poor cigarette and tobacco smoker be regarded as a fair beast of burden for the purposes of the Chancellor of the Exchequer? This was a poor man's tax. He believed that crime was lessened in proportion to the number of cigarettes smoked. He was not in favour of the consumption of alcohol because under excitement people did foolish things, but the cigarette, on the contrary, calmed one's nerves. If an hon. Member felt indignant he had only to retire and smoke a cigarette and he became as calm as possible. He was glad to see in any town or village a poor man or child smoking, because he thought that not only was that person preparing himself for a ripe old age, but also that he was not likely to swell the list of the criminal classes, and instead of being guilty of some crime his excitement would evaporate. It was almost like reading the Bible in its physical effect in reducing all species of excitement. Under all the circumstances he did not know which way to vote. He gathered that his hon. friend at one moment wanted something, but the next moment he was arguing against it. Then a moment later he wanted something else, but followed that up with arguments in opposition. Under the circumstances he should not vote at all, but should go out of the House and smoke a cigarette.

MR. SPEAR (Devonshire, Tavistock) hoped that the Chancellor of the Exchequer would not yield to the arguments put forward in support of the Amendment. They all felt that the imposition of this tax was generally welcomed, and it was accepted on all hands as an exemplary duty from every point of view. Members of the Opposition were constantly bringing forward schemes involving increased expenditure, but whatever proposals were made for meeting that extra expenditure they opposed. He had supported the increased duty on tea with considerable reluctance, but how any hon. Members could object to the tax on cigarettes or on tobacco in any form he could not understand. Tobacco and cigarettes were luxuries, and it was surely more desirable to raise money for the public service from luxuries than from necessaries of life. But while hon. Members opposite had opposed every suggestion of the Government for raising money, they were perfectly ready to cause the imposition of fresh taxation upon agriculturists by discontinuing the Agricultural Rates Act. He earnestly hoped the Committee would reject the Amendment. Those who indulged in smoking ought to be able to pay the tax; if they could not they should give up the habit. The proposal to increase the taxation on cigarettes was popular in the country; he regretted the proposed increase was not larger, but, such as it was, he accepted it with gratitude, and hoped the right hon. Gentleman would resist any proposal for its reduction.

MR. BUCHANAN said it was perfectly true that Members on that side of the House had opposed all the proposals of the Chancellor of the Exchequer; they had consistently opposed the scheme of expenditure of the Government, and consequently were justified in objecting to the various proposals for raising the extra money rendered necessary by extravagant expenditure. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had argued that the foreign cigarette was a totally different thing from the home-made cigarette, but to that the hon. Member for Northampton, an authority on cigarettes, had given an absolute denial. If his hon. friend was correct, the arguments of the mover of the Amendment held good, and the hon. Member for Northampton might fairly have decided to support the Amendment. From the financial point of view the present proposal afforded the strongest case against one line of the Chancellor of the Exchequer's policy. It was true that the right hon. Gentleman was on the look out for money, but it was hardly worth while to introduce an alteration of taxation which would yield only about £25,000. The present additions would alter substantially the scheme of tobacco taxation. Hitherto cigarettes had not been specifically assessed for duty; they had been included under the general heading of "other sorts of manufactured tobacco." Tobacco taxation had always been difficult to follow, but it would now be even more confused. On cigars there was a duty of 5s. under the Act of 1898; the Act of 1900 imposed another 6d.; and the clause under discussion proposed the addition of 6d. more; hence the cigar duty would be distributed over three Acts of Parliament. With regard to "other sorts of manufactured tobacco," the duty under the Act of 1898 was 3s. 5d.; 5d. was added by the Act of 1900; and now an additional 1s. was proposed with regard only to a part of the tobacco thus described. Therefore, there would be a duty of 4s. 10d., with a small residue of "other sorts of manufactured tobacco" upon which the duty would continue at 3s. 10d. These variations, coupled with the new scheme of drawbacks would render the plan of tobacco taxation more complicated than it had ever been. On the face of it this proposal was unreasonable, unwise, and impolitic, and the Opposition were not to blame if in regard to this duty some of them gave expression to the belief that, after all, the Chancellor of the Exchequer in making so unprofitable and small an alteration of this duty, rendering it still more complicated, must have had some other object in view. The right hon. Gentleman had stated that these suggestions were never made against former proposals of the kind. The Chancellor of the Exchequer ought to recognise that they could not shut their eyes and their ears to events which had been going on and the position which the right hon. Gentleman occupied in the present Government. It was impossible on the general grounds of good financial administration and the general reasons which had actuated Chancellors of the Exchequer in the past to justify this alteration, which combined all the worst faults and brought in a very small sum to the national till.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE (Carnarvon Boroughs): The hon. Member opposite stated that he supported this proposal because it was a tax on luxury. That was not so, but that was not the point. If this was a tax all round on a luxury nobody would oppose it. It was not merely a tax for revenue purposes, but also for protective purposes. It was estimated to produce £25,000 a year. The right hon. Gentleman said the fact that it raised only a small amount was no condemnation of the tax. It was, however, a condemnation if the tax was simply imposed for the purposes of revenue, because it was one of the axioms of taxation that you should not impose a vexatious little tax which would dislocate trade unless it was justified by the amount of revenue derived from it. This tax was not imposed for revenue but simply as an object lesson in protection, and it was not a bad object lesson at all, for while it brought only £25,000 to the Exchequer it produced £250,000 for the manufacturers. That was the object lesson the Chancellor of the Exchequer was giving them. This proposal had been made as the result of the inquiries made by a Departmental Committee before which evidence was given.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: The Departmental Committee did not deal with that question.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE said this strongly protective tax was the result of evidence given before that Committee by people in the trade. ["No, no!"] That evidence at any rate must have influenced the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and why should the House of Commons not have the same opportunity of judging as the Chancellor of the Exchequer? That evidence ought not to be kept from the Committee. His hon. friend had given instances showing that the trade had already taken advantage of this protective tax in order to raise the price of the home-made article by something like three-quarters of the amount of the duty. The duty was one shilling, and the trade had already imposed 9d. as an addition to the cost of the article. That was exactly what they might expect if protective duties were applied to any other industry. Supposing they put a similar tax upon iron and steel. The result would be that the Exchequer would get by a 10 per cent *ad valorem* duty £130,000, but £3,000,000 would be imposed as an additional cost upon steel, which was the raw material for many of the important industries of this country. He trusted that the Committee would take into account what had happened already as a complete proof of what protection really meant. It did not mean additional wages for the employees but more money for the huge tobacco trusts and manufacturers.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said that if the Committee desired to have the Report of the Departmental Committee they could have it. He was anxious to publish the whole of the evidence, but he would first like to inquire as to the conditions under which the inquiry was held. He thought the Committee would see that this was only fair, because it was dealing with trade processes, and he had first to ascertain from the witnesses whether the evidence they gave referring to their particular businesses was private or not.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON said it would be a great convenience to hon. Members if a copy of the evidence could be left in the Library where it could be referred to.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said he was not quite certain whether that could be done. He could not say more at present than that it was his desire to meet the convenience of the House.

MR. LOUGH said the argument of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, both in regard to cigars and cigarettes, was that he was following precedents, and that he was making no violent alteration in the scheme of the tobacco duties of this country. His hon. friend had shown that it was impossible to take up that stand with regard to the proposed cigarette duty. It had been said that this was a very small duty, but that was a great mistake. It was a very large duty. The amount of money to be obtained from it might be small, but it was a big burden. The duty at present was 3s. 10d., and it was proposed to make it 4s. 10d. That was an increase of 25 per cent., and surely that was a very great experiment to make. It was an astonishing thing that the tax was now producing revenue extremely well. The revenue of the cigarette tax for the year ending 31st March, 1903, was £10,000 more than in the previous year. The Chancellor of the Exchequer could not plead any precedent for the present proposal. He was acting on his own account, and altering the whole scheme with regard to cigarettes. The increase in the tax would bring very little money. Why was he doing this at the present time? They would not object to it as a luxury tax if put on fairly. Let an Excise duty be put on, and the whole objection to the proposal would disappear in an instant. The right hon. Gentleman calculated that he would get £20,000 out of this increase in the duty. His motives for proposing the change had not been fully explained to the Committee, and he should state his full mind on the matter. He was making a great change, and they had a right to ask—"Why is not an Excise duty put on to correspond with the Customs duty?" As the proposal stood, it was a protective tax of a very bad kind. When the tax on manufactured tobacco was increased not long ago there was a falling off in the revenue got from it, and it was possible that a similar result might happen in the case of cigarettes. He believed great principles were raised in connection with this matter, and he hoped a further answer would be given by the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

MR. J. A. PEASE (Essex, Saffron Walden) said he should like to ask certain hon. Members opposite who held free-trade views whether they would support the Amendment. The point which had been raised in connection with cigars was not nearly so indefensible as this proposal in regard to cigarettes. As had already been pointed out, this proposal, if carried out, would only produce £20,000 to the revenue, while as the result of the imposition of the increase the manufacturers would pocket £225,000. The consumer would be called upon to pay not for the purpose of revenue but in order to help certain classes of manufacturers in this country. Those who held free-trade views believed that a great impetus had been given to trusts and organisations on the other side of the Atlantic by the protective system there. If the proposal now before the Committee were carried into effect that system would be accentuated in this country. Already the manufacture of cigarettes in this country was largely in the hands of one combination—the Imperial Tobacco Company—who produced about 50 per cent. of the total cigarettes made in this country. That company would benefit to the extent of £115,000 a year, while the Exchequer would only obtain £20,000. Surely free-traders ought to recognise what an important step this was in connection with the fiscal system. It seemed to him that, as the Government had claimed that they were not adopting the system advocated by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham, free-traders ought to object to any alteration in the fiscal system, which the Government were pledged not to make. There was no doubt that the effect of the proposal of the Chancellor of the Exchequer would be that in future the penny packet of cigarettes would be limited in number, that their quality would be depreciated, or their size decreased. In any case the consumer would be hit in no uncertain way—not for the benefit of the Treasury but for the benefit of a particular section of the tobacco industry. It would encourage those combines and trusts which had done so much harm in other countries. He would vote for the Amendment.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES said that if this extra duty proposed to be levied on foreign cigarettes was of a protective character, it was really so small as to be quite a negligible quantity. Therefore, although he was as much opposed to protection as hon. Members opposite, he would not oppose it when it was taken in this homœopathic dose. But when they came to discuss the matter of stripped tobacco, that was a very different matter. He thought that hon. Members opposite ought to have reserved their forces in order to object to that proposal. If there was to be a division on this question he would support the Government.

MR. WHITLEY said that he was strongly in favour of taxing cigarettes, but the question he wanted to ask was, why had not the Chancellor of the Exchequer placed this tax on all cigarettes? If the right hon. Gentleman wanted revenue his obvious course was to turn into the Treasury the £225,000 a year which would now go into the pockets of the manufacturers of the home-made cigarettes. He was surprised that that question had not been answered by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. He would have been prepared to support an even larger increase in the duty on all cigarettes. When the Government had to raise money for the expenses of the South African War why did they not choose cigarettes for increased taxation? His impression was that the Chancellor of the Exchequer might have put a stamp duty on every packet of home-made cigarettes, and that would have brought in a larger revenue and would have equalised the duty all round. He could not see any great difficulty in the way of imposing a stamp tax on cigarettes. The trade was now so largely a monopoly that the cost of collection would not interfere with the amount of the revenue that would be brought in. As to what had been said by the hon. Member for Lynn Regis, if the free-traders on the other side were prepared to take protection in small doses they would find that it would be a poison which accumulated in the system. There were some poisons which could be got rid of, but there were others which accumulated in the system, and this particular poison was not of the class which could safely be taken in small doses.

MR. GEORGE WHITELEY said he did not think this was a homœopathic Amendment; it was of a more drastic character, and therefore he would support it. The hon. Member for the Tavistock Division had protested against the conduct of the Opposition in moving Amendments to the Finance Bill. The hon. Member seemed to think that the opposition of the Opposition was of a reprehensible character and ought not to be pursued. But it was not the business of the members of the Opposition to fall into the trap so cunningly laid for them by hon. Gentlemen opposite. They were not responsible for the enormous expenditure of the Government, and the supporters of the Government ought not to blame Members on that side of the House for opposing that increased expenditure, and the necessary increase of taxation, as unjustifiable. In regard to the Amendment, he thought that his hon. friend had pressed home the case for it with remarkable success. They, on that side of the House, had two objections to the proposal of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. In the first place it was a peddling, nibbling tax which would bring in a very small sum to the Exchequer, it would cost the community a large sum to collect, and it was protective in its character. The objection to it as a protective measure had been referred to by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. What was a protective tax? It was a tax which protected the home manufacturer by the imposition of an import duty on foreign goods. The Committee would remember that when a duty was laid on cotton goods entering India with no corresponding Excise duty, the Lancashire manufacturers and the House of Commons protested so strongly against the proposal that the Indian Government were compelled to levy a corresponding Excise duty on the Indian-manufactured cotton goods.

And, it being half-past Seven of the Clock, the Chairman left the Chair to make his Report to the House.

Committee report Progress, to sit again this evening.

EVENING SITTING.

FINANCE BILL.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[Mr. J. W. LOWTHER (Cumberland, Penrith) in the Chair.]

Clause 2:—

Amendment again proposed—

"In page 2, line 2, to leave out from the word 'pound,' to the word 'and,' in line 3."—(*Sir Walter Foster.*)

Question proposed, "That the words 'and in the case of the cigarettes by' stand part of the clause."

MR. GEORGE WHITELEY said that before the adjournment for dinner he was proceeding to argue that the tax was protective in its character. How far it might be said to be protective was, of course, a matter of opinion. According to his hon. friend, only £20,000 would find its way into the Exchequer, whereas the consumer would have to pay £225,000 or £250,000 owing to the rise in the price of cigarettes. The Chancellor of the Exchequer said that the figures were exaggerated; but he did not give any estimate of his own as to what the cost to the consumer would be. It would be very interesting to know from the Chancellor of the Exchequer what he estimated the consumer would have to pay in order that the Treasury might benefit to the extent of a mere bagatelle of £20,000 or £25,000. His objection to the tax was that it was a step in the direction of protection. It might be modified protection; but as a free-trader he objected to it. The Chancellor of the Exchequer said that there was a distinct character about foreign cigarettes which could not be mistaken; but foreign tobacco made up into cigarettes in this country was absolutely indistinguishable from cigarettes manufactured abroad. With the right hon. Gentleman's permission he would present him with a certain number of cigarettes, and ask him to say which were foreign and which were British; and if he met the occasion he thought they had the proper man as Chancellor of the Exchequer.

*MR. RENWICK (Newcastle-on-Tyne) said he was surprised that objection had been taken by hon. Members opposite to the proposal of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to increase the duty on imported cigarettes. It had been said that there was something of a protective character about the proposal, but, even if that were the case, he would not be inclined to take exception to it on that ground, since, if the benefit of the doubt was to be given at all it should surely be given to the British manufacturers, and he certainly would rather see English girls employed in the East End of London and elsewhere in the making of cigarettes than know that French and Italian girls were being employed abroad for the supply of our markets. It was said that a large proportion of the increased cost which would fall on the consumer in consequence of the duty would go into the pockets of the manufacturers. That was always said when such taxes were proposed, but whether it was the case or not, he maintained that more than one class of the community would be benefited. The interests of the country as a whole should be considered, and, even if there was a falling-off in the revenue derived from cigarettes, he would not object, because much cigarette smoking, especially by boys, was an undoubted evil. There was a striking circumstance in connection with that debate. Nearly all hon. Members who had opposed the tea duty were teetotalers. He believed, however, that hon. Members who were opposing the Chancellor's cigarette duty were nearly all smokers. That seemed to him to be extremely suspicious. It was said that the effect of the duty would be to increase the cost of cigarettes. Well, only that afternoon he went into a shop and bought a well-known brand of cigarettes for 4d., though when the duty was first proposed the price was raised to 5d. It was only human for anyone—manufacturer, shopkeeper, or working man—to get a little bit extra when he had the opportunity, but he did not think the proposed small increase in the duty would have the result of permanently increasing the price. If it was desired to see cigarette smoking checked he could not understand the objections to the proposal. The debate showed the absolute necessity for the entire revision of the fiscal system of the country.

It had been said that the income-tax payers should be saddled with a greater proportion of the deficit to help to remove which the duty on cigarettes was proposed. He did not think that would be popular. Hon. Members opposite were disciples of Mr. Gladstone, who always believed that the income-tax ought to be abolished.

*The CHAIRMAN: The hon. Gentleman is not entitled to enter upon a discussion of the income-tax.

*Mr. RENWICK said that if the proposal of the Chancellor of the Exchequer was defeated the money needed would have to be obtained from some other source. Hon. Gentlemen opposite suggested a few ironclads might be dispensed with, but he did not think that would be popular in Devonport or anywhere else. At present £13,000,000 was raised from tobacco, but, large as the duty was, and though it had recently largely increased, the consumption of tobacco had also increased. Under those circumstances, was it likely that a simple proposal like that of the Chancellor of the Exchequer would tend to decrease the consumption of tobacco? He did not believe it, and he trusted the Committee would reject the Amendment and accept the Government proposal.

Mr. BULL (Hammersmith) said that whatever the opinions of the Committee might be with reference to taxation, it was clear that the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in framing his first Budget, had an enormous task to perform. He had to find a very large sum of money; and to place it as fairly and equitably as possible on the right shoulders. He was rather surprised that the hon. Member for the Ilkeston Division should have moved this Amendment. One would have thought that an hon. Gentleman of his knowledge and attainments would have been one of the first to discourage cigarette smoking. A friend of his who had returned from India after twenty years service, when asked what was the chief alteration he had noticed in London, said it was the increase in cigarette smoking. There were men who smoked fifty or sixty cigarettes a day; women now carried their cigarette cases; and children were continually to be seen with fags in their mouths. That was a very serious state of things; and he thought that the Chancellor of the Exchequer was justified in increasing the duty. There were some directions in which his right hon. friend might have made the Budget more popular; but he declined to follow them. He had looked into the matter and he was satisfied that all the cheap forms of cigarettes were of foreign manufacture. In Holland, Belgium, and America children under fourteen years were not permitted to smoke; and he was rather surprised that the hon. Gentleman the Member for the Ilkeston Division should, in all the circumstances, have proposed his Amendment.

Mr. HARRIS (Tynemouth) said he had listened with very considerable interest to some of the speeches of hon. Members opposite, which no doubt would be received with considerable approval by the schoolboys of this country, because, according to the hon. Member for Northampton, cigarette smoking would not only do them good but also make them good. The question was raised whether this tax was or was not a protective tax. For his own part he thought that, although possibly the tax might have in it a small element of protection, that was a matter which they might disregard under present circumstances. The hon. Gentleman for Carnarvon Boroughs said that while the Treasury would only derive the small sum of £25,000 from the tax, some £225,000 would be received by the manufacturers as extra profit on the cigarettes they sold. But hon. Members lost sight altogether of the competition which must inevitably occur between the various manufacturers. They forgot that the country was permeated with manufacturers of cigarettes, who would be certain to compete with each other; and that competition would have the effect of reducing the price. It had often been demonstrated that when production was increased, the cost at which an article could be produced was decreased, and the reduction in the cost of production also reduced the net cost of the article sold. What had been said with regard to tobacco applied equally to iron and steel.

MR. WHITLEY asked, on a point of order, if a tariff reform lecture was in order?

*THE CHAIRMAN: We have had some free-trade lectures, but I suggest to the hon. Member that, although he may refer to iron and steel as an illustration, he would not be entitled to go far into the subject.

MR. HARRIS said the only reason he referred to iron and steel was that certain conclusions had been drawn from them by the hon. Gentleman for Carnarvon Boroughs.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE said he only quoted them as illustrations, and not as arguments.

MR. HARRIS said that he thought he, too, might refer to them as illustrations; but he would not continue that part of the argument. The most remarkable thing connected with the debate was the appeal of the hon. Member for Saffron Walden to hon. Members to vote against the Government. He was astonished at his credulity. Even free-trade Members on that side of the House would not be caught in such a flimsy trap; and he was, therefore, quite sure that all his hon. friends would support the Government.

*SIR WALTER FOSTER said he was rather surprised that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had not attempted to refute his figures. The right hon. Gentleman's answer was merely confined to endeavouring to show inconsistencies between different parts of the arguments he had advanced. There were, however, no inconsistencies whatever. The right hon. Gentleman said that the retailer would not suffer by the imposition of the tax. The Chancellor of the Exchequer took a superficial view of the question when he said his argument was inconsistent with the distribution of £225,000 among the trade. It was not inconsistent for the reason that the retailer was at the mercy of the manufacturers. He received his articles in certain packages at certain prices. A penny packet of cigarettes would still be sold at that price whatever duty might be imposed. The retailer would not be able to raise his price to the public, but the manufacturer, on the other hand, might put four instead of five cigarettes into the packet, or by altering the size he would get back a profit equivalent to the shilling duty. It was a very hard case for the retailers, and the same argument applied to the duty on strips. It could not be denied that monopolies by lowering prices could force the retail traders into a combination or drive them out of the trade altogether. The right hon. Gentleman was placing a weapon in the hands of a monopoly that held 50 per cent. of the tobacco trade of this country, and the result might be to keep down prices for a time, and then the monopoly would go into an *El Dorado* and receive as the benefit of this tax a sum of at least £250,000 a year extra profit by raising the price of cigarettes equivalent to the amount of the duty. It was because he recognised the danger of this leaning towards protection in its worst form that he appealed to the Chancellor of the Exchequer not to stick to the duty. It would only bring in £20,000 a year, and they would run the risk of putting a power in the hands of a monopoly which would be disastrous, and would alter the fiscal system of the country. If he could ask any Government to give an object lesson that the public would appreciate as against the Tariff Reform Commission he could not seek a better. It was bad for the revenue; it would encourage the creation of trusts and monopolies, and he hoped that the Chancellor of the Exchequer would see his way to withdraw a tax so little lucrative to the Exchequer of the country.

MR. DALZIEL said that if this debate had had no other effect it had been the means of enabling the House to listen to hon. Members who did not often take part in debate, and the only reason he could put forward for the pleasure they had been given was that certain hon. Members had come to the conclusion that the protectionist side of the argument had not been properly submitted from that side of the House. So far as he could see, until the protectionist speeches were delivered hon. Members were content to rest satisfied with the debate that had already taken place and with the explanations of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. But the speeches that had been lately delivered had introduced a new element into the debate, and he could only hope that the new points which had been raised would evoke some sort of reply by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who, probably at two or three o'clock in the morning, would ask the House to sit a little later to debate the question. They had had a speech from the hon. Member for Newcastle, who was so satisfied that nobody could reply to his argument that he left the House immediately after resuming his seat. That hon. Member said that this cigarette proposal would help towards the building of two new ironclads. He (Mr. Dalziel) was afraid he must be wrong in thinking that the hon. Gentleman came from Newcastle otherwise he must have known that £20,000 would not go far towards the expenditure upon two new ironclads. Then they had an hon. Member opposite who gave them his reasons for supporting this tax. The hon. Member had boldly announced that this was a protectionist tax, and he was distinguished by being connected in a prominent manner with the Tariff Reform League. It was curious to understand the reasons why hon. Members on that side of the House supported this proposal. Some supported it because it was a free-trade proposal; some because it only contained a little bit of protection. The hon. Member for King's Lynn came under the latter category, and his arguments almost reminded him of the man who declared he could not get intoxicated because he only took his drink out of liqueur glasses, and therefore only took a very little at a time. Then another section said that this was protection pure and simple. He did not know amongst so many pleas which one might be correct, but he was inclined to think that there was more protection in this proposal than in any other proposal except that, perhaps, relating to the tobacco duties. The wholesale manufacturers were delighted with this idea and it seemed to him to be nothing more or less than a protectionist proposal. He was surprised that the hon. Member for Shropshire had not availed himself of the opportunity for expressing his opinions, and surely the hon. Member for West Bristol would not allow this debate to close without giving them the benefit of his views. The right hon. Gentleman was an expert, and no one in the House had more authority to speak on this matter than he. Could it be that the right hon. Gentleman was satisfied with this protectionist proposal, or was he content to let the House go to a division without expressing his opinions upon it. In conclusion, he wanted to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer had he made any calculation with regard to the increased cost of collecting this new tax, and secondly whether it was his intention that there should be a Government stamp on these foreign cigarettes? In his judgment no case had been made out for a stamp to be affixed, and he would remind the right hon. Gentleman that in the case of America such a step had created a great deal of objection and dissatisfaction.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said he did not propose to put a special stamp on foreign cigarettes, and he did not anticipate that there would be any increased cost in collecting the duty because it was not a case of imposing a new duty.

MR. TREVELYAN said he had appealed to the Member for North Bristol earlier in the day on the question of cigars, and he would like to appeal to him, or to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, now in the case of cigarettes. No answer had been given to his inquiry regarding the increase of duty last imposed upon manufactured tobacco by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol. When that duty was imposed there was a fall in the returns of duties from manufactured tobacco. In 1898–9 the amount received was over £800,000, whereas the duty received last year was only £776,000, and it appeared to his untutored mind that the effect of raising the duty would be to exclude so much foreign-manufactured goods that the duty so far from being of any value to the Treasury would actually result in decreased returns. He suggested that this was merely a protective duty and certainly it came within that category.

*SIR FREDERICK WILLS (Bristol, N.) said he had been called upon by hon. Gentlemen opposite to answer a question as to the taxation of foreign cigarettes. If it were a matter that assumed the form of protection, as a free-trader he should feel it his duty either to vote against it or certainly not to vote for it, but he might point out that the foreign cigarettes imported were not of such a nature as to compete with the cigarettes that were made in this country for the simple reason that they were manufactured in such a way and of such materials as would not be allowed to be used here, and that the manufacturers would not use even if they were allowed. Therefore in his opinion the foreign cigarettes would not compete in any way with the cigarettes made in this country. They were of a different flavour and different nature altogether.

Question put.

The Committee divided :—Ayes, 167; Noes, 135. (Division List No. 171.)

AYES.

Arnold-Forster, Rt. Hn. Hugh O
Arrol, Sir William
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Bagot, Capt. Josceline FitzRoy
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour, Rt. Hon. A.J.(Manch'r
Balfour, Rt. Hon. G. W. (Leeds
Balfour, Kenneth R. (Christch.
Banbur y, Sir Frederick George
Bignold, Arthur
Bigwood, James
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Brotherton, Edward Allen
Bull, William James
Butcher, John George
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Cautley, Henry Strother
Cavendish, V.C.W. (Derbyshire
Cayzer, Sir Charles William
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Chamberlain, Rt Hn. J.A(Worc.
Charrington, Spencer
Clive, Captain Percy A.
Coates, Edward Feetham
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Colston, Chas. Edw. H. Athole
Cook, Sir Frederick Lucas
Craig, Charles Curtis(Antrim, S.)
Cripps, Charles Alfred
Cross, Herb. Shepherd (Bolton)
Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Dalkeith, Earl of
Davenport, William Bromley
Davies, Sir H. D. (Chatham)
Denny, Colonel
Dickson, Charles Scott
Doughty, George
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers
Duke, Henry Edward
Dyke, Rt. Hn. Sir William Hart
Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
Fielden, Edward Brocklehurst
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
FitzGerald, Sir Robert Penrose
Fitzroy, Hn. Edward Algernon
Flower, Sir Ernest
Forster, Henry William
Gardner, Ernest
Garfit, William
Gordon, Hn. J.E.(Elgin&Nairn)
Gore, Hn G.R.C.Ormsby-(Salop
Gore, Hon. S.F.Ormsby-(Linc.)
Greene, Sir E.W(B'rySEdm'nds
Greene, Henry D.(Shrewsbury)
Grenfell, William Henry
Gretton, John
Guthrie, Walter Murray
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Harris, F. Leverton (Tynem'th
Harris, Dr. Fredk. R.(Dulwich)
Haslam, Sir Alfred S.
Haslett, Sir James Horner
Heath, Arthur Howard Hanley
Heath, James (Staffords., N.W.
Heaton, John Henniker
Hermon-Hodge, Sir Robert T.
Hickman, Sir Alfred
Hogg, Lindsay
Hope, J.F.(Sheffield, Brightside
Hornby, Sir William Henry
Howard, J. (Midd., Tottenham)
Hozier, Hn. James Henry Cecil
Hunt, Rowland
Hutton, John (Yorks., N.R.)
Jeffreys, Rt. Hon. Arthur Fred.
Johnstone, Heywood (Sussex)
Kenyon, Hn. Geo. T. (Denbigh)
Kenyon-Slaney, Col. W.(Salop.
Keswick, William
King, Sir Henry Seymour
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
Lawrence, Sir Jos. (Monmouth)
Lawson, J. Grant (Yorks., N.R.
Lee, A. H. (Hants., Fareham)
Loder, Gerald Walter Erskine
Long, Rt. Hn. Walter (Bristol, S.
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lucas, Reginald J.(Portsmouth
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
Macdona, John Cumming
MacIver, David (Liverpool)
Maconochie, A. W.
M'Arthur, Charles (Liverpool)
M'Killop, James (Stirlingshire)
Majendie, James A. H.
Martin, Richard Biddulph
Middlemore, Jn. Throgmorton
Milner, Rt. Hn. Sir Frederick G.
Milvain, Thomas
Moon, Edward Robert Pacy
Morpeth, Viscount
Morrell, George Herbert
Morrison, James Archibald
Morton, Arthur H. Aylmer
Mount, William Arthur
Murray, Charles J. (Coventry)
O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
Palmer, Walter (Salisbury)
Parker, Sir Gilbert
Parkes, Ebenezer
Pease, Herb. Pike (Darlington)
Percy, Earl
Plummer, Walter R.
Pretyman, Ernest George
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Pym, C. Guy
Randles, John S.
Ratcliff, R. F.
Reid, James (Greenock)
Remnant, James Farquharson
Renshaw, Sir Charles Bine
Renwick, George
Ridley, Hon. M.W.(Stalybridge
Ridley, S. Forde(Bethnal Green
Roberts, Samuel (Sheffield)
Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
Rollit, Sir Albert Kaye
Ropner, Colonel Sir Robert
Round, Rt. Hon. James
Royds, Clement Molyneux
Rutherford, John (Lancashire)
Rutherford, W. W. (Liverpool)
Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford
Sadler, Col. Samuel Alexander
Sharpe, William Edward T.
Skewes-Cox, Thomas
Sloan, Thomas Henry
Smith, H. C.(Nort'mb. Tyneside
Spear, John Ward
Stanley, Hn. Arthur(Ormskirk)
Stanley, Edward Jas.(Somerset
Stanley, Rt. Hon. Lord (Lancs.
Stock, James Henry
Strutt, Hon. Charles Hedley
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Taylor, Austin (East Toxteth)
Thorburn, Sir Walter
Tollemache, Henry James
Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
Tritton Charles Ernest
Tuff, Charles
Walker, Col. William Ha
Walrond, Rt. Hn. Sir William H.
Webb, Colonel William George
Welby, Sir Charles G.E.(Notts.
Wharton, Rt. Hon. John Lloyd
Whiteley, H.(Ashton und. Lyne
Wills, Sir Frederick
Wilson, John (Glasgow)
Wilson-Todd, Sir W.H.(Yorks.)
Wodehouse, Rt. Hn. E.R.(Bath
Wolff, Gustav Wilhelm
Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B. Stuart
Wrightson, Sir Thomas
Yerburgh, Robert Armstrong

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Sir Alexander Acland-Hood and Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes.

NOES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N.E.)
Abraham, William (Rhondda)
Ainsworth, John Stirling
Allen, Charles P.
Austin, Sir John
Barlow, John Emmott
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Barry, E. (Cork, S.)
Bayley, Thomas (Derbyshire)
Bell, Richard
Black, Alexander William
Blake, Edward
Boland, John
Brigg, John
Broadhurst Henry
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Burke, E. Haviland
Burt, Thomas
Buxton, Sydney Charles
Caldwell, James
Cameron, Robert
Churchill, Winston Spencer
Cogan, Denis J.
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Crean, Eugene
Cullinan, J.
Dalziel, James Henry
Davies, Alfred (Carmarthen)
Davies, M. Vaughan (Cardigan)
Devlin, Chas. Ramsay (Galway
Devlin, Joseph (Kilkenny, N.)
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Donelan, Captain A.
Doogan, P. C.
Douglas, Charles M. (Lanark)
Edwards, Frank
Evans, Samuel T. (Glamorgan)
Farrell, James Patrick
Fenwick, Charles
Ferguson, R. C. Munro (Leith)
Fitzmaurice, Lord Edmond
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Flynn, James Christopher
Foster, Sir Walter (Derby Co.)
Fuller, J. M. F.
Gilhooly, James
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Grant, Corrie
Hammond, John
Hayden, John Patrick
Hayter, Rt.Hn. Sir Arthur D.
Helme, Norval Watson
Hemphill, Rt. Hon. Charles H.
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Holland, Sir William Henry
Horniman, Frederick John
Johnson, John (Gateshead)
Jones, William(Carnarvonshire
Joyce, Michael
Kearley, Hudson E.
Kennedy, Vincent P.(Cavan, W.
Kilbride, Denis
Kitson, Sir James
Lambert, George
Langley, Batty
Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cornwall)
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Leamy, Edmund
Levy, Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Lloyd-George, David
Lough, Thomas
Lundon, W.
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
M'Crae, George
M'Fadden, Edward
M'Kenna, Reginald
M'Killop, W. (Sligo, North)
Markham, Arthur Basil
Mooney, John J.
Morley, Rt. Hn. John (Montrose
Moss, Samuel
Murphy, John
Nannetti, Joseph P.
Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South)
O'Brien, K. (Tipperary, Mid.)
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Brien, P. J. (Tipperary, N.)
O'Connor, James (Wicklow, W.
O'Donnell, John (Mayo, S.)
O'Donnell, T. (Kerry, W.)
O'Dowd, John
O'Kelly, Jas. (Roscommon, N.)
O'Malley, William
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
O'Shee, James John
Parrott, William
Pease, J. A. (Saffron Walden)
Power, Patrick Joseph
Rea, Russell
Redmond, John E. (Waterford)
Reid, Sir R. Threshie(Dumfries
Rickett, J. Compton
Roberts, John Bryn (Eifion)
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.)
Roche, John
Rose, Charles Day
Russell, T. W.
Seely, Maj.J.E.B.(Isle of Wight
Shackleton, David James
Sheehan, Daniel Daniel
Sheehy, David
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Slack, John Bamford
Soares, Ernest J.
Spencer, Rt.Hn.C.R(Northants
Stanhope, Hon. Philip James
Strachey, Sir Edward
Sullivan, Donal
Taylor, Theodore C. (Radcliffe)
Thomas, Sir A.(Glamorgan, E.)
Thomas, D. Alfred (Merthyr)
Toulmin, George
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan)
White, George (Norfolk)
White, Luke (York, E. R.)
Whiteley, George (York, W.R.
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
Wilson, Fred.W.(Norfolk, Mid.
Wilson, Henry J.(York, W.R.)
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid.)
Woodhouse, Sir J.T(Huddersf'd
Young, Samuel
Yoxall, James Henry

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Mr. Herbert Gladstone and {Mr William M'Arthur.

*MR. MCKENNA (Monmouthshire, N.) said the object of the Amendment which he rose for the purpose of moving was to do away with the proposed new duty of 3d. per pound on tobacco strips. The protective character of the proposed tax had been recognised by Unionist free-traders, who had dismissed it with a phrase. There was said to be "a whiff of protection" about it. It was quite true that the amount of revenue involved was not large, and that the number of persons affected by the tax was small, but if it could be shown that the tax possessed the worst vices of a protectionist impost, that it disorganised trade, that while it enriched a few men it impoverished others, that it would ultimately bring in no revenue, and that it was a breach of the formal pledge of the Prime Minister, he hoped free-traders on the Government side of the House would agree with him that it was a tax to be condemned. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had justified the tax on two grounds—first, that our existing Customs regulations were at fault; and, secondly, that the existing duties were an anomaly. The right hon. Gentleman's exact words were—

> "These regulations had actually driven employment away from our shores."

And that—

> "It was an anomaly in our tobacco duties that leaf and strips should be subject to the same charge."

It would be noticed that the first ground of objection depended exclusively upon the insufficiency of the existing drawback. He agreed with the Chancellor of the Exchequer that the drawback allowed upon stalk taken from the leaf had been insufficient, but the appropriate remedy for the defect in our Customs regulations was to amend the drawback, and inasmuch as the right hon. Gentleman proposed to effect such an Amendment in the present Bill that particular argument disappeared. With regard to the second ground of justification the case put forward by the Chancellor of the Exchequer was that the existing tobacco duties were on a rising scale of protection, that protection was given varying in degree according to the amount of manufacture involved. The right hon. Gentleman stated that stripping was a part of the process of manufacture, and that it alone in the whole series of processes did not receive protection from the duties.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: I did not use the word "protection."

*MR. McKENNA thought the right hon. Gentleman, with a smile, used the word "compensation," in order to avoid the word "protection." His words were—

> "But the principle of the scale being that there should be a rate for raw tobacco, with a correlative but increased rate for each form of the manufactured article, it has always been an anomaly that the first process of manufacture or treatment which the leaf goes through is marked by no corresponding rate in our scale."

And—

> "The result is that the home manufacturer, making for home consumption, has a larger measure of—shall I say compensation—than Mr. Gladstone had intended."

From the inquiries he had been able to make into the processes of manufacture, he (the hon. Member) had been unable to find any justification for the theory advanced by the right hon. Gentleman. The general rate of the duty on manufactured tobacco was 3s. 10d. per pound. Whether the tobacco was spun into roll, or pressed and cut, or cut loose as in the case of shag, there was no difference in the amount of duty. There were exceptions to the rule, but not at all ranged on any scale of manufacture. The exceptions were Negro Head and Cavendish, charged at 4s. 4d; and cigars, charged at 5s. 6d. In the case of cigars, the principle was that a pound of tobacco did not make a pound of cigars, and that consequently it was right and proper that a pound of cigars should be charged a heavier rate than a pound of tobacco. As regarded Negro Head and Cavendish, there was a difference in the rate according to whether they were manufactured in bond or when imported, but the reason for the difference was not to be found in any Act of Parliament so far as he had been able to discover. It was beyond all dispute that the existing duties on manufactured tobacco were protective, but it was to be remembered that the protection of manufactured tobacco dated back to the days when England was a protectionist country. Mr. Gladstone found the trade in tobacco protected, he did not altogether take the protection away. But that was no reason why a new element of protection should be introduced, by which a branch of the industry which for sixty years had not received protection should be protected now. The argument of the Chancellor of the Exchequer was an admission that the duty of threepence on strips was protective of the industry of stripping. Stripping was unskilled labour, done by negroes in the United States at a charge of about $\frac{1}{4}$d. per lb. If the work were done in this country, it would probably be performed by girls at wages of from 6s. to 10s. a week. The total value of the industry if no more strips were imported could not exceed £60,000 a year. That was the industry for the sake of which the tobacco trade was to be disorganised, and a first sample of protection re-introduced into the country. Every free-trader believed that if the industry of stripping was protected and caused to be carried on in this country instead of in the United States, some other service or industry by which we paid for the work now done in the United States would no longer be done here. Every free-trader believed this, and every protectionist avowedly or implicitly denied it

After the speech of the Prime Minister at Sheffield, he should have thought that it would not have been necessary to raise the argument in this House, but unless the tax were withdrawn the argument would have to be raised, because the tax was a protectionist tax, introduced on protectionist principles, and in contradiction of the pledge given by the Prime Minister.

One special and overwhelming objection to the tax was that it embodied something which was absolutely new in our fiscal policy and which ought to be utterly condemned. There were in this country large stocks of tobacco held in bond. The amount was approximately 200,000,000 pounds, or enough to last upwards of two years. Those stocks were owned partly by manufacturers and partly by merchants, and they were partly held here by merchants on commission for American owners. Hitherto the duty on leaf and strips had been the same—3s. per lb. A differential duty was now to be introduced. What would be the effect? Hitherto a manufacturer who wanted to buy raw tobacco had gone to the merchant owning the stocks in bond, and purchased from him either leaf or strips, according to his requirements, and having purchased what he wanted he took the tobacco out of bond and paid the duty. Under the present proposal the duty on the leaf would be 3s., and on the strip 3s. 3d. The two commodities were practically the same. Leaf could be converted into strips for the cost of stripping, which in this country was less than a halfpenny per pound. What would be the consequence? A manufacturer who went to a merchant to buy would be offered the strips at, say, 6d., and the same quality leaf at 5d., the difference being largely due to the defective drawback. The manufacturer would have to pay 6d. for the strips and 3s. 3d. duty, or 3s. 9d. in all. But leaf he would get for 5d. and 3s. duty, or 3s. 5d. in all, a difference of 4d. The cost of stripping being a halfpenny, the manufacturer would be able to buy leaf and strip it at the total cost of 3s. 5½d., and naturally he would never buy strips at 3s. 9d. The effect of the proposal had been to render the large stocks of strips absolutely unsaleable. That was the new principle. The owners of leaf had had a great run on their commodity. Lucky owners of leaf! The owners of strips possessed a commodity which was a drug in the market; their stocks were unsaleable unless they would offer them at twopence or threepence per pound cheaper than before the Budget. Unfortunate owners of strips! It was an absolutely new principle in our taxation that we should distinguish between two kinds of property in this way. They could not make the nation rich by taxes; all they could do was to transfer money from the pockets of one set of men to the pockets of another set.

He would not have ventured to make these statements on his own authority; he had with him a number of authorities to quote to the Committee. The *Monthly Journal of Tobacco* stated—

> "The differentiation between leaf and strip tobacco with the idea of transferring the work of stripping from negro labour in America to British working people in this country is in the abstract estimable. But in practice to have induced the trade to import strips because of an inadequate drawback allowance on the stalks and stringent moisture regulations, as that an accumulation of two years' consumption of strips is stored in the bonded warehouses, and then to depreciate the value of this immense stock by legislation, is, in the most moderate language, unfair."

The same paper also stated—

> "The threepence imposed on strips has widely different effects. While it is most injurious to the importers of American tobaccos, which have formed the bulk of the consumption, it will be most beneficial to importers of substitutes, whose business has been stagnant for years. While it gives a decided pull to Irish manufacturers, who have always been large users of leaf, it almost ruins the smaller North Country trade of brown roll, for which strips is exclusively used."

On the occasion of a deputation to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Maxwell, the representative of a large and important firm, said—

> "Strips had been used in this country for the last 100 years, and whenever there had been a change of duty strips and leaf alike had been affected,"

and he used the argument to show what a thunderclap the proposed differentiation was upon the owners of strips who had accumulated large stocks in bond, which stocks were now unsaleable. Mr. McLeod, another representative of the trade, said—

> "The trade had always considered leaf, whether stripped or unstripped, as raw tobacco, and merchants would never have thought of accumulating strips to the extent they had if there was any possibility of strips alone being penalised."
>
> "The imposition of a differential duty without any modification would cause most serious loss to importers and merchants who had large stocks of strips on hand in the natural course of their business. It would pay the manufacturers much better to use leaf at 3s. than strips

at 3s. 3d., and it would be impossible therefore to find a market for the present stocks of strips. It would be difficult to exaggerate the seriousness of the position."

The case was also fully stated by Mr. Goodwin, the representative of one of the oldest firms in the leaf import trade, who declared that many of the firms went back over a century, and that during the whole of that time leaf and strips had been subjected to uniform rates of duty; that was to say, that even during the most protectionist period of the country's history there had never been any differentiation between the two commodities. Mr. Goodwin went on to say that—

"He desired to put one fact before the Chancellor as showing the way in which his proposal would operate. Ten days ago he had a considerable amount of strips in offer, and had partly arranged to sell 120 hogsheads at 4½d. per lb., but a binding contract was not entered into. On Tuesday the Budget announcement was made, and when he saw it he knew that the transaction must fail through. The intending purchaser told him that he had estimated the effect of the proposed differentiation very carefully, and that when he was prepared to take 2½d. per lb. for his strips he might offer them again.

The Chancellor would therefore see that the effect of the Budget was to depreciate his property by nearly 50 per cent. There was another point. Strips had for the last century been a negotiable security with bankers. How was that security to be classed in the future if it was liable to a depreciation of from 25 to 50 per cent. in the market? The foundation of business was confidence, and if bankers lost confidence in an article like tobacco it would be impossible to conduct business; it would be impossible to negotiate with firms if the security offered was subject to such a sudden and heavy fall. There were plenty of precedents for the course which they asked the Chancellor to take. There were the cases of the coal tax and the corn tax, in both of which rebates were allowed, and he was told that in the publican's compensation Bill the Government had laid down the principle that it was unfair to have confiscation without compensation. It seemed to them that in the tobacco trade the events of the last ten days had to a very great extent confiscated the value of their property."

Upon the other aspect of the question, the rise in the value of leaf, he would quote only the Secretary of the Liverpool branch of the Tobacco Dealers' Alliance, who, at an interview, stated that—

"in consequence of the shortage of stock the Western leaf has been withdrawn from sale, and common filler Western leaf has fetched close on 5d. per lb. between merchant and manufacturer, whereas a few days ago it would be bought at 3d. The situation is causing much uneasiness among manufacturers, importers and wholesalers."

Such was the summary of the case presented to the Chancellor of the Exchequer on the first introduction of the proposal. In the course of his reply, the right hon. Gentleman said—

"They represented to him that in the first instance it [the new duty] would fall only on the shoulders of some twenty houses in the country with no possibility of recovering it elsewhere and with no compensation for this added charge. [Hear, hear.] He was glad to hear that concurrence in his description of what they had said; at any rate, it showed that he appreciated what the point was that they wished to bring before him. It was in itself a reason for the course which he had indicated to them he should take—namely, that before saying anything further he should wait to hear what other people had to say in this matter. His correspondence had been extensive and varied; it came from every section of the trade, and he observed that each section of the trade assured him that the whole of the new tax would be borne by them exclusively.

The right hon. Gentleman then went on to give them his amusing and ingenious reply, in which he told them that they could not all bear the whole of the tax. There were two points which he desired to observe in the reply of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. He had remarked that not a few of them welcomed the duty. Of course they did; but if the right hon. Gentleman had been cautious that statement ought to have put him on the alert. The members of a trade did not usually welcome a tax on the commodity they were producing. The owners of leaf welcomed the duty because it was giving them a bounty, and business men would naturally welcome anything that would give them a greater profit in their business. But, so far from being on his guard, the Chancellor of the Exchequer welcomed this approval as evidence of the beauty of his proposal. Was it wise for Parliament to encourage business men to combine in wealthy leagues to promote the taxation of their fellow-citizens? Taxes of this character encouraged men to subscribe to those leagues, and however inefficient and ineffective their efforts might be, they were never in want of funds. The second point to be observed was that the Chancellor of the Exchequer was under the impression that he appreciated the case brought before him by the owners of strips. He likened their case to that of the manufacturers, the wholesale dealers, and the retailers, and he told them that they could put up their price and get the duty back from their buyers. He had already shown that the merchant who owned stocks of strips had no chance at all of putting up his price. The manufacturer would not buy his strips because he could get the leaf stripped himself at about one-halfpenny per lb., and why should he buy strips and pay 3d. extra duty? The essence of the merchants' case was that the tax was on strips and not on leaf. The grievance which the owners of strips had got was that they could not sell their stocks except at a grievous loss, and the complaint he made against the right hon. Gentleman was that he never seemed to appreciate that the effect of his duty would be to give a bounty to the owners of leaf and reduce the value of the strips. Of 40,000,000 lbs. held in bond by merchants about half was owned by them or held on commission on terms that they had advanced almost the whole of the money, therefore a loss of at least 2d. per pound would fall on the owners of 20,000,000 lbs. of tobacco—something like a loss of £200,000 on a few merchants in the country, who, without notice and without power of redress, had this serious loss illegitimately inflicted upon them by this Budget.

When this subject was raised earlier in the session there was considerable doubt in the House as to what the effect of the duty would be, and he remembered very well that when he referred on a former occasion to the Board of Trade Returns for the month of March, he was subjected to two forms of attack, one from hon. Members who believed that he was entirely wrong in his view that the Budget had been anticipated, because anybody who had anticipated the Budget would not have imported leaf, but would have imported strips and taken them out of bond. He was also subjected to another form of attack from the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister on the altogether erroneous ground that he had imputed personal dishonour to the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Needless to say it was not, as he explicitly stated, and it never had been, and was not now, his intention to impute the faintest personal charge against the right hon. Gentleman. He did not believe that the Chancellor of the Exchequer understood the meaning of the tax when he proposed it. He did not, however, think that that was sufficient ground for the subsequent attack made upon him—an attack which, although not continued in consequence of a letter he wrote, had never been withdrawn. He was bound to say for himself that he had never been able to understand how the Prime Minister was able to evade one or other of two courses. He had never been able to understand why, if he believed him in what he wrote in his letter to him, he did not withdraw the charge made against him, and if he did not believe him why he did not continue the attack. He should be most unwilling to say anything offensive or disagreeable to the Prime Minister, because apart from this particular incident he had always treated him, as he treated everyone else, with the greatest courtesy and fairness; but he ought to have remembered that when he made an attack upon a private Member of this House all the organs of the Press up and down the country reported his speech in full, giving the widest publicity to every charge made against a humble individual like himself, whereas any reply that he might make did not receive, he would not say equal attention, but scarcely any attention at all. The right hon. Gentleman, whose name was written so large in the book of chivalry, should not have allowed that letter to be characterised as an appeal, and the writer to be represented by some organs of the Press as going down on his knees in an appeal *ad misericordiam.* If the circumstances were brought to his knowledge the right hon. Gentleman should surely have taken an opportunity to relieve him from the stigma of that charge.

When quoting the Returns of the import of strips in March he argued, as any man of ordinary business acumen would argue, that somehow somebody had anticipated what the Budget would be. In March the importation of strips was 3,400,000 lbs. or 43 per cent; of unstripped, or leaf, 4,600,000 lbs. or 57 per cent; whereas before the Budget was anticipated the proportion of stripped was 77 per cent. and of unstripped 23 per cent. In April the stripped imports were 2,700,000 lbs., and the unstripped 5,000,000 lbs., or 65 per cent. In May the stripped dropped to 1,600,000lbs. and the unstripped amounted to 3,800,000 lbs., or 71 per cent. What would become of the revenue if strips were no longer imported? There were certain stocks of strips held by British manufacturers in the United States before the Budget was introduced, but once those stocks were exhausted not a single pound of strips would come to this country, for no man would pay 3d. duty on strips over and above the leaf when he could strip the leaf for one halfpenny a pound. Two years hence this revenue would disappear. The Chancellor of the Exchequer would not be in office then. He would have left his mark as a protectionist, but he would have left no revenue for his successor. If he had put the duty on the leaf and strips alike how different would the result have been! The revenue would have been permanent, he would have avoided a cruel injustice to the owners of strips in bond and he would have been faithful to the pledge of the Prime Minister that the question of protection should not be raised in any form in the present Parliament.

Upon the subject of this pledge he proposed to quote, not the Prime Minister, but the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham. He did so because one of the qualities which he admired most in the late Colonial Secretary was that they never had any doubt as to his meaning. What he admired most in the statements of the Prime Minister, on the other hand, was that he was always successful in leaving his meaning in doubt. Both right hon. Gentlemen had their duty to fulfil, and when he wished to know what the pledge of the Prime Minister was, he naturally turned to the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham. He would quote his interpretation of that pledge which at the time was approved of by the Prime Minister. It was given on the occasion of the Motion moved by his hon. friend the Member for Banffshire on the 18th of May last. Then the late Colonial Secretary said—

> "I understand that, following the repeated statements of my right hon. friend the Prime Minister, and following also what has always been my own opinion with regard to the propriety of this matter, we do not desire that the question should be discussed, and we do not believe it could be practically discussed in the present Parliament. We say you may raise the fiscal question if you please, and you may say what you will about it upon a private Member's abstract Resolution; but the Government have pledged themselves not to raise it in any form."

Upon the statements which he had ventured to bring before the Committee which he believed that he had supported with sufficient testimony, he submitted that this duty was a protective duty upon the industry of stripping. He could not conceive that the Prime Minister would say that, inasmuch as there was already a protective duty upon manufactured tobacco, it was no departure from our present fiscal system to introduce a new protective duty upon another process dealing with tobacco. He could not imagine that the Prime Minister would say that, because such an argument could only be characterised as a quibble. The process of stripping had never before been protected in this country, and to protect it now was to introduce a new protective duty. It was not relevant to assert that there were other processes which were protected. This duty raised the whole fiscal question. It was a protective duty, and if it was imposed he submitted that it would be a breach of the pledge given by the Prime Minister. That pledge was given to the whole world, and it was open to even the humblest Member of that House to call for its unreserved fulfilment. Ministers had relied upon that pledge in the course of this very debate for their protection, and they, too, were entitled to rely upon it now for protection. He argued that if the Government fulfilled that pledge they would have to give up the protection of the industry of stripping. The industry which the duty would protect was one which we could well do without, but, even if it was an important industry, the preservation of Ministerial faith was of far greater importance.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said the hon. Member had been good enough to say that he had no suspicion of his honour, but had suggested that he had been duped by somebody more clever and less honest than himself.

*MR. McKENNA said he did not impute dishonesty to any business man who, in the furtherance of his own business, desired to get a tax that would benefit him at the expense of others.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 2, line 3, to leave out from the word 'pound,' to the end of the clause."—(*Mr. M'Kenna.*)

Question proposed, "That the words 'and the duties payable under the same section or' stand part of the clause."

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said he was trying so to frame his remarks that there would be no necessity for contradiction or interruption. The hon. Member had repeated the allegation that this duty was anticipated by a person, or by persons, who had an interest in the knowledge which they obtained, and who profited by it to import an unusual quantity of strip tobacco. He was glad to say that the hon. Member had mentioned no name. On the first occasion the hon. Member associated this charge with a reference to Mr. Gallaher, a manufacturer of Belfast, who, he said, was a member of the Tariff Commission. If the hon. Member wished to call attention to the unusually large importation of strip in the month before the Budget statement was made without imputing or making any suggestions of improper conduct against any one, all he could say was that the hon. Member worded his speech imprudently, and he made a misapprehension of his meaning almost inevitable. He had given him no hint that he was going to call attention to these figures or to the particular case of Mr. Gallaher at the time, and naturally he was not prepared to reply at once on the figures which were given. He did not think it would be right for him now to give the exact figures with reference to each particular merchant or dealer in any particular dutiable article, but Mr. Gallaher's name having been introduced, and suggestions having been made concerning him, he thought it was right to say a few words as to his importation. The suggestion made was that Mr. Gallaher was a great user of leaf tobacco, that he had some knowledge of what the Budget intended which enabled him to import largely in the month of March.

MR. MCKENNA invited the right hon. Gentleman to read what he said if he wished to quote him. What he actually stated was that Mr. Gallaher was a large owner of stocks, that the importation of March would have been a mere trifle to Mr. Gallaher, that he personally had not the faintest knowledge who had imported, and did not inquire, but that someone had imported largely, without doubt.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN replied that the hon. Member did not say that. [Cheers and OPPOSITION cries of "Read."] It was a question of fact. If there was no intention to insinuate that Mr. Gallaher had taken advantage of his connection with the Tariff Commission or with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, or of a supposed connection between both, to secure this alteration of duty for his own purpose, why was his name connected with this large importation? There were three statements he could put in a few words which he thought the Committee ought to know. The importation of strips by Mr. Gallaher in March a year before the Budget was more than four times as large as it was in March immediately preceding the Budget. His average importation over the twelve months preceding was more than three and a half times as much as it was in the month before the Budget. If any further answer was needed to the suggestion that Mr. Gallaher or any one else obtained knowledge of his intention and that the increase in the stock of leaf was made in the month before the Budget, he thought that it would be sufficient to say that his first suggestion of this duty on strips was made in answer to an inquiry of his addressed to the Board of Customs in the month of April. The fact of the matter was that owing to the wet season in America, or from other causes, the usual imports of leaf had not taken place in the closing months of last year and the early months of this year. There was accordingly a greater quantity in the month of March last. Even making allowances for that, the importation of whole leaf during the months from September, 1903, to March, 1904, were over 1,250,000 lbs. less than they were in the preceding year. He must apologise to the Committee for dealing at such length with this side of the question.

Now, perhaps, he might be allowed to deal with what, after all, was the pleasanter subject of the merits of the tax itself. There were two questions raised—whether it was right to differentiate between strips and whole leaf, and whether, if so, the difference proposed was proportionate to the difference between the values of the two articles. The theory on which our tobacco duties were worked was that the duty on the manufactured article should be greater than the duty on the raw material from which it was produced. That was admittedly reasonable, for the manufacturer in this country must have some compensation for the restrictions to which he was subjected if he were to carry on his trade at all. The hon. Member said that there was no differentiation between spun and twist tobacco. But neither of these was a process in the manufacture of the other. They were two separate articles produced from the same raw material; but strips were a stage in the process of manufacturing raw tobacco for sale to the public. The principle of marking the different stages of manufacture by separate duties found expression in the Customs tariffs of many of our Colonies, and of most foreign countries. It was not considered illogical by the trade itself. A correspondent writing in the *Journal of Tobacco*, from Richmond, Virginia, the centre of the industry which the hon. Member supposed to be most injuriously affected by this proposal, said—

> "The opinion is freely expressed on this side that it is a wonder that the tax on strips has not been adjusted in this way years since."

On 1st June the *Journal of Tobacco*, which he did not cite as a supporter of his proposals, declared that there were sound reasons for the differentiation of the duty. He thought that those who had carefully followed what he had been saying and who were interested in the merits of the question would have seen that the distinction he proposed to make in the present Budget was not an artificial distinction. It was not a distinction unknown to people in the trade, and it would not be peculiar to this country. It was a matter of surprise among those who were most conversant with the subject that we had not adopted it long ago in our own country.

Coming to the question—Is this differentiation protective? he thought the whole of the Committee must see that if the duty on a raw material and the duty on a manufactured article requiring considerable time and labour and elaborate appliances for its manufacture should be exactly the same, the home manufacturer of the finished article would be at a disadvantage as compared with the foreign importer. The home manufacturer would have to pay his duty on the raw material before the process of manufacture, and he would have to stand out of the duty for the whole of the time during which the process was going on. Therefore it was not true that *prima facie* there was reason for the duty being the same on a manufactured article as it was on the unmanufactured article. *Prima facie* the reasonable thing was that the duty on the manufactured article should be higher than the duty on the raw material; and, if that were true of a manufactured article which had undergone many stages of manufacture, was it not true—not to the same extent, indeed, but equally true in principle—of any stage or process in that manufacture? The result of our present tariff was to penalise any manufacturer who attempted to do the stripping in this country. He did not want to protect anybody and he was not attempting to protect any industry which could not exist on perfectly fair terms by itself. He had not said one word in support of this tax which was based on protectionist grounds as the strongest free-trader interpreted them; but he would ask the strongest free-trader whether he thought that it was part of the sacred doctrine of free trade, as he understood it, that our Customs duties should be so drawn as to make it practically impossible for a manufacturer to carry on a particular manufacture in this country. Was it really essential to the safety of our present fiscal system that we should maintain our duties in such a condition that the employment of British labour was actually penalised and discouraged by these duties? If that was the attitude which they were taking up, they were striking the heaviest blow at free trade, as it had hitherto been practised, that had ever been struck at any point of the fiscal controversy.

The primary reason for the action that he was now taking was in order to obtain revenue, but, that being so, he confessed that he thought it no disadvantage of his tax that it would not protect a British industry against foreign competition, but relieve it from the disability and burden under which it at present laboured in competition with the foreign trade. He was not attempting to place it in any privileged position, but to place it in a position of equality in competition with the imported article. The hon. Gentleman continued to be of opinion that, quite apart from anything in the scale of duties, there was some essential condition of nature which would necessitate this work being done in America and not elsewhere. That was not his opinion. For certain purposes, especially for cigar making, the manufacturers in this country would much rather have the whole leaf than the stripped. They could then get a better article for their purpose and make a better article, but they were actually prevented by the present state of our duties from importing the whole leaf where they would wish to do so. The stripping of leaf abroad, he was also told, was on the increase, and certain classes of leaf which had hitherto been always imported as whole leaf were now being imported as stripped, in spite of the fact that it would be better for the trade itself and for the natural course of trade that the stripping should take place here. He received a letter the other day from a large manufacturer in this country who used about two and a half times the quantity of stripped tobacco that he did of unstripped in which he said that he would like to import tobacco direct from the United States to this country, but at the present time he had to import it to Holland and then to bring it in here. He was, therefore, not asking the Committee artificially to stimulate an industry which could not exist in this country without stimulation, but to remove from that industry artificial disabilities which were prejudicial to it.

Sir JAMES JOICEY (Durham, Chester-le-Street) asked whether he was right in understanding from the right hon. Gentleman's statement that the difference of duty in the cases of stripped and unstripped tobacco represented only the actual cost of stripping.

Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said that was the question to which he was coming. He hoped to be able to satisfy the hon. Gentleman on that matter before concluding. If he had carried the Committee with him in showing that it was natural that there should be a distinction, and that the absence of a distinction did not promote the natural course of trade, the question arose whether the distinction which he proposed was fair and reasonable. The hon. Gentleman's allegation was that he had by this proposed differentiation greatly appreciated the price of leaf and depreciated the price of strips. He did not know where the hon. Gentleman got his figures from. He had with him the monthly tobacco circular showing the prices of leaf and strips on 31st May compared with 31st March. For strips there were nine or ten quotations given for each month. There was absolutely no difference between the prices quoted for 31st May, after the Budget, and the prices quoted for 31st March before the Budget.

*Mr. McKENNA: Is the right hon. Gentleman prepared to say that there has been any dealing in stripped tobacco at all?

Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said he was proceeding stage by stage. For the present he desired to call the attention of the Committee to the fact that according to this tobacco circular there was absolutely no variation in the price quoted for stripped tobacco before and after the Budget. But then the hon. Gentleman said the whole leaf had greatly increased in price. There were ten quotations for the whole leaf in the two months, and the only one which had changed was the quotation for medium to good Western leaf, which stood on 31st March at 4½d. to 5½d., and on 31st May at 4¾d. to 6d. Was not that rather a shadowy foundation for these imputations of a vast and illicit transfer of property from one class of the community to the other, owing to the misfortune of having an ignorant and unskilled Chancellor? As regarded the sales he would make a comparison with a year ago. The *Tobacco Trade Review* of 1st June contained particulars of actual sale:—

"Virginia strip, 1903, 5½d. to 10d.; 1904, 5½d. to 10d."

There was accordingly no change.

"Virginia whole leaf, 1903, 5d. to 6½d.; 1904, 4d. to 7d."

As to strips, the price in 1903 was 5d. to 6½d.; in 1904, 4d. to 6½d. The price of whole leaf was—1903, 4d. to 5½d.; 1904, 4d. to 5d. These figures referred to the actual sales which had taken place. He thought, therefore, he had not made the great difference in the value of the two articles which the hon. Gentleman suggested. He had tried to make some calculation what the actual value of strips compared with leaf of the same character should be, or in other words what were the saleable articles produced on the one hand from imported strips and on the other from imported whole leaf of the same character, and what the amount of duty paid per pound of the article as sold would be. On an average of some twenty-four samples, after making certain allowances—among them allowances for the extra cost due to Excise restrictions, and the loss owing to the greater amount of moisture—the duty cost on tobacco made from the whole leaf, imported as whole leaf, would be 3s. 2½d. or a little over. On black Virginia the actual amount that would be paid in duty if the whole leaf were imported would be 3s. 4d., as against 3s. 3d. which would be paid if the manufacturer imported the strips and manufactured the tobacco. There seemed to be great apprehension that the value of strips would be adversely affected by this duty. As a matter of fact, the differentiation made between whole leaf and strips by the duty of 3d. on strips was only enough to put whole leaf and strips on an equal footing, and that it was entirely the convenience of the manufacturer which decided whether he should work with strips or with whole leaf. The *Western Tobacco Journal* of Cincinnati—a quarter which could not be considered prejudiced in his favour, for, of course, it was its interest that the duty should be reduced rather than increased—stated that dealers in strips were needlessly alarmed, and it advised holders of strips to continue to hold their stocks, for the time would come when strips would again be wanted. This was his conviction also. The time would come when the present uncertainty would be put an end to by the House affirming the duty. Strips would be then demanded and holders would be able to clear their stocks without loss.

He apologised to the Committee for the length at which he had spoken, but this matter had assumed what he thought was perhaps an exaggerated importance. His desire was to put the Committee in possession of his views in regard to the matter. There was only one other point to which he wished to refer. The hon. Member who moved the Amendment had said that the imposition of the duty on strips was a violation of the pledge given by the Government not to raise any new fiscal issue in this Parliament. In his opinion it was nothing of the kind. It was no part of our fiscal system that the course of trade should be unnaturally diverted against the interests of our manufacturers and labourers. That mistake would be rectified by the imposition of this duty. The hon. Member seemed to think that there would be no revenue derived from the duty. But if strips were only imported because they were given an unfair advantage over whole leaf, the inequality should be removed and both be placed upon the same fair basis. That was what he was now doing in proposing this duty. He believed that strips would continue to be imported and that additional revenue would be obtained under this very proper, simple, and natural duty, which in no way interfered with our present fiscal system.

MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL said the Committee was indebted to the Chancellor of the Exchequer for his very lengthy, considerate, and lucid speech. This was a very complicated and technical subject. There were the complication of prices, the operation of drawbacks, the variety of the classes of tobacco and the processes through which the tobacco passed. There were all the actions, reactions, and counter-reactions which took place by the operation of these different factors, the one or the other. It was satisfactory, therefore, to the Committee that they had had two speeches with a high degree of technical knowledge, and they had been able to follow the whole subject with the utmost clearness. He confessed that he had been led to a perfectly definite conclusion on the subject. It appeared to him quite obvious that this tax was vicious in principle, though, perhaps, it was not vicious on a great scale. It might be protection with a hypodermic syringe, but it had undoubtedly a protective flavour about it. The money went into the Exchequer, there was no doubt about that; but the burden was not equally distributed over the tobacco trade. Some people were enthusiastic about the tax, but a considerable injury was inflicted on those tobacconists who did not derive any advantage from it. It had been quite clearly shown that this tax practically amounted to a bounty on the tobacco leaf and a corresponding drawback and disadvantage on stripped tobacco. Anyone who wanted to make money before the tax was introduced had only to find out that the Chancellor of the Exchequer was going to introduce it. They could buy leaf and import it in considerable quantities, and they were in a position to be made rich by a mere vote on the Budget Resolutions in the House. Before the Budget was introduced, the average importation for many years was 77 per cent. stripped and 23 per cent. leaf. In March, a month before the introduction of this Budget, which made the importation of leaf profitable, the importation of stripped fell to 43 per cent. and the importation of leaf rose to 57 per cent. It was no good being indignant about this. That was the fact. No one was making any charges against the right hon. Gentleman.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: Does the hon. Member suggest that that was due to the leakage of my intentions to alter the duty on tobacco?

MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL said he suggested that the alteration in the percentages was due to some person or persons unknown importing in the month of March a very unusual percentage of leaf, and not importing so much stripped tobacco as they had imported during the last few years. He knew the right hon. Gentleman suggested that this was due to the wet season in America. Those who found that a satisfactory and adequate answer would no doubt console themselves with the fact that the wet season of America altered the percentages from what they had been under the influence of recurring wet seasons during many previous years and the continuance of the wet season now, so that the importation of stripped was no longer profitable and had fallen to nearly 29 per cent. and leaf had risen to 71 per cent. The right hon. Gentleman was anxious to know what he actually suggested. He suggested that a deplorable scandal was the only adequate explanation of these figures. He put it perfectly plainly. The suggestion of his hon. friend so much resented by the Prime Minister on a previous occasion was not that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had gone about making some corrupt bargain with other people for his own personal and sordid profit. Nobody had ever made such a suggestion, and the indignation manifested by the right hon. Gentleman was not, he thought, wholly due to the fact that any intention to make such a charge was believed. He ventured to hope that we should never reach the stage when charges of that kind could be readily thrown against the Ministers of the Crown. His right hon. friend on the previous occasion got out of this amazing discrepancy in figures by defending his own personal honour. To-night he endeavoured to get out of it by defending Mr. Gallaher's personal honour. He had no more intention to make charges against Mr. Gallaher's personal honour than against the right hon. Gentleman's. If a volume were compiled on Parliamentary tactics, he would certainly suggest that the Prime Minister should write a chapter on how to turn a charge against personal honour to Party advantage. No one was more capable of conveying a rebuke for a pretended crime, and he said in all seriousness that the attacks made on his hon. friend, with an air of moral indignation, on the day hon. Gentlemen came down to the House to see him receive a castigation, were greatly more diverting than they were impressive or deserved. In answer to the Chancellor of the Exchequer's inquiry, what he suggested plainly was that information must have leaked out about his intention. He could not put it more plainly than that.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: Will the hon. Gentleman allow me to repeat what I formerly said? My intention could not have leaked out under any circumstances in time to enable importations to be made, for my intentions were not formed, or even suggested, until April.

MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL said it was quite obvious that before the right hon. Gentleman's intentions crystallized into action he must have been considering all sorts of subjects of taxation—the Prime Minister need not leave the House. He was not going to allude to preference —and that someone connected with the tobacco trade must have had some cause for knowing what was likely to be done. Through whom did the information leak out? It must have been either from the officials of the Treasury or it was due to the deductions which trade experts, whom the right hon. Gentleman consulted, drew. Which was the more probable? He had no hesitation in declaring his opinion. He entertained the very highest opinion of the officials of our public Departments, and, above all, of the Treasury officials. It was a thing of which the country could be justly proud that, when many thousands of pounds might easily be made by anticipating the decisions of Chancellors of the Exchequer and when details of a coming Budget must be known to twenty or thirty men in receipt of small salaries, no leakage had taken place enabling traders to take advantage of the fiscal changes intended. He did not believe that the leakage had been through the officials, and therefore he was driven to the conclusion that trade experts whom the right hon. Gentleman consulted or approached, directly or indirectly, drew their own conclusions as to which imports were likely to be profitable and which, in fact, did prove profitable. It was a very great honour to a business man to be consulted on any business matter, for he was expected to be actuated by a high sense of honour, and if he used his knowledge, either directly or indirectly, to make a farthing out of it that man was dishonoured. But that had been possible because this tax was vicious in principle and in character protective. With taxes of a complicated and protective character there were scores of ways by which individuals could make profit, and the inevitable strain was too great for human rectitude. Protection had a corrupting effect, and now that taxation schemes were on foot they ought not to overlook this sinister feature, which had crept in in consequence of the right hon. Gentleman tampering with protective experiments in the tobacco duties.

*SIR FREDERICK WILLS said he was loth to intervene in the debate, because it might be suspected that as a member of the Tobacco Company he was anxious to trundle his own wheelbarrow. He should like, however, to ask his right hon. friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether in the calculation which he had set before the Committee as to the difference between the price of stripped tobacco and leaf tobacco he had charged 3d. per lb. more for duty on stripped tobacco? If the right hon. Gentleman had done that he could understand the result at which he had arrived.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN was understood to say that he had included the duty in his calculation. The manufacturers were out of pocket on the raw material and for the expenses they were put to by the Excise regulations.

*SIR FREDERICK WILLS said that the proposal of his right hon. friend was that there should be a differential duty between stripped tobacco and leaf tobacco. No doubt the manufacturers were quite able to look after themselves, but there were merchants in London, Liverpool, and Glasgow who had in their hands large quantities of stripped tobacco which was at present practically unsaleable. These gentlemen stood to lose between £300,000 and £400,000. The Chancellor of the Exchequer expected to get half a million of money from this duty, but he was perfectly sure that the right hon. Gentleman never contemplated that he was going to take £300,000 or £400,000 out of the pockets of twenty men in order to obtain that revenue. The Chancellor of the Exchequer did not intend that; but that would be the effect of his proposal. In most cases, the tobacco was not the property of the merchants. In the ordinary course of business, shippers in America sent tobacco over to this country, and the merchants advanced from 70 per cent. to 75 per cent of its value. The shippers dictated to the merchants the price they should ask; and the merchants then tried to sell the stock on commission. If the merchant could not sell at the shipper's price, he asked the shipper for the return of his money; but in many cases the shipper was not in a position to return the money; and then he told the merchant to sell at the best price he could. If the right hon. Gentleman thought that people were going to buy stripped tobacco at an addition of 3d. per lb., he was particularly sanguine. His right hon. friend was at one period Postmaster-General—a position which he filled with very great credit to himself and with great advantage to the public. His right hon. friend had then in his employ many thousands of young women who were paid from perhaps 15s. to 30s. a week. In the firm with which he himself was connected, the young women, if paid 3d. per lb. for stripping tobacco, would earn £4 10s. a week. The Chancellor of the Exchequer seemed to think that stripped tobacco was worth 3d. per lb. more. His own opinion was that tobacco could be stripped at ½d. per lb.; and that the girls employed in it would even then earn a substantial wage. This £300,000 or £400,000 would be borne by some twenty different firms, and he would like to appeal to the Chancellor of the Exchequer to explain why they should be fined in this manner. It was not right, in the interests of the country at large, to impose this fine. He appealed not only on behalf of the manufacturers, but also for the retailers, upon whom a great deal of the loss would fall, because the latter had, in many cases, to sell at certain fixed prices and could not go beyond them. Hon. Members opposite must bear in mind that it was impossible to adjudicate a tax imposed by the pound in order to distribute it by the ounce or half-ounce, and that when an added duty of twopence per pound was imposed it was difficult to say how the half-ounce was to be assessed.

MR. ROBSON (South Shields) was glad to be relieved of the technical points raised in the course of the debate, but there were one or two points that ought not to be left unanswered. One had reference to the name of Gallaher and to the question of upon whose advice the Chancellor of the Exchequer acted in seeking to impose this tax. It had not occurred to any previous Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the present one had gained a certain amount of credit for finding a new subject for taxation. He (Mr. Robson) had looked through the pages of the *Tobacco Journal*, and he found that Mr. Gallaher had been informing the public upon the Budget proposals and that he claimed the credit of putting his views before the Chancellor of the Exchequer. He was not touching the question of forestalling the Budget. He thought a man of business was entitled to use his intelligence and run a certain amount of risk in seeking to forecast events relating to duties on the goods in which he dealt, but he did not think that any tradesman occupying a high position on the Tariff Commission was entitled to go before a Departmental Committee and advise the imposition of a tax without informing the Committee that it would operate to his benefit and private interest. He should be glad to learn whether Mr. Gallaher, in suggesting this tax, informed the Committee that it would be an admirable thing for him and would put many pounds in his pocket. If that gentleman had made such a suggestion he (Mr. Robson) would be prepared to inscribe his name on the roll of British patriots, but if he had withheld it Mr. Gallaher must be prepared to hear more of the matter later. This kind of thing could not be limited to any particular article, but would happen in the case of other taxes. Who would suggest such protective taxes? The consumer? Certainly not. These taxes were going to be suggested by those who meant to make money out of them, and it was in the highest degree instructive that this tax should be traced home to one who was to make money out of it, and who yet put his advice before the Committee without informing them of that circumstance. This matter, although it was most material to, had a bearing far beyond, the scope of the present discussion. He protested against the attempt to obscure the important public bearing of this part of the case by introducing questions of personal honour. Never in the history of the country had the question of personal honour been introduced with less excuse than when the right hon. Gentleman attempted to extract from the remarks of the hon. Member for North Monmouthshire an attack on his personal honour which was not only not intended but expressly repudiated. He begged the House and the country not to allow any such cloud to obscure the true bearing of this part of the question—namely the interest that manufacturers had in going before Departmental Committees and Chancellors of the Exchequer who were not acquainted with the technical details of the trade, and using pleas of more employment, British labour, and other false hypocritical and discreditable pleas in order to get money out of the pockets of the British taxpayer. None of these trivial and unworthy attempts to import questions of personal honour would prevent him from endeavouring to trace back every one of these protectionist suggestions to its proper and its corrupt source.

Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: Who does the hon. Gentleman suggest has been corrupt in this case?

Mr. ROBSON: I say it is corrupt to go before a Departmental Committee and advise a tax which will put money into the pocket of the witness without so warning the Committee.

Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: I understand the hon. Member to say that he has traced home corruption to Mr. Gallaher. All I wish to say in connection with Mr. Gallaher is that I have had no personal communication with him.

Mr. ROBSON: I never said you had.

Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: He did not suggest the tax, and the only indirect communication I have ever received from him was that if I had read his evidence before the Departmental Committee I should have seen that my proposal was a mistake and should not have made it.

Mr. McKENNA: That referred to cigarettes.

Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: No, it referred to the duty on stripped tobacco.

Mr. ROBSON said the right hon. Gentleman was seeking again to introduce the question of personal honour. He would be delighted, and he would be surprised, if it was found that Mr. Gallaher, in advising this tax, warned the Departmental Committee that he was personally interested. If he did not he did a wrong thing. With regard to corruption, his view was that almost every one of these protective taxes had an origin, which, speaking from the point of view of fiscal morals, was justly called corrupt. Did the Chancellor of the Exchequer or the protectionist party justify the conduct which he had been denouncing?

Colonel LOCKWOOD (Essex, Epping): Will the hon. and learned Gentleman call Mr. Gallaher corrupt outside the House of Commons?

Mr. ROBSON: Whatever I say inside the House my hon. friend will hear me say outside. Will the Chancellor of the Exchequer defend outside the House or inside the conduct I am denouncing?

Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: The hon. Gentleman asserts that Mr. Gallaher before the Departmental Committee advised the imposition of the tax, and that that is the corrupt origin of the tax. I deny it absolutely and entirely.

Mr. ROBSON said it was the right hon. Gentleman who was now attacking Mr. Gallaher. It was Mr. Gallaher who said that he suggested the tax. He said—

> "In my evidence before the recent Committee I outlined this idea, and my views were generally accepted."

That was his authority—Mr. Gallaher. Was he to understand that the right hon. Gentleman was charging Mr. Gallaher with making an untrue statement? So far from charging Mr. Gallaher with dishonour or corruption, he thought that gentleman was quite entitled to put before the Departmental Committee ideas which more distinguished persons preached in the country. All he asked of him was that he should warn the Departmental Committee of his interest. Mr. Gallaher talked about trusts, and said,

> "If the independent manufacturers are squeezed out of the trade by the trust octopus, I will take care that the British Government become their own manufacturers."

That was what he threatened to do. They were not, however, going to be deterred from discussing all the bearings of this protectionist attack upon the taxes, resources, and means of the people by any attempts to import questions of personal honour into them.

He would now deal with the speech which the right hon. Gentleman had made that evening. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had represented that all he had tried to do in regard to stripped and unstripped leaf was to establish equality for the purposes of manufacture. He had listened with surprise to that representation. This was the first time that he had heard that the prices of unstripped leaf had not moved. The Committee had heard what the hon. Member for North Bristol had said upon this point, and without any disrespect to the right hon. Gentleman, he wished to say that, in a matter of trade technique, the Committee would be rather more disposed to take the word of the hon. Member for North Bristol than the price list given by the right hon. Gentleman, who had given them such an extraordinary story about the prices not having moved. He had heard from some eminent importers that since the right hon. Gentleman introduced his Budget they had not sold one ounce of stripped leaf. When the right hon. Gentleman came down to the Committee with this price list, and wished the Committee to believe that prices had not moved, where did he get his information, and where did it come from? He would like to know that. The Committee knew that in this matter they were not dealing with the right hon. Gentleman, for he came down to the Committee with the information supplied to him. What did hon. Members know about tobacco? Upon this subject they all depended upon information which they received from others, and it was important when a statement was made involving such a very serious contradiction of fact as that raised by the right hon. Gentleman, that they should ask who were his advisers? He had a shrewd suspicion that the gentleman from whom the information was derived would probably be found to be not without interest in the tobacco trade. They had got to look back a long way in dealing with protection. There was no foundation in fact for the supposition that this tax had not affected prices. If a person seriously told him that they could put a tax of 50 per cent. upon an article without affecting the price he should not believe him. Such a tax must affect the price. The right hon. Gentleman had had a deputation of importers before him who were honourable men of high standing, and they told him that this tax meant a depreciation of something like £10 a cask. Now, on 135,000 casks in bond that represented a depreciation of £1,350,000. These gentlemen had made these statements to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and did he think they were lying? The right hon. Gentleman had swept their testimony aside and he came down to the Committee with this price list, which showed an utterly impossible state of things, and he asked them to reject the testimony of men of honour in the trade. For his own part he did not accept the price list which had been put before the Committee by the right hon. Gentleman. He suggested that the right hon. Gentleman having by his Budget stopped sales, the old prices had been carried forward in the price list and he was glad to hear that in that view he was confirmed by the hon. Member for North Bristol. Upon whose behalf did the right hon. Gentleman put in this trade list? Who were they They did not desire to treat this Committee fairly whoever they were, or at any rate they did not desire to treat the Treasury fairly. He should be the last man in the world to say anything against the Treasury, because there was no Department stood higher in the public estimation than the Treasury, both for vigilance and purity, but even the Treasury, like the rest of them, had to depend upon information which they received from others.

Taking advantage of the information which the right hon. Gentleman had given them, let them consider what had happened? There had been a cessation of sales. Why? Because this was not merely a protective tax but a prohibitive tax. The Chancellor of the Exchequer said that he desired to make the two classes of tobacco equal. Now there were two ways of doing this—either they could put a tax upon stripped tobacco, or they might adopt Mr. Gladstone's method and put the same tax on both, giving a drawback to the unstripped leaf in order to put it on a parity with the stripped leaf. Now that was what he proposed. The right hon. Gentleman talked of the disadvantages attached to the unstripped leaf, and therefore he said he must put a tax upon the stripped leaf. In another part of his Budget he arranged drawbacks which, if adequate, completely deprived the unstripped leaf of any disadvantage whatever. The differentiation now established by this proposal amounted to 600 per cent. That was establishing what the right hon. Gentleman called a parity, and putting the two classes of tobacco upon an equality. He denied that Mr. Gladstone committed an error in this matter, for he did not establish any anomaly. What Mr. Gladstone said was that he would put these two kinds of raw material on the same footing by allowing a drawback on the unstripped leaf. Therefore, as things now stood, unstripped leaf was at some disadvantage as compared with stripped leaf. That was an anomaly which the right hon. Gentleman was going to correct by an additional drawback so that the anomaly which he pleaded as an excuse for the taxes was one that he had amply and adequately corrected. That only made the tax the more ridiculous. Mr. Gladstone's plan was perfectly clear and simple, but it had worked somewhat disadvantageously for this reason, and he begged the Committee to note the reason. When a manufacturer had taken the stalk out of the leaf he was entitled to take it back to the Customs and ask a rebate. But before giving him the drawback they compelled him to put the offal through an elaborate and troublesome process to test it for moisture, and in order to ascertain the proper amount of the drawback. That cost money, and the Customs allowed for that something like a penny on the amount of the duty. The manufacturers had said that was not an adequate allowance, and the right hon. Gentleman was going to correct that by an increased allowance. The importation of stalk hitherto had involved some loss to the manufacturer or importer, and it had also involved some loss to the Customs. By the proposal the Committee were now considering the right hon. Gentleman was going to increase the loss to the Customs, and yet what was it he told the House when he introduced the Budget? He made a statement in which he pointed out that the revenue gained by the importation of stalks. The revenue did nothing of the kind. The revenue never had gained by the importation of stalks. It had always lost from the importation of stalks. Who on earth would have supposed that from the statement of the right hon. Gentleman? He must have been aware that there was a drawback on stalks. Why did he tell the House that it was to the advantage of the revenue to encourage the importation of stalks? Hon. Members who called themselves Unionist free-traders understood this to be a revenue tax. It was nothing of the kind. It was a prohibitive tax. There was no duty on stalks if the manufacturer chose to bring them back to the Customs. Of course, all stalks were not brought back for the purposes of the rebate. There were some tobaccos in which the stalk was used. Was it the right hon. Gentleman's object to make the working men of the country smoke stalks instead of leaf tobacco? Not at all, and, therefore, the only ground on which he could hope for an increase of revenue from the importation of stalks did not exist. The right hon. Gentleman was absolutely misinformed on this matter. That remark was not made in order to say anything disagreeable about the right hon. Gentleman. They recognised the courtesy with which he had conducted the debate. They felt strongly on the question.

He wished for another reason to draw attention to the misapprehension under which the right hon. Gentleman had introduced the tax. It had a bearing on a wider question. If one so careful and painstaking as the right hon. Gentleman was thus easily misled by, he dare say, advisers whom he never saw but who had an interest in misleading him, what were poor free-trade Members on this or the other side of the House to hope for if they had to deal with a Chancellor of the Exchequer in a protectionist Government? What had happened in this case showed that the House was peculiarly unfitted for dealing with the technical details of a business which the bulk of the Members did not understand. The Prime Minister had very often said that the House was unfit to deal with ecclesiastical matters. He did not know how that might be, but he was quite certain that the House was unfit to deal with the technical details of a business of this kind. They got the most conflicting statements from persons who had a financial interest in the matter. How was the House to decide on those conflicting statements? How was the Chancellor of the Exchequer, or anybody else, to avoid being misled by statements which he had not the technical knowledge to check or correct? They might well tremble if the fortunes of trade were to be put to such risks as the tobacco trade had had to undergo during the past few weeks. It would give a terrible shock to the confidence of every Englishman in the trade he carried on. The object of taxing anything was as far as possible to throw the burden on the consumer. It was never intended by any Government, acting fairly, to put the burden so that it should fall on a particular section of the community. It was intended to put the burden on any section in such a way that that section would be able to transfer it to the rest of the community. How was that possible in connection with this tax? It would punish those who had existing stocks, but it afforded no prospect of revenue for the future. It was not a continuing tax. It was a tax which would disappear when the existing stock was taken out of bond. From the point of view of revenue this was not a continuing tax. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman would devote further attention as to what free-trade objects were, and he would see that this tax was useless for the purposes of revenue, and unjust to a very deserving class of traders.

*MR. DUKE (Plymouth) said that a remarkable circumstance of this debate was the opportune way in which hon. Gentlemen opposite had discovered a case of corrupt misconduct due to what they called protection. The debate had been of a progressive character. The hon. Member for Monmouth had pointed to the large increase in the amount of leaf tobacco imported relative to stripped, and thought that that required considerable explanation. The hon. Member for Oldham said that the facts disclosed amounted to a great public scandal, but that he made no charge against Mr. Gallaher. Now, his hon. and learned friend who had just sat down had denounced Mr. Gallaher as the corrupt author of a protective duty.

MR. ROBSON said he must protest against the meaning which his hon. and learned friend put upon his words. He did not say that Mr. Gallaher was the corrupt source of a protective duty. The expression he used was that all protectionist taxes were likely to come from a corrupt source.

* MR. DUKE said he was in the recollection of the Committee. He did not know whether his hon. and learned friend's enthusiasm had carried him beyond what he intended to say, but when he was challenged from the Ministerial Benches as to whether he would repeat outside the House that direct imputation of corruption, he said he would not hesitate to repeat anywhere the charge he had made.

MR. ROBSON: Not that charge.

* MR. DUKE said that if this was not the hoped-for necessary case of corruption, what had they been spending the last three or four hours about? The progressive charge had reached its utmost development, and now his hon. and learned friend repudiated it as soon as he came to appreciate what it meant. It was said that Mr. Gallaher had given evidence with a corrupt object, and with a design to get a protective duty for his own benefit, and additional discredit had been fixed upon him by stating that he was a member of the Tariff Commission. Nobody in the House knew what evidence Mr. Gallaher had given except the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer had assured the Committee that Mr. Gallaher's evidence would have led not to the imposition of

this tax but to the rejection of the idea of a protective duty. [OPPOSITION cries of "Oh, oh."] That was the Chancellor of the Exchequer's statement, and the right hon. Gentleman spoke on his responsibility. He believed that hon. Members on that side of the House would accept the statement of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. It was said that Mr. Gallaher had perpetrated a concealment from the Committee that he was interested in the trade as between stripped and leaf tobacco and that he had done so corruptly for private gain. In what character did hon. Members suppose Mr. Gallaher had been examined as a witness. It was said, again, he had used his knowledge of the intentions of the Government for his personal profit. But the Chancellor of the Exchequer stated that Mr. Gallaher had imported less leaf tobacco in the early months of this year than he was wont to do. He ventured to say that when charges of this kind were, without an atom of evidence in fact, fixed upon men who had endeavoured to serve the public interest, the scandal did not lie with the men upon whom the charges had been imposed, but it lay elsewhere. When charges of this nature were put forward in the House of Commons with levity—charges which were exploded on the shortest possible examination of the facts—there was a distinct danger of political life in this country being lowered.

MR. CHARLES MCARTHUR (Liverpool Exchange) said he wished to support the appeal of his hon. friend the Member for North Bristol to the Chancellor of the Exchequer to make a concession to the holders of depreciated stocks of stripped tobacco. He agreed with every word that had been said by his hon. friend; and if some concession were not made the holders of these stocks would be subjected to something approaching confiscation, as their property would be practically unsaleable. He had an Amendment on the Paper to the effect that the proposal should not apply to any stocks held on 20th April; and he should be glad to know whether the Chancellor of the Exchequer would favourably consider a concession in that direction. If not, he would be compelled to vote for the Amendment.

MR. MUNRO FERGUSON (Leith Burghs) said that, in view of the interest taken in this branch of the Budget, he would ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer to consent to report Progress.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said he was anxious that the question should be disposed of to-night, as it would be generally seen that the uncertainty under which the trade laboured rendered the transaction of business difficult, if not impossible. If, however, hon. Gentlemen felt unable to finish the question to-night he would accept the Motion to report Progress. He hoped that his readiness to meet the wishes of the Committee in the matter would be recognised when the discussion was resumed. He would then deal with the points raised by his hon. friends.

Motion made, and Question, "That the Chairman do report Progress; and ask leave to sit again,"—(*Mr. Munro Ferguson*)—put, and agreed to.

Committee report Progress; to sit again upon Friday.

Adjourned at ten minutes after One o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Thursday, 23rd June, 1904.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

The LORD CHANCELLOR acquainted the House, That the Clerk of the Parliaments had laid upon the Table the Certificate from the Examiners that the Standing Orders applicable to the following Bill have been complied with :—Local Government Provisional Order (No. 4). The same was ordered to lie on the Table.

Tynemouth Gas Bill [H.L.]. Commons Amendments considered, and agreed to.

Birkdale Improvement Bill. Reported, with Amendments.

South Shields Gas Bill. Reported, with Amendments.

Lord Tredegar's Supplemental Estate Bill [H.L.]. Reported, with Amendments.

Scarisbrick Estate (Amendment) Bill [H.L.]. Reported, with an Amendment.

City of London (Central Criminal Court House) Bill. Brought from the Commons; read 1ª; and referred to the Examiners.

Lancashire Electric Power Bill [H.L.]. Returned from the Commons agreed to.

Barnard Castle Gas Bill [H.L.]; St. Bartholomew's Hospital Bill [H.L.]; Preston, Chorley, and Horwich Tramways Bill [H.L.]; Returned from the Commons agreed to, with Amendments. The said Amendments considered, and agreed to.

Midland Railway Bill. Returned from the Commons with the Amendments agreed to.

Govan Corporation Order Confirmation Bill [H.L.] (No. 110). A Bill to confirm a Provisional Order relating to the burgh of Govan.

Caledonian Railway Order Confirmation Bill [H.L.] (No. 111). A Bill to confirm a Provisional Order relating to the Caledonian Railway; And

Glasgow and South-Western Railway Order Confirmation Bill [H.L.] (No. 112). A Bill to confirm a Provisional Order relating to the Glasgow and South-Western Railway.—Were presented by the Lord Kintore (*E. Kintore*) (pursuant to the Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899, Sections 8 and 9); read 1ª; and to be printed.

Wishaw Corporation Order Confirmation Bill [H.L.] (No. 113). A Bill to confirm a Provisional Order relating to Wishaw Corporation; And

Airdrie Corporation Gas Order Bill [H.L.] (No. 114). A Bill to confirm a Provisional Order relating to Airdrie Corporation Gas.—Were presented by the Lord Kintore (*E. Kintore*); read 1ª; to be printed; and (pursuant to the Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899 (Section 7) deemed to have been read 2ª and reported from the Committee.

Hamilton Gas Order Confirmation Bill [H.L.]. A Bill to confirm a Provisional Order by the Secretary for Scotland under the Burgh Police (Scotland) Act, 1892, relating to the Hamilton Gas, was presented by the Lord Kintore (*E. Kintore*). Then it was moved, that the Order of the 14th of March last, "That no Bill originating in this House confirming any Provisional Order or Provisional Certificate shall be read a first time after Tuesday the 3rd of May next," be dispensed with in respect of the said Bill, and that the Bill be now read 1ª; agreed to; Bill read 1ª accordingly; to be printed; and referred to the Examiners. (No. 115.)

Education Board Provisional Order (Swansea) Bill; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 5) Bill; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 6) Bill; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 7) Bill; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 8) Bill; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 12) Bill; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 14) Bill; Local Government Provisional Order (No. 15) Bill; Local Government Provisional Orders (Gas) Bill; Gas Orders Confirmation (No. 2) Bill [H.L.]. House in Committee (according to Order). Bills reported without Amendment. Standing Committee negatived; and Bills to be read 3ª to-morrow.

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 5) Bill [H.L.]. House in Committee (according to Order). Amendments made.

An Asterisk (*) at the commencement of a Speech indicates revision by the Member.

Standing Committee negatived. The Report of Amendments to be received To-morrow.

Gas Orders Confirmation (No. 3) Bill [H.L.]. Read 3ª (according to Order), and passed, and sent to the Commons.

PETITIONS.

DECLARATION OF THE SOVEREIGN AGAINST TRANSUBSTANTIATION.

Petition against alteration of; of Dunfermline Protestant Defence Association; read, and ordered to lie on the Table.

SUPPLY OF ELECTRICITY BILL [H.L.].

Petitions against; of the South Metropolitan Gas Company; The Gas Light and Coke Company; The Commercial Gas Company. Read, and ordered to lie on the Table.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

TRADE REPORTS (ANNUAL SERIES).

No. 3188. Spain (Malaga);
No. 3189. Persia (Kermanshah);
No. 3190. China (Ningpo);
No. 3191. Brazil (Rio Grande do Sul);
No. 3192. Turkey (Beirut and the Coast of Syria);
No. 3193. Sweden (Stockholm and the Eastern Coast of Sweden).

COLONIES (ANNUAL).

No. 417. British Honduras (Report for 1903).

RATES OF DRAWBACK ON TOBACCO.

Reports, with minutes of evidence, of the Inter-Departmental Committee appointed by the Treasury to inquire into the rates of drawback on tobacco.

Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie on the Table.

SUPERANNUATION.

Treasury minute, dated 20th June, 1904, declaring that William Donelly, leading hand, Royal Laboratory, War Office, was appointed without a Civil Service certificate through inadvertence on the part of the head of his Department.

FINANCE ACCOUNTS.

Finance accounts of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, for the financial year 1903–1904, ended 31st March, 1904.

CIVIL LIST PENSIONS.

Return of all pensions granted during the year ended 31st March, 1904, and payable under the provisions of Section 9 (1) of the Civil List Act, 1901.

Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table.

LIGHT RAILWAYS BILL [H.L.].

[SECOND READING.]

Order of the day for the Second Reading read.

LORD WOLVERTON: My Lords, I need not trouble your Lordships at any length in moving the Second Reading of this Bill. It is the same measure which was read a second time and which passed through the Committee stage in your Lordships' House last session. Its object is to continue and amend the Light Railways Act, 1896, and to give the Board of Trade power to submit Orders to Parliament.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª."—(*Lord Wolverton.*)

THE ACTING CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEES (Lord BALFOUR OF BURLEIGH): My Lords, before the Second Reading of this Bill is agreed to I should like, as I shall have no chance in all probability of doing it in Committee, to suggest to the noble Lord who represents the Board of Trade that he should look carefully at the phraseology of Clause 2, which deals with the question of remitting an Order, if appealed against, to a Joint Committee of both Houses. I am not quite sure that that is the usual form. I believe each House claims to be complete master of its own procedure, and the practice is to provide that if any Member of either House chooses to move, it may be referred to a Joint Committee, or something to that effect. I only desire now to call attention to the matter, in order that the Board of Trade may carefully consider it before they take the Committee stage of the Bill.

LORD WOLVERTON: I may say, on behalf of the Board of Trade, that we shall be most happy to fall in with any suggestion that may be made by the Lord Chairman and we hope our draftsman will be able to produce a clause which will meet his views.

On Question, Bill read 2ª, and committed to a Committee of the Whole House on Tuesday next.

MERCHANT SHIPPING BILL [H.L.].

Moved, "That the House do go into Committee on the Bill."—(*Lord Wolverton.*)

*__THE EARL OF WEMYSS__: My Lords, before the House goes into Committee on this Bill, I ask permission to say a few words as I have several Amendments standing in my name on the Paper. When my attention was first called to this Bill, the object of which is to prescribe for certain classes of vessels certificated cooks, it appeared to me in the light of grandmotherly legislation, and my intention was to oppose the Bill rather than to attempt to amend it, because we may be certain that in due course we shall have the Government legislating to provide certificated cooks for hotels on land. But, be that as it may, my attention was called to the matter by the Shipowners' Parliamentary Committee. They told me there would be no difficuly whatever in testing the qualifications of cooks, and that there were some means already of doing so. I at first thought that dinners at my noble friend's hospitable house in St. James' Place at the ratepayers' or public expense would have to be arranged in order to test their skill, but that seems to be unnecessary. Sailors, like landsmen, are fond of a good dinner, and do not care to go on vessels where there is not an efficient cook. I have placed several Amendments—they are the Amendments of the Shipowners' Parliamentary Committee, not my own—on the Paper; but there were, besides these, three Amendments handed to me which I did not put down, because I knew the Board of Trade would be certain to oppose them. One of the three Amendments required inspection of the food within twenty-four hours, and that if the food was not inspected within that time the ship should not be detained; the second was that if the decision of the inspector should be thought doubtful, there should be an appeal to the public medical officer; and the third was that if the inspection went against the Board of Trade, the medical officer deciding that the food was good, then the Board of Trade were to pay the expenses of the appeal. Knowing that the Board of Trade would be certain to oppose these Amendments I did not put them down, but it will, of course, be open to any other noble Lord to move them at a later stage. I hope, however, that the Amendments which are on the Paper standing in my name will meet with favour from my noble friend Lord Wolverton and the Board of Trade, for they are by no means hostile to the Bill.

On Question, Motion agreed to.

House in Committee (according to order).

Clause 1.

*__LORD ELLENBOROUGH__ said the effect of the Amendment standing in his name to this clause was to bring the Act into operation a year sooner, so far as cooks were concerned. The Committee on whose Report the Bill was based was called into existence in 1902. Yet it was not until 1908 that anything was to happen which would affect the comfort of the merchant seaman. Six years was a large proportion of the seagoing life of a man before the mast. He looked upon this delay as unnecessary, as existing cooks would, he thought, be sufficiently taken care of if, in addition to the time they had already served, they were given two years and a half in which to complete their two years qualifying service. Besides this, they could always protect themselves by passing the Board of Trade examination if they were competent to do so. He did not suppose that the necessary course of tuition would take more than three months. In an existing class for nautical cookery, twenty-four lessons had hitherto been considered sufficient. There ought to be no unnecessary delay in establishing the schools and in drawing up a curriculum. If, at the end of 1906, there were not a sufficient number of certificated cooks, paragraph 5 of Clause 1 of this Bill enabled the Board of Trade to dispense with the requirements of this section whenever they might think it desirable, so that the Board would have power to deal with any cases of hardship that might arise. He begged to move the Amendment to Clause 1 that stood in his name.

Amendment moved—

> "In page 1, lines 5 and 6, to leave out the words 'nineteen hundred and seven,' and to insert the words 'nineteen hundred and six.'"—(*Lord Ellenborough.*)

LORD WOLVERTON: His Majesty's Government is unable to accept the Amendment moved by the noble Lord. I am assured by the Board of Trade that there will be a great many details to be settled, and that they will be unable to prepare and arrange matters before the date mentioned. I hope, therefore, the noble Lord will not press his Amendment.

*LORD ELLENBOROUGH said that the noble Lord had not by any means convinced him. He thought two and a half years would be ample time in which to make these arrangements. However after the wish which the noble Lord had expressed he withdrew the Amendment.

Amendment, by leave of the House, withdrawn.

*THE EARL OF WEMYSS said that the first sub-section of Clause 1 provided that—

> "After the 31st day of December, 1907, every British foreign-going ship of 1,000 tons and upwards gross registered tonnage, when going to sea from any place in the United Kingdom, shall be provided with a duly certificated cook."

He moved to leave out from this sub-section all words from "1907" and to insert the words in his Amendment. He had reason to believe that the Government would oppose this Amendment, but if they did he hoped they would accept the next one which substituted the word "net" for the word "gross."

Amendment moved—

> "In page 1, line 6, to leave out from the word 'seven,' to the end of the sub-section, and to insert the words 'the Board of Trade may, by regulations made under this Act, prescribe that a duly certificated cook shall be provided to such British foreign-going ships of 1,000 tons and upwards net registered tonnage, and upon such voyages from any place in the United Kingdom, as the Board of Trade may determine, and after 31st day of December, one thousand nine hundred and seven, a duly certificated cook shall be provided accordingly.'"—(*The Earl of Wemyss.*)

LORD WOLVERTON: I do not think the noble Earl can attach very much importance to this Amendment and I am afraid I cannot accept it. We think it best to adhere to the recommendation of the Departmental Committee with regard to ships of 1,000 tons gross. I may tell the noble Earl that with regard to the other Amendments standing in his name he will find me in a more favourable frame of mind.

Amendment, by leave of the House, withdrawn.

*THE EARL OF WEMYSS said that having withdrawn the last Amendment he hoped his noble friend as a happy exchange would assent to the next one, to substitute the word "net" for the word "gross" in the first sub-section of Clause 1, which he had already read to the House. In many vessels sailors provided their own food and cooked it. If the Amendment was adopted, there would be less Government interference, and it would be much better.

Amendment moved—

> "In page 1, line 7, to leave out the word 'gross' and to insert the word 'net.'"—(*The Earl of Wemyss.*)

LORD WOLVERTON: I am afraid I cannot accept this Amendment. It would make it apply to very much larger ships, which is not quite the view of the Board of Trade.

Amendment, by leave of the House, withdrawn.

*THE EARL OF WEMYSS explained that Sub-section 3 of Clause 1 provided that—

> "The cook shall be a seafaring man and shall be rated in the ship's articles as ship's cook."

He moved to delete the words "shall be a seafaring man, and."

Amendment moved—

"In page 1, line 17, to leave out the words 'shall be a seafaring man and.'"—(*The Earl of Wemyss.*)

*Lord **MUSKERRY** called attention to the fact that if the words "shall be a seafaring man" were left in the Bill, they would have the very extraordinary position of the cook being the only one on board ship who was required to be a seafaring man. Under the Merchant Shipping Act, persons who signed articles on board a ship—the stewardess, the assistant stewardess, the cook's boy, in fact everybody—were all sailors in the eyes of the law save and except the captain and any apprentices who might be on board. It would be very hard to define exactly what a seafaring man was, and it might hereafter be made a weapon by agitators.

Lord **WOLVERTON**: I think it is most reasonable that this question should be raised, and if pressed in any way I shall be prepared to accept the Amendment, in which case perhaps I might get the consent of my two noble friends to a clause in these terms, that, instead of the words "seafaring man," these words should be inserted, "shall be able to prove six months service at sea in any capacity." If that will meet the views of my noble friends, I am prepared to accept the Amendment.

*Lord **MUSKERRY** feared that would not meet the case. There were only a limited number of cooks, and cooks' duties were not concerned with any part of the vessel. It was his culinary skill which the cook was required to prove, and if the words which the noble Lord who represented the Board of Trade had read out were inserted they would prevent shipowners in any emergency shipping qualified cooks on shore who had not been six months at sea. He reminded their Lordships that there were a good many men, sailors, who on joining their ships after some time ashore got sick on going to sea, and that there were a large number of people who did not know one end of the vessel from the other, who never got seasick.

*Lord **AVEBURY** hoped his noble friend who represented the Board of Trade would accept the Amendment. In the first place, he had not stated what constituted a seafaring man. These words might give rise to very awkward questions. The alternative which the noble Lord had suggested was also open to serious objection, because such a provision would prevent anyone from being employed as a cook who had not been six months at sea.

Lord **HENEAGE** inquired if the words "seafaring man" appeared in any Act of Parliament. He thought it was an entirely new phrase, and, therefore, he objected to it altogether. The suggested alternative could be discussed on its own merits.

*The **SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS** (The Marquess of Lansdowne): My noble friend beside me (Lord Wolverton) has, as I understand, given up the words "seafaring man," and has proposed an alternative formula which would prevent this extremely important office on board ship from being handed to a person who was so unfamiliar with the sea that during the earlier period of the cruise he probably would not be able to administer much to the comfort of the people on board.

Lord **HENEAGE** said he understood that the noble Lord had consented to leave out the words "seafaring man" if his alternative suggestion was accepted. He thought that was part of the bargain.

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

Lord **WOLVERTON**: I beg to give notice that I shall move to include, at a subsequent stage, the words that I read to the House, viz., "shall be able to prove six months service at sea in any capacity."

*The Earl of **WEMYSS** said his next Amendment was to the same sub-section, and was to add after the word "cook" the words "or cook and steward."

Amendment moved—

"In page 1, line 18, after the word 'cook,' to insert the words 'or cook and steward.'"—(*The Earl of Wemyss.*)

LORD WOLVERTON: This is a very useful suggestion, and I am quite prepared to accept the Amendment.

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

*LORD MUSKERRY said that, as the Bill stood at present, though a certificate was granted to the cook the Board of Trade possessed no power of taking that certificate away if the cook proved incompetent or misbehaved himself. He thought it was desirable, if the Bill was to work successfully, that this provision should be inserted.

Amendment moved—

"In page 1, line 21, after '1894,' to insert as new sub-sections:

'(4) Should a charge of negligence, misconduct, or incompetency against a ship's cook be made in writing by the master of the ship to a superintendent of a mercantile marine office, this charge shall forthwith be inquired into by the superintendent.

'(5) Should the superintendent, after referring to the official log of the ship and hearing the evidence of competent witnesses from amongst the ship's crew, consider the charge substantiated, he shall submit the matter to the Board of Trade, who are thereupon empowered to cancel or suspend the certificate of the said cook for so long a period as may be deemed requisite.' "—(*Lord Muskerry.*)

LORD WOLVERTON: I have failed to persuade the Board of Trade that there is any necessity for the two sub-sections which my noble friend has moved. There is no difficulty whatever, because at the present moment the master of a ship has complete power over the crew, and would, I presume, have equal power over the cook. Again, there is no necessity for revising the existing law, which the Board of Trade maintain is sufficient. The master at the present moment has very large powers.

*LORD MUSKERRY said the shipmaster ought to have very large powers, and if he was properly supported by the Board of Trade he would have them, but, as a matter of fact, he was not supported and was consequently not able to exercise them.

Amendment, by leave of the House, withdrawn.

*THE EARL OF WEMYSS moved, in the sub-section providing a fine for offenders, that after the words "if the requirements of this section are not complied with in the case of any ship, the master or owner of the ship shall, if those requirements have not been dispensed with under this section," there should be inserted the words, "and there is no sufficient reason for the failure to comply with the requirements." The Amendment was so reasonable that he had no doubt it would be agreed to. It was a security to the shipowner.

Amendment moved—

"In page 1, line 28, after the word 'section,' to insert the words 'and there is no sufficient reason for the failure to comply with the requirements.' "—(*The Earl of Wemyss.*)

LORD WOLVERTON: I am happy to be able, on behalf of the Board of Trade, to accept that Amendment.

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

Clause 1, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 2.

*THE EARL OF WEMYSS explained that this clause provided that rules made by the Board of Trade under Section 206 of the Merchant Shipping Act, 1894, which related to the inspection of provisions and water, in the case of certain ships might extend the application of all or any of the provisions of that section to any foreign-going British ships the duration of whose voyage, in the opinion of the Board of Trade, was likely to exceed twenty-one days. He begged to move the substitution of "thirty days" for "twenty-one days." The shipping interest would greatly prefer that, and it would take in a great many more men who found their own food and cooked it.

Amendment moved—

"In page 2, line 7, to leave out the word 'twenty-one,' and to insert the word 'thirty.' "—(*The Earl of Wemyss.*)

LORD WOLVERTON: I am prepared to accept this Amendment and also the Amendment to Clause 4 standing in the name of the noble Earl.

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

*LORD ELLENBOROUGH said the wording of his next Amendment was chiefly based on that of Clauses 298 and 299 of the Merchant Shipping Act of 1894, which referred to the provisioning of emigrants. Hitherto a scale of provisions, wrongly called the Board of Trade scale, had generally been inserted in the articles signed by the seamen. This scale was sometimes called the "pound and pint" scale. He looked upon it as a barbarous and mediæval scale, more suited to the 16th than to the 20th century. He called it barbarous because he thought that a ration which contained no substitutes for vegetables deserved that name, and was quite out of date. The scale was also deficient in water. He had himself often been on a gallon a day, and had found it too little when in the tropics. Much of it was deducted for cooking and did not directly reach the seaman. Under the so-called, or false, Board of Trade scale the seaman only received three-quarters of a gallon. With the exception of tea, coffee, and half a pound of rice, which was issued once a week, this old scale looked as if it might have been drawn up in the time of Henry VIII. It appeared, however, to have reached its present form in 1844. Their Lordships were well aware of the improvements that had been made in packing and preserving provisions during the last sixty years, yet the merchant seaman, who wanted them most, derived no benefit from them when on this scale. In most vessels, however, he was glad to say that a much better ration was actually issued. The scale he referred to was chiefly used as a punishment, and was seldom given except when men complained of the provisions they received. Now it was not a crime for a seaman to complain of the food that was served out to him. In the Royal Navy there were regulations as to the proper manner of making such complaints. When substantiated they were, as far as possible, remedied. He did not think that a captain should have the power of reducing a man to three-quarters of a gallon of water and of issuing a ration unsuited to health as a punishment. He wished to prevent a captain or an owner from issuing anything worse than the real Board of Trade scale to a crew on a long voyage. There was also a third scale called the "Shipping Federation" scale, which was meeting with some support from shipowners. One of his reasons for recommending the Board of Trade scale in preference to the Shipping Federation scale was that the strong Committee, on whose Report this Bill was based, had the Shipping Federation scale and several other scales before them when they decided on the Board of Trade scale. There was more variety in it, which was an advantage on a long voyage, when the feeding became very monotonous. He was aware that the Board of Trade had a very difficult part to play. A perpetual triangular duel was always going on between the shipowners, as represented by the Shipping Federation, the officers as represented by the Merchant Service Guild, and the seamen who were in a great measure represented by the Seamen's and Firemen's Union. These three bodies were in agreement on one point. They all attacked the Board of Trade for not taking their side. He had drawn up these Amendments without consulting any of the rival associations referred to. Since doing so, however, he had received letters from the Seamen's and Firemen's Unions of London and Cardiff supporting this Amendment. As the Cardiff letter was a short one, he would read it to their Lordships—

> "I am instructed by the committee to forward the following resolution, unanimously adopted at a mass meeting last night:—'That this meeting of seafaring men of the port of Cardiff tender to Lord Ellenborough their thanks for his kind interest and influence on behalf of seafarers, and trust that he will press his Amendment to the Merchant Shipping Bill to make the food scale compulsory.' We believe the shipowners generally will not adopt the recommendations of the Committee who inquired into the matter, voluntarily."

He hoped that the support this union was giving to his Amendment would not lead to a corresponding display of hostility from the two other bodies he had mentioned. He had purposely made the exemption clauses as wide as possible, so as not to collide with the real interests of shipowners. In many cases the interests of the captains differed from those of the men, because the owners, in order to save themselves trouble, frequently made arrangements for the captain to supply the men with provisions at so much a head. This in many cases led to the men getting just about enough to keep themselves alive. The difference in cost between a good ration and a bad ration was infinitesimal in comparison with the difference in wages given to seamen at various times and in different ports. He thought the Board of Trade were too timid. One of the most useful and popular things ever done was to make a ration of lime juice and sugar compulsory when on long voyages. There was certainly no demand for a repeal of the Lime Juice Act. Let the Board of Trade take courage and insist on the sham Board of Trade scale being abolished and the real scale substituted for it. No one would ever wish to go back to the "pound and pint" scale.

Amendment moved—

"In page 2, line 8, to insert the following subsections:—

'(1.) After the 31st of December, 1906, the master of every ship that comes under the previous clauses of this Act, shall, during the voyage, including the time of detention at any place before the termination thereof, issue to each seaman an allowance of four quarts of pure water, and sweet and wholesome provisions of good quality in accordance with the dietary scale contained in the appendix to the Report of the Mercantile Marine Committee made on the 7th of May, 1903, which shall have effect as if they were contained in this section.

'(2.) The Board of Trade may, by notice published in the London Gazette, add to the dietary scale in the said appendix, any dietary scale which in their opinion contains in the whole the same amount of wholesome nutriment as the scale in that appendix, and any dietary scale so added, inclusive of any regulations relating thereto, shall have effect as if they were contained in the said appendix, as an alternative of the dietary scale therein contained.

'(3.) If any requirement of this section is not complied with in the case of any ship coming under the operation of this Act, the master or owner of the ship shall, for each offence, be liable to a fine not exceeding £50.

'(4.) The Board of Trade, if satisfied that the food provided on board the ships belonging to certain companies or owners, or on board single ships, is superior to the food required by this part of this Act, may, at any time, exempt for twelve months, or for a less period, all ships belonging to such companies or owners, and single ships also, from any requirement of this part of this Act with respect to food in such manner and upon such conditions as the Board think fit.'"—(*Lord Ellenborough.*)

LORD WOLVERTON: The noble Lord has raised a very important question and one which has the serious attention of the Board of Trade. I would point

out that shipowners already complain of the way they are handicapped by having to comply with many regulations which are not imposed on their foreign competitors. The attitude of the Board of Trade is at present towards persuasion rather than compulsion. The question is obviously of such great importance that it will be most carefully watched by the Board of Trade, and if future experience shows that any considerable proportion of shipowners persist in adhering to the old scale the matter must be reconsidered by the Board of Trade. I hope my noble friend will be satisfied with that assurance and not insist on his Amendment.

*LORD MUSKERRY said the Shipping Federation scale was a most excellent scale and better than the Board of Trade scale.

*LORD ELLENBOROUGH said he would much rather have the Shipping Federation scale made compulsory than that the "pound and pint" scale should be made compulsory. In many cases shipowners, to save trouble, contracted with the captains of vessels to supply the men at so much a head, and, therefore, for that reason, the interests of the captains were very often different from those of the seamen. As, however, there was no chance of his securing a majority in favour of his Amendment, he would withdraw it, but he hoped to see it made law in some form or other before many years had passed.

Amendment, by leave of the House, withdrawn.

Clause 2, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 3.

*LORD ELLENBOROUGH explained that the next Amendment standing in his name, if agreed to, would have the effect of bringing into play that part of the Bill which dealt with foreigners unable to understand English, two years sooner than was contemplated by the Bill. Foreigners who did not understand enough English to be able to go to sea without endangering their shipmates, had no vested rights on board our merchant vessels, no established interests that need be taken into consideration. They should be eliminated as soon as possible. Surely eighteen months notice of this alteration in the law was sufficient for British shipowners and ship agents. He could see no reason why the whole of this Bill should come into operation on the same day. Its clauses were quite independent of one another. Unnecessary delay meant sacrificing the interests of seamen to an unnecessary symmetry.

Amendment moved—

"In page 2, line 9, to leave out the words 'nineteen hundred and seven,' and to insert the words 'nineteen hundred and five.'"—(*Lord Ellenborough.*)

LORD WOLVERTON: I am afraid I am unable to accept this Amendment. In the opinion of the Board of Trade, the period is not long enough, and the Amendment is on all fours with one which has already been before the House.

*LORD ELLENBOROUGH could not follow the reason given by the noble Lord for declining to accept the Amendment. He thought eighteen months ample notice to give that foreigners who could not understand English should not be shipped. At the same time he did not think it was any use pressing the Amendment, and he withdrew it.

*LORD MUSKERRY pointed out that the Liverpool Shipowners' Association, in their report on this Bill, had stated that it would be useful to have foreign-speaking seamen. For instance, a Russian-speaking seaman could, they said, communicate with a Russian dockmaster and a Russian pilot. Then they asked why should he also know English? But how was a foreigner to communicate with the officers of the ship if he did not know English? He (Lord Muskerry) contended that it was absolutely necessary for the proper protection of life at sea that every man on board an English vessel should speak the English language. He was very sorry the noble Lord did not press his Amendment.

Amendment, by leave of the House, withdrawn.

Clause 3 agreed to.

Clause 4.

*The EARL OF WEMYSS moved, in the section providing for the suspension of discharge in case of the seamen wilfully refusing to join, that the words "or through misconduct" should be inserted after the word "wilfully."

Amendment moved—

"In page 2, line 19, after the word 'wilfully' to insert the words 'or through misconduct.'"—(*The Earl of Wemyss.*)

LORD WOLVERTON: I accept the Amendment.

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

Clause 4, as amended, agreed to.

Remaining clause agreed to, and Bill reported with Amendments to the House.

Bill re-committed to the Standing Committee, and to be printed, as amended. (No. 116.)

RESERVE FORCES BILL [H.L.]

House in Committee (according to order).

Clause 1 agreed to.

Clause 2.

LORD MONKSWELL in moving the first of his Amendments to Clause 2, said he wished to point out the very serious change that the clause introduced into the conditions of service in the Army. What Clause 2 did was to take away absolutely the power that the Reservist now possessed of saying whether he would or would not consent to serve in any other arm or branch of the service than that in which he had enlisted and served with the colours. It was a very serious thing to deprive Reservists of that right, and in the present condition of recruiting it was a very unwise measure, unless it was absolutely necessary for military efficiency. Service in the various branches of the Army differed very greatly in its conditions. It differed also in pay. He did not doubt for a moment that it would be convenient to the War Office to deprive the Reservist of any voice as to what branch of the Army he was to serve in, but a good many things might be convenient for the War Office which, under a voluntary system of enlistment, could not possibly be allowed. No doubt conscription itself would be very convenient for the War Office.

THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (The Earl of DONOUGHMORE): Oh, no!

LORD MONKSWELL said he was glad to hear the noble Earl deny that. He knew there were a good many people who contended that it would be convenient, and he was delighted to have got that answer from the noble Earl. If the noble Earl told him that it was absolutely necessary, in the interests of the service, that the War Office should have the power of deciding for themselves, without reference to the wishes of the Reservist, in what branch of the Army he should be placed, he would suggest that the War Office should seriously consider what was the least amount of interference with the liberty of the Reservist that they could possibly do with. Under the proposal in the Bill the War Office could do anything. They could make a Reservist in the cavalry serve in the infantry, and an infantry Reservist serve in the cavalry. The noble Earl had, on behalf of the War Office, disclaimed any such intention. If that was so, why did they take powers greater than those they intended to exercise—powers that were almost certain to be very injurious to recruiting? There were an enormous number of men who enlisted in the cavalry because they were fond of horses, and there was very little difficulty generally in getting cavalry recruits; but if cavalry recruits knew that under this new system they might be compelled, if called out as Reservists, to serve in any branch that the War Office might think proper, they would think twice before enlisting. There were, on the other hand, many who enlisted as foot soldiers who would not enlist in a mounted branch. The noble Earl had said that the great object of the War Office was to prevent delay. If that was their object, it appeared to him, having regard to Clause 1, that they were straining at a gnat and swallowing a camel, because in Clause 1 it was suggested that Reservists might be entitled to reside in Australia.

THE EARL OF DONOUGHMORE: Australia is especially exempted. The self-governing Colonies mentioned in the Bill are exempted from the operation of Clause 1.

LORD MONKSWELL said that was so as regarded direct enlistment into the Reserve. But under Clause 1 regulations might be made which permitted a Reservist to live in Australia.

THE EARL OF DONOUGHMORE: I mistook the noble Lord's point. I beg his pardon.

LORD MONKSWELL said that obviously it took much less time to get a man's consent in England than to bring him back from Australia. What he asked was that the War Office should not put any conditions that were not absolutely necessary in the way of recruiting, and that they should only ask for the powers they intended to exercise.

Amendment moved—

"In page 2, line 8, after the word 'repealed' to insert the words 'provided that no cavalry Reservist shall, without his consent, be appointed or transferred to any unmounted branch of the service except the Remount Department, and that no Reservist in any unmounted branch of the service shall, without his consent, be appointed or transferred to any mounted branch of the service.'"—(*Lord Monkswell.*)

THE EARL OF DONOUGHMORE said that as the law at present stood the War Office could, if they liked, "attach" a cavalry Reservist to an infantry battation. They did not do it more than they could help, and it was obvious that it was a very objectionable thing to have to do, though it was done on several occasions during the late war. As regarded the Amendment, he could assure the noble Lord that it was not a new proposal. Indeed, the Amendment the noble Lord had put down was drafted in the War Office and proposed to be inserted in the Bill some six or eight months ago, and was only cut out because they found it would be absolutely unworkable in practice. In theory he confessed he thought it excellent, but in practice it would be unworkable for this reason, that they could not define what was a mounted and what was an unmounted branch. The difficulty occurred, for instance, in the Royal Field Artillery, the Army Service Corps, the Army Veterinary Department, and in other branches where some of the men were mounted and some unmounted; and if the Amendment were adopted it would lead to endless confusion. Again, it might even be held, if the Amendment was incorporated in the Bill, that it would be illegal to use an infantry Reservist in a mounted infantry unit, which, of course, was very far from the object his noble friend had in view. He had a number of other examples, all of which went to show that, excellent as was the intention of the noble Lord, the Amendment would be unworkable. The prime object in re-employment of a cavalry Reservist was to use him as a cavalryman, but cavalry Reservists were only human. On joining the Reserve they very often put on flesh, and when they came back on mobilisation were too fat to ride, and it was necessary to use them for some unmounted work. The military authorities could, of course, primarily use them in the Remount Department, but there were other departments, such as the Veterinary Department, in which they would be very useful; but he was afraid that if the Amendment was accepted the services of the fat cavalry Reservist would be lost to the nation. What was aimed at in this Bill was to give more elasticity. If a man was fitted to serve in any particular branch he did not think any harm would be done by asking him to serve in that branch. As regarded the point referred to of different branches getting different pay, he was informed that provision could be made in the pay warrant that no man should suffer pecuniarily, if, for national interests, he should be used in a different regiment. He hoped the Amendment would not be pressed.

LORD MONKSWELL said he would not press the Amendment after what the noble Earl had said. He thought, however, that Clause 2 would have such a disastrous effect on recruiting that if he could get any support he would divide the House against it.

Amendment, by leave of the House, withdrawn.

LORD MONKSWELL moved to omit the words "without his consent." He contended that a man who was now enlisted should not have his *status* in any way interfered with. He had enlisted under certain terms, and it was clearly unjust that those terms should be altered. The effect of retaining these words would be that while a man was serving with the colours pressure would be brought to get him to consent to be transferred.

Amendment moved—

"In page 2, line 9, to leave out the words 'without his consent.'"—(*Lord Monkswell.*)

THE EARL OF DONOUGHMORE did not quite see the practical use of the Amendment. If they deleted the words "without his consent," it was still open to him to give his consent, and he would be no better off in the event of pressure being brought upon him. He did not think it was necessary to assume that pressure would be brought. After all, they were not legislating for the present but for the future, and he did not think that commanding officers, with a view to some future eventuality, were going to join in a great plot to try and obtain this consent from men when they were joining the Reserve.

LORD HENEAGE thought the discussion had taken place on a wrong issue. The real question was not whether an infantryman should be compelled to serve in a cavalry regiment, or *vice versa*, but whether any man who had enlisted in the Army and afterwards gone into the Reserve should be compelled to serve in any other arm or branch of the service than that in which he originally enlisted. As the law now stood, no man without his consent could be compelled, on rejoining the standard, to serve in any other branch than that in which he served originally. The Amendment which had just been withdrawn would not have met the case, because even if it had been inserted in the Bill, an artilleryman might still be called upon to serve as a cavalryman or infantryman, and an engineer might be called upon to serve in any other branch of the service. He thought it was distinctly unfair that men who had joined a scientific corps should be transferred to any other branch, the pay of which was less and the drill of which they probably did not know. The noble Earl the Under-Secretary had said, fairly enough, that nobody would wish to put a man into a regiment in which he did not wish to serve. But let them remember what took place only three or four years ago in the excitement of mobilisation. Chief officers of districts did not know who the men were, and in the hurry men might be put into branches of the service which it would be extremely unfair to place them in. He objected to the clause altogether. He believed it was an unfair and mischievous alteration of the law, and one which would do a great deal to injure recruiting and to render the service extremely unpopular. At the present moment there was difficulty in getting recruits, and he did not want to see a clause pass which would make recruiting worse and which was unfair to the old soldier.

*The Marquess of LANSDOWNE: The noble Lord's observations were, I understand, directed to showing that the whole clause was bad, and he would like it expunged from the Bill. But I thought the point we were discussing was the particular Amendment moved by Lord Monkswell, to strike out the words "without his consent" from the penultimate line of the clause. The presence of the words in that part of the clause seems to me to be harmless and easily accounted for. We are making a change in the law, a change which is desirable in order to give the War Office an amount of freedom in posting these Reservists which they do not at present possess, and it is very properly provided that this change shall not apply to men who are now serving. That seems to me to be a necessary exception, and the exception to that again is that in cases where men now serving give their consent to transfer of the sort contemplated by the clause, the transfer may take place. That seems to be a common-sense and business-like arrangement.

Lord MONKSWELL said his point was that if the words "without his consent" were left in, the military authorities would be able to ask a soldier whether he would or would not contract himself out of the power he possessed. He wanted to prevent that.

*The Marquess of LANSDOWNE: Where does the noble Lord find words suggestive of the idea that while a man is serving, and before the time comes for him to go to the Reserve, the military authorities are to be in a position to coerce him into contracting himself out of his right? That seems to me to be a far-fetched interpretation.

The Earl of DONOUGHMORE said that the time at which men would be asked for their consent would be when they were called up for mobilisation.

Lord MONKSWELL thought it would be better to leave the law exactly as it was rather than introduce words which might be a source of difficulty.

The Marquess of RIPON agreed with his noble friend Lord Monkswell on this point. It seemed to him very important not to make any change in regard to the term of service of men who had actually entered the Army. Even the insertion of the words "without his consent" did make a change in the terms under which the men were at present serving, and he suggested to the Government that it would be safer not to change the existing law.

*The Marquess of LANSDOWNE: Perhaps noble Lords opposite will allow us to consider the matter between now and the time when the Bill comes up again. There may be an inwardness about the words which we do not quite understand.

Amendment, by leave of the House, withdrawn.

Lord MONKSWELL then moved to leave out the words "belonging to the Army Reserve" and to insert "enlisted." He believed the noble Earl the Under-Secretary was prepared to accept that Amendment.

Amendment moved—

"In page 2, line 10, to leave out the words 'belonging to the Army Reserve' and to insert the word 'enlisted.'"—(*Lord Monkswell.*)

THE EARL OF DONOUGHMORE was not prepared to accept the Amendment. He said it was the old, old story that the War Office were not to be allowed to do anything for a number of years. It was simply putting off the time. He would much prefer that the clause should remain as it was.

LORD MONKSWELL said it appeared to him to be a gross breach of faith to tell a man who had served a few years with the colours that he would be transferred to the Reserve under totally different conditions from those which he understood when he enlisted. He would certainly divide the House if the noble Earl did not accept the Amendment.

THE EARL OF DONOUGHMORE said he would consider the point if the noble Earl would withdraw his Amendment.

LORD MONKSWELL withdrew the Amendment, on the understanding that the matter would be considered.

Amendment, by leave of the House, withdrawn.

LORD HENEAGE moved to delete Clause 2. He did so for the reasons he had already given.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 2, to leave out Clause 2."—(*Lord Heneage.*)

THE EARL OF DONOUGHMORE said the War Office could already do everything that they were now asking power to do. They could do it by "attaching" men, and they did it repeatedly during the war. He thought it better, however, that a thing of this sort, which was obviously in the interests of the public, should be allowed to be done legally rather than by a legal fiction.

On Question, Amendment negatived.

Bill reported, without Amendment, and re-committed to the Standing Committee.

RE-VACCINATION BILL [H.L.].

House in Committee (according to order).

THE DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND moved to leave out the Preamble of the Bill, which he explained had got in by mistake.

Moved, "To leave out the Preamble."—(*The Duke of Northumberland.*)

On Question, Preamble omitted.

Bill re-committed to the Standing Committee; and to be printed as amended. (No. 117.)

THE MARQUESS OF RIPON: I should like to ask the noble Marquess what are the intentions of His Majesty's Government with regard to this Bill. I am not opposed to the Bill personally. We understood that it was to be allowed to be read a second time, but was to go no further. It has now passed through Committee. I do not object, but it seems to me to be inconsistent with the statement made by the Foreign Secretary when the Bill was read a second time, and I should like, therefore, to have some information as to what is the intention of the Government with regard to the future course of the Bill.

*THE MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE: My statement the other evening had no reference to the passage of the Bill through your Lordships' House. I expressed the opinion, to which I adhere, that the Bill stands no chance whatever of becoming law during the present session of Parliament. That was what I ventured to indicate.

THE DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND: I certainly understood what has just been stated by the noble Marquess, that this Bill could not become law this session; but I did not understand that I was not to proceed with any further stage in this House.

THE MILITIA AND VOLUNTEERS.

LORD NEWTON, who had given notice "To call attention to the Report of the Royal Commission on the Militia and

Volunteers," said: Since arriving in the House I have received an intimation from the Duke of Norfolk that he is unable to be present. As it seems to me most desirable that the noble Duke should be present to defend his Report in person, I have put down my Motion for Monday, as I understand that will better suit the convenience of the House. There are a number of noble Lords who desire to speak on it.

*THE MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE: I do not know that we can accept the doctrine that attention is never to be drawn to a Report of a Committee or Commission unless the Chairman of that Committee or Commission is present to defend it. That strikes me as rather an unusual view. But, of course, if the noble Lord desires to put off his Motion, that is another thing.

MARRIED WOMEN'S PROPERTY ACT (1882) AMENDMENT BILL [H.L.].

NAVAL AND MILITARY MEDALS BILL [H.L.].

Read 3ª (according to order), and passed, and sent to the Commons.

House adjourned at a quarter before Six o'clock, till To-morrow, half-past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Thursday, 23rd June, 1904.

The House met at Two of the Clock.

UNOPPOSED PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

PRIVATE BILLS [LORDS] (STANDING ORDERS NOT PREVIOUSLY INQUIRED INTO COMPLIED WITH).

Mr. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in the case of the following Bill, originating in the Lords, and referred on the First Reading thereof, the Standing Orders not previously inquired into, and which are applicable thereto, have been complied with, viz.:—Liverpool and Wigan Churches Bill [Lords].

Lord Newton.

Ordered, That the Bill be read a second time.

Preston, Chorley, and Horwich Tramways Bill [Lords]. Read the third time, and passed, with Amendments.

Leicestershire and Warwickshire Electric Power Bill [Lords]. As amended, considered; to be read the third time.

Leith Corporation Tramways Order Confirmation Bill. Ordered, That the Select Committee on the Leith Corporation Tramways Order Confirmation Bill do consist of three Members, to be nominated by the Committee of Selection, to be joined with a Committee of the Lords. Ordered, That a Message be sent to the Lords to acquaint them therewith, and to request that they will be pleased to appoint an equal number of Lords to be joined with the Members of this House.—(*Mr. Caldwell.*)

MESSAGE FROM THE LORDS.

That they have agreed to—South-Western and Isle of White Junction Railway (Extension of Time) Bill, with an Amendment. London, Tilbury, and Southend Railway Bill; Harrow Road and Paddington Tramways Bill; Bexhill Water and Gas Bill, with Amendments.

That they have agreed to—Amendments to Tynemouth Gas Bill [Lords]; Preston, Chorley, and Horwich Tramways Bill [Lords]; Barnard Castle Gas Bill [Lords]; St. Bartholomew's Hospital Bill [Lords]; without Amendment.

That they have passed a Bill, intituled, "An Act to confirm a Provisional Order made by the Board of Trade, under The Railway and Canal Traffic Act, 1888, containing the Schedule of Maximum Rates and Charges applicable to the Regents Canal." [Canal Rates and Charges (Regents Canal) Order Confirmation Bill [Lords.]

Canal Rates and Charges (Regents Canal) Order Confirmation Bill [Lords]. Read the first time; referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, and to be printed. [Bill 238.]

PETITIONS.

LICENSING BILL.

Petitions against; from Abbotts Bromley; Acrefair; Alpraham; Altarnun; Anwick; Ashopton; Ashton in Makerfield (four); Baptist Mills; Barnet; Bealbury; Beeford; Birds Royd; Billinghay; Birmingham (two); Blackburn; Blackpool (three); Blaydon on Tyne; Bolton (four); Brant Broughton; Brighouse; Bristol; Brynn (four); Builth Wells; Bunbury; Burraton; Burslem; Callington; Castle Hayes; Caterham on the Hill; Catford; Caythorpe; Cefn Mawr; Chasetown; Choppington; Coedpoeth (five); Crafthole; Cresswell; Cwm; Cwmayfiog; Devoran; Digby; Ditton; Dorrington; Driffield; Eaton; Earlestown; East Denbighshire; Ellaston; Erdington; Etruria; Exming; Falsgrave (two); Farnworth; Ffynnongwen; Fishponds; Fleetwood; Forest Gate; Fulbeck; Garton on the Wolds; Gillingham; Golberdon; Gronant; Gwaenysgor; Gwespyr; Hale Magna; Halifax (two); Heaton; Heckington; Hetton Downs; Holmbush; Horden; Hough Green; Hull (two): Hutton Cranswick; Ilford; Johnstown; Kelsall; Kentish Town; Kilkhampton; Kirby Muxloe; Landrake; Landulph; Langwith; Leadenham; Leeds; Lewisham; Lincoln (two); Littleborough; Littleworth; Llanasa; Lockington; London; Long Eaton (two); Low Fell; Lund; Maidenhead; Malvern Link (two); Manor Park; Marchington Woodlands; Marshgate; Marton; Metheringham; Mostyn; Mouldsworth; National British Women's Temperance Association; Newborough; Newbiggin by the Sea; New Brompton; North Dalton; North Frodingham; North Kyme; North Wales and Cheshire; Northwich; Osbournby; Pelton Fell; Pendleton; Penyffordd; Perranwell; Pitton; Plymouth; Polyphant; Port Clarence; Poulton le Fylde (two); Rafferton; Ranceby; Rhosllanerchgrugog; Rochester; Rushington; St. Dominic; St. Germans; St. Ive; St. Ives (Hunts.); Saltash; Sandiacre; Scarborough (two); Scopwick; Scredington; Seaton Sluice (two); Sheffield; Sleaford; Sledmere: South Gosforth; South Kyme; Springburn; Stapleford; Stockton on Tees; Stoke Climsland; Stoke Golding; Stone; Stromness; Sydenham; Tanvats; Tarvin; Thornaby on Tees; Tibthorpe; Tideswell; Timberland; Trebullett; Trematon; Trenavin; Upholland; Uttoxeter; Uxbridge (two); Walbottle; Walcot; Wallsend; Warmley; Welbourn; Wellingore; Westborough; Wetwang; Whitwell; Widmore; Widnes (two); Willington Quay; Windsor (two); and Woodlands; to lie upon the Table.

LICENSING BILL.

Petition from Darwen, for alteration; to lie upon the Table.

VALUATION BILL.

Petitions for alteration; from Cuckfield; Darwen; East Retford; Foleshill; and Salford; to lie upon the Table.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

TOBACCO (RATES OF DRAWBACK).

Copy presented, of Reports, with Minutes of Evidence, of the Inter-Departmental Committee appointed by the Treasury to inquire into the Rates of Draw-back on Tobacco [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

CIVIL LIST PENSIONS.

Copy presented, of list of all Pensions granted during the year ended 31st March, 1904, and payable under the provisions of Section 9 (1) of The Civil List Act, 1901 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 218.]

SUPERANNUATION ACT, 1884.

Copy presented, of Treasury Minute, dated 20th June, 1904, declaring that William Donelly, Leading Hand, Royal Laboratory, War Office, was appointed without a Civil Service certificate through inadvertence on the part of the head of his Department [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

TRADE REPORTS (ANNUAL SERIES).

Copies presented, of Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Annual Series, Nos. 3192 and 3193 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

FINANCE ACCOUNTS.

Copy presented, of Finance Accounts of the United Kingdom for the year ended 31st March, 1904 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 219.]

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

Docking (Norfolk) Workhouse—Beer Allowance for Sick Inmates.

MR. LOUGH (Islington, W.): To ask the President of the Local Government Board whether his attention has been drawn to the proceedings of the medical officer of the Docking (Norfolk) Board of Guardians, who has declined to accept the decision of the board in favour of the withdrawal of beer from the inmates of the workhouse, and to the fact that the doctor has given a fresh order for three pints of beer a day to be given to sick inmates since the order was issued; and, if so, will he state under what authority the doctor has acted; and whether the Board propose to take any, and, if any, what steps in the matter.

(*Answered by Mr. Walter Long.*) My attention has been drawn to the case referred to. One of the regulations in force in the Docking Union requires that the medical officer shall prescribe proper dietaries for the sick inmates of the workhouse. It is, however, provided that no allowance of fermented or spirituous liquor given by his direction to a sick inmate shall be continued for more than eight days, unless before the expiration of that period it is renewed for a further period not exceeding eight days by his direction in writing. Subject to the regulations in force, it is for the medical officer to determine the dietary of the sick inmates, and I could not undertake to interfere with his discretion in the matter.

Statistics of Animal Disease.

MR LAMBERT (Devonshire, South Molton): To ask the hon. Member for North Huntingdonshire, as representing the Board of Agriculture, if he will state the statistics of swine fever, anthrax, glanders, and sheep scab for the past three years; also the statistics of animal disease to the latest available date of this year, together with corresponding totals for the past three years.

(*Answered by Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes.*) The statistics asked for by the hon. Member are given as follows, viz.—

Swine Fever.

	Outbreaks.	Swine slaughtered as diseased or exposed to infection.
Year 1901 . .	3,140	15,237
,, 1902 . .	1,688	8,263
,, 1903 . .	1,478	7,933
First 25 weeks 1901	2,011	9,723
,, 1902	836	3,984
,, 1903	840	3,956
,, 1904	762	3,695

Glanders (including Farcy).

	Outbreaks.	Horses attacked.
Year 1901 . .	1,347	2,370
,, 1902 . .	1,155	2,040
,, 1903 . .	1,456	2,499
First 25 weeks 1901	621	1,080
,, 1902	538	993
,, 1903	655	1,078
,, 1904	725	1,321

Anthrax.

	Outbreaks.	Animals attacked.
Year 1901 . .	651	971
,, 1902 . .	678	1,032
,, 1903 . .	767	1,143
First 25 weeks 1901	346	494
,, 1902	370	612
,, 1903	416	649
,, 1904	517	807

Sheep Scab.

	Outbreaks.	Sheep attacked.
Year 1901 . .	1,537	22,764
,, 1902 . .	1,664	21,523
,, 1903 . .	1,833	24,431
First 5 months 1901	1,071	15,905
,, 1902	1,011	12,055
,, 1903	1,046	12,015
,, 1904	913	13,249

Expenditure in Dealing with Animal Diseases.

MR. LAMBERT: To ask the hon. Member for North Huntingdonshire, as representing the Board of Agriculture, what has been the amount spent for each of the last four financial years in dealing with swine fever, anthrax, glanders, and sheep scab respectively.

(*Answered by Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes.*) The net expenditure incurred by the Board in respect of swine fever for each of the last four financial years has been as follows:—

	£
1900–1 . . .	50,722
1901–2 . . .	56,991
1902–3 . . .	45,442
1903–4 . . .	53,300

The Board have incurred no expenditure specially attributable to anthrax, glanders, or sheep scab, the conduct of operations against those diseases being in the hands of local authorities, of whose expenditure the Board have no record.

Margarine Supplied as Butter to Merchant Seamen.

MR. GILHOOLY (Cork County, W.) To ask the President of the Board of Trade whether he is aware that sailors aboard merchant ships who sign or contract to be supplied with butter are, as a rule, supplied with margarine; and whether he will give the matter his attention.

(*Answered by Mr. Gerald Balfour.*) Butter is not one of the articles which the Board of Trade officers have power to inspect under Section 206 of the Merchant Shipping Act, 1894, and I am not aware to what extent, if at all, margarine is supplied in cases in which the ship's agreement provides that butter shall be given. If the terms of the agreement are broken in the manner suggested by the hon. Member, the crew would presumably have their remedy at law.

Alleged Inaccuracies in Parochial Medical Officers (Scotland) Return.

MR. WEIR (Ross and Cromarty): To ask the Secretary for Scotland whether he is aware that the Return, Parochial Medical Officers (Scotland), is inaccurate in stating that the post of medical officer for Harris was vacant only once during the seven years prior to 1903, inasmuch as the post of medical officer was vacant on two occasions for the North Harris Division and also on two occasions for the South Harris Division; and, in view of the fact that the Return contains other inaccuracies of a similar nature, will he consider the expediency of having an amended Return issued.

(*Answered by Mr. A. Graham Murray.*) The Local Government Board for Scotland have communicated with the inspector of poor of Harris, who supplied the information given in the Return, and he states that, so far as he knows, it is not correct that the resident medical officership had been vacant since 20th July, 1896, in the northern division of the parish twice, and also in the southern division of the parish twice. If the hon. Member will give the dates when the vacancies are said to have occurred the Local Government Board will make further inquiry.

Civil Service Writers promoted to Senior Assistant Clerkships.

MR. THORNTON (Clapham): To ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether he can state the number of Civil Service writers who were promoted to senior assistant clerkships under the provisions of the Treasury Minute of 10th August, 1889, giving the number in each department, and the age at which they were promoted.

(*Answered by Mr. Victor Cavendish.*) It would be necessary to refer to over 600 sets of papers to ascertain these particulars, which do not appear to be worth the trouble and expense of compilation. But I will communicate with the hon. Member on the subject.

Extension of County Courts Jurisdiction—Forthcoming Legislation.

DR. SHIPMAN (Northampton): To ask Mr. Attorney-General when the Government propose to introduce a Bill for the extension of the County Courts' jurisdiction as a supplement to the Act of 3 Edw. 7, c. 42.

(*Answered by Sir Robert Finlay.*) A Bill supplementary to the Act of 3 Edw. 7, c. 42, is under consideration, and I hope that it will be introduced at an early date.

Naas Petty Sessions—Action of Colonel Wogan Browne, J P.

MR. LEAMY (Kildare, N.): To ask Mr. Attorney-General for Ireland if Colonel Wogan Browne, J.P., one of the magistrates who had adjudicated in the case of Lane Joynt *v.* Tyrrell at Naas Petty Sessions, refused to take the recognisances of the defendant, who had appealed from the order made in the case, and of his sureties; and if it is the duty of a magistrate who adjudicates in a case at petty sessions to take such recognisances, and to sign the certificate of appeal if requested to sign it.

(*Answered by Mr. Atkinson.*) On Wednesday, the 15th June, the petty sessions clerk, accompanied by Mr. Tyrrell, met on the road Colonel Browne, who was driving to keep an appointment. The clerk informed Colonel Browne that they were proceeding to his residence to ask him to take Mr. Tyrrell's recognisances. Colonel Browne explained that he was pressed for time to keep an appointment, and that they should apply to Colonel Moore, who had adjudicated, but added that if Colonel Moore was not available he, Colonel Browne, would on his return later on call at the barrack and attend to the matter. Further than this no application whatever was made by Mr. Tyrrell, or his solicitor, to Colonel Browne, and the latter does not seem to have violated his duty in any respect.

Consular Vote—Payment for Commercial Intelligence.

MR. MOON (St. Pancras, N.): To ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs what person or persons receive the £2,500 taken for the collection of commercial intelligence.

(*Answered by Earl Percy.*) The amount set down for this purpose in the Estimates, under Sub-head K of the Diplomatic and Consular Vote, is for the salaries and office and travelling expenses of the British Commercial Agents at Moscow, Zurich, Chicago, Guatemala, and Vladivostok. The appointments are experimental.

Delimitation of Anglo-German Boundary in Central Africa—Amount of Estimate.

MR. MOON: To ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs how the Estimate of £7,000 for the delimitation of Anglo-German boundary east and west of Lake Victoria is arrived at; and why the amount is seven times that voted last year.

(*Answered by Earl Percy.*) Only £499 15s. 8d. was charged to the Vote in 1903–4. The Estimate of £7,000 is based on the expenditure anticipated during 1904–5, and represents charges for the salaries of the Commissioner and his assistant, and for porters and other means of transport, besides incidental expenses.

Post Office Officials—Date from which Seniority is reckoned.

MR. BROADHURST (Leicester): To ask the Postmaster-General whether the seniority of a new entrant into the Post Office is reckoned from the time of his entry into the office, the date of his Civil Service certificate, or from the date of his qualification in the preliminary duties required.

(*Answered by Lord Stanley.*) The Question of the hon. Member does not sufficiently indicate the situation to which he refers or the means by which admission is obtained, viz., whether by competition or qualifying examination. In the case of the former, the place in the examination usually governs the seniority; in the latter, the date of taking up duty.

Hours of Duty in Belturbet Post Office.

MR. SLOAN (Belfast, S.): To ask the Postmaster-General whether he is aware that the male staff at Belturbet are continuously employed on attendances commencing at 5.20 a.m., the earliest of which terminates at 7.15 p.m. and the lastest at 8 p.m., a stretch of from fourteen or fifteen hours; and whether, in view of the early hour at which the men are obliged to attend and the period covered, he will inquire into the case and endeavour to effect some improvement in the attendances.

(*Answered by Lord Stanley.*) I will make inquiry and communicate with the hon. Member.

Indebtedness of Borough Councils—Basis of Calculations.

SIR JOHN ROLLESTON (Leicester): To ask the President of the Local Government Board whether the statements of assets of the councils of boroughs in England and Wales in the recent Return of indebtedness are based on book values or on valuation surveys; and, if on book values, whether they are on any general basis as regards writing off depreciation, and providing for obsolescence; and whether in any cases the assets are valued at the original cost of the various undertakings.

(*Answered by Mr. Walter Long.*) The town clerks who furnished the particulars from which the Return was compiled were requested to state how the estimated value of the corporate property was arrived at, and the methods adopted are in most cases fully set out in column 12 of the Return. These values appear to have been based on recent special valuation in a few cases only. In some cases depreciation and obsolescence were provided for, but there was no evidence of any general method on this point. In many instances the values given seem to be the original cost of the undertakings and works.

By-Laws under the Employment of Children Act, 1903.

MR. TENNANT (Berwickshire): To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether he has yet been able to sanction and confirm further by-laws under The Employment of Children Act, 1903; what is the total number of local authorities who have submitted by-laws, and why those of the London County Council have not yet been confirmed.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Akers-Douglas.*) As regards the first two parts of the Question, I would refer the hon. Member to the Answer which I gave yesterday on the same subject.† As regards the last part, a draft of by-laws was submitted to me by the London County Council, and on the 15th April last I wrote a letter to the council recommending reconsideration on some points and asking for certain information. I have not as yet received any reply to that letter.

Liability of Colonial Firms with London Agencies for Income-Tax.

SIR GEORGE BARTLEY (Islington, N.): To ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether a firm carrying on business in one or more places in South Africa which arranges for an agency in London to facilitate business, and to expedite the sending of machinery and goods to South Africa, thus becomes liable to pay income-tax on all or any part of its profits.

(*Answered by Mr. Austen Chamberlain.*) It would depend entirely upon the character of the business entrusted to the agency. If the agency merely supervised the execution of orders issued by the firm in South Africa, it is probable that no liability would be incurred. But if it acted on its own responsibility, and entered into contracts on behalf of the firm, then liability would be incurred in respect of the profits arising on such contracts.

Seaborne Trade of India.

SIR JOHN LENG (Dundee): To ask the Secretary of State for India if he can state in tens of rupees the total of exports and imports of the seaborne trade of India, for three years respectively ending with 31st March, 1904, merchandise and treasure being separately set out; also the value of rupee paper in each year enfaced for payment of interest here, and the amount of such stock returned to India.

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† See page 825.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Brodrick.*) Rupees.

(1) Exports and Imports in tens of rupees—

	1901-2.		1902-3.		1903-4.	
	Exports.	Imports.	Exports.	Imports.	Exports.	Imports.
Private Merchandise -	124,465,000	81,519,000	128,815,000	78,788,000	153,157,000	84,808,000
Government Stores - -	430,000	7,262,000	581,000	7,031,000	558,000	7,769,000
Total Merchandise -	124,895,000	88,781,000	129,396,000	85,819,000	153,715,000	92,577,000
Private Treasure - -	8,463,000	19,648,000	8,810,000	25,256,000	5,980,000	29,144,000
Government Treasure -	3,008,000	953,000	848,000	123,300	10,292,000	10,985,000
Total Treasure -	11,471,000	20,601,000	9,658,000	25,379,000	16,272,000	40,129,000
Grand Total -	136,366,000	109,382,000	139,054,000	111,198,000	169,987,000	132,706,000

(2) Amount of rupee paper standing on the books of the Bank of England—

	Rupees.
On 31st March, 1901 .	22,10,89,500
,, 1902 .	20,33,61,200
,, 1903 .	18,68,90,500

(3) Amount of rupee paper returned to India:—

	Rupees.
In 1901-2	1,77,07,200
In 1902-3	1,64,70,700
In 1903-4	1,53,11,000

Police Force in India.

MR. HERBERT ROBERTS (Denbighshire, W.): To ask the Secretary of State for India whether the Report of the Commission appointed in 1902 to inquire into police administration in British India contains recommendations for the further development of the village police system; and whether, by extending the use of the village police, a saving might be effected in the cost of the higher paid branch of the service.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Brodrick.*) The Report contains recommendations for a further development of the village police system; but it does not appear probable that if these recommendations were adopted any saving would be effected in the cost of the regular police.

Maintenance of Magdalene Tower, Drogheda.

MR. SLOAN: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that some years ago the Corporation of Drogheda granted £100 per annum to the mayor for the purpose of renovating and maintaining the Magdalene Tower, an ancient monument in Drogheda; and if he can say the total amount spent upon this object together with the number of years that has elapsed since the grant was made.

(*Answered by Mr. Wyndham.*) This monument is not vested in the Commissioners of the Public Works or under their guardianship. I understand that in 1891 the Corporation voted a sum of £100 a year for the purposes of maintaining the monument in good repair; but that payment of the amount has not since been made.

Religious Meetings at Belfast Custom House Steps.

MR. JOSEPH DEVLIN (Kilkenny, N.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he can state the number of prosecutions that have taken place because of proceedings in connection with the various religious services held at the Custom House Steps, Belfast; what has been the cost of maintaining the police force on the occasion of such meetings to protect the various sectaries against one another; whether, in view of the fact that the meetings are held on Government property and of the scenes of riot and disturbance which take place every Sunday, he will give an order to the proper authorities that collections at these meetings be disallowed on the same grounds as they are disallowed in Hyde Park.

(*Answered by Mr. Wyndham.*) Fifteen such prosecutions have been instituted. The police employed on these occasions have been drawn from the local force, and no extra expense has been incurred by their employment. The collection of money in Hyde Park is prohibited by statute. I have no power to pursue a similar course at Belfast.

Ventilation of Pressing Room at Royal Army Clothing Factory.

SIR CHARLES DILKE (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean): To ask the Financial Secretary to the War Office whether complaints have been brought to the knowledge of the War Office as to the ventilation of the pressing room at the Army Clothing Factory by a private deputation to the Secretary of State and by other communications; whether the War Office were represented at the inquest on Alice Wright held on Tuesday, and whether immediate steps can be taken to improve the ventilation of the two work rooms known as pressing rooms.

(*Answered by Mr. Bromley Davenport.*) No complaints of the ventilation of the pressing rooms at this factory have been brought to the knowledge of the War Office either by a private deputation or by other communications. The Department was represented at the inquest on Alice Wright by the matron of the factory. There are six pressing rooms in all, two being on the ground floor of the main factory where this woman worked. I am informed that the ventilation of these rooms is satisfactory, and no steps for its improvement are necessary.

Long Service Medal—Claim of Squadron Sergeant-Major Styles.

MR. PEEL (Manchester, S.): To ask the Secretary of State for War whether, in view of the fact that Squadron Sergeant-Major Styles, of the Bedfordshire Imperial Yeomanry, who has served for seventeen years in the 3rd Volunteer Battalion Bedfordshire Regiment, and for three years in the Yeomanry, and has been efficient for twenty years, was refused a long service medal, he will consider the advantage of having a long service medal for Militia and Yeomanry, and of allowing a man to claim the medal, although his years of service have not been all passed in the same branch of the Auxiliary Forces.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Arnold-Forster.*) The question of the grant of a long service medal to Militia and Yeomanry and the further point of the manner of reckoning service in the Auxiliary Forces for such medal is now being considered.

Reference Libraries for Military Station Messes.

COLONEL WYNDHAM MURRAY (Bath): To ask the Secretary of State for War what progress has been made in the supply of standard military books of reference and history to military station messes; and whether, in order to reduce the expenses of officers, the War Office will provide a small military library in all such establishments.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Arnold-Forster.*) Before embarking on the general expenditure involved in such a scheme it was decided to start four libraries in officers' messes for the four infantry regiments quartered at Bordon. These libraries have been duly supplied with books, and a report on the working of the scheme will be furnished in the course of the year by the General Officer Commanding.

Officers' Musketry Course—Payment of Travelling Expenses.

COLONEL WYNDHAM MURRAY: To ask the Secretary of State for War, in view of the fact that all young officers of the Army serving abroad or at home are required to hold musketry certificates before being promoted, and for this purpose are obliged to go to the School of Musketry at Hythe, whether he will consider the advisability of the expenses of the journey to and from that place being paid by the Government, as formerly, instead of by the officers themselves, as at present.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Arnold-Forster.*) Officers serving at home are allowed travelling expenses for attendance at one course at the school at Hythe. Officers serving abroad as a rule attend courses when on leave at home. There are, however, schools in India and South Africa, and a limited number of officers from Hong-Kong, Ceylon, and Singapore are allowed to go to the India schools. Officers abroad who do not attend the schools in India or South Africa, and who do not attend the School of Musketry, Hythe, when on leave, are required to pay their own passages home when no public opportunity is available.

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE.

Vacant Staff Appointments at the War Office.

CAPTAIN NORTON (Newington, W.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War if he can say how soon it may be expected that the large number of staff appointments now vacant at the War Office will be filled, and when the officers already appointed to the staff of the War Office now receiving regimental pay only will receive the staff pay to which they are entitled.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Mr. ARNOLD-FORSTER, Belfast, W.): I am glad to state that these appointments will be filled up at a very early date, but I regret that at the present time I cannot give the hon. and gallant Member any further information.

CAPTAIN NORTON: I presume that the officers who have been put to these duties on regimental pay only will receive back pay from the time they started.

The Second Army Corps.

MR. WALTER PALMER (Salisbury): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether there is any intention on the part of His Majesty's Government to remove the headquarters of the 2nd Army Corps, or any part of the clerical staff, from Salisbury to Southampton.

*MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: The whole question of the distribution of the new commands is still under consideration. I may say, however, that the removal of the headquarters of the 2nd Army Corps to Southampton is not contemplated.

Soldiers and the Harvest.

MR. H. D. GREENE (Shrewsbury): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether an officer commanding a regimental district or depôt in the United Kingdom may allow soldiers under his command to engage themselves to undertake harvest work upon terms and conditions approved by him; and, if so, whether, in districts where harvest labour is scarce, the readiness to assist agriculturists in this manner might be made publicly known.

*MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: Under paragraph 160 King's Regulations, general officers commanding are given power to use their discretion in allowing soldiers to be employed in the harvest work provided the employment of the population is not thereby interfered with. This regulation has been in force for some years and there is no apparent reason to suppose that it is not generally known.

Admiralty Yacht "Enchantress."

MR. GIBSON BOWLES (Lynn Regis): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty, did the Director of Naval Construction or did the Engineer-in-Chief of the Admiralty examine and report upon the various tenders and designs which were under consideration for the building of the Admiralty yacht "Enchantress"; and, if not, who did examine them; who is responsible for advising the adoption of the design finally adopted; seeing that the metacentric height of the "Enchantress" is still stated to be sixteen inches, can he state why it was necessary to put 200 tons of ballast into the vessel; what was her draught of water after that ballast was put in; and what was the difference, if any, between that draught and the draught stipulated by the Admiralty.

THE SECRETARY TO THE ADMIRALTY (Mr. PRETYMAN, Suffolk, Woodbridge): The answer to the first Question is yes; but the examination was limited to ascertaining whether the general arrangements and accommodation were satisfactory and a comparison of the qualities of speed, radius of action, stability, etc., guaranteed by the several contractors. The Admiralty could take no responsibility for these qualities in a vessel wholly designed and built by a private firm. The conditions were the same as those under which all the torpedo-boat destroyers have been built. The answer to the second Question is, the Controller of the Navy on the usual reports of the technical advisers. The 200 tons of ballast are required to obtain the guaranteed metacentric height in the light condition. The permanant ballast has not yet been put on board. The amount may probably be reduced to 100 tons, this will give the vessel an additional immersion of about five inches.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES asked whether he was to undeistand that the examination was iimited to the question of accommodation.

MR. PRETYMAN: No, Sir, I said it was limited to the general arrangements and accommodation, and a comparison of qualities of speed, radius of action, stability, etc., guaranteed by the several contractors.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES asked whether this was the vessel in which the Lords of the Admirality, having made one trip, were afraid to go to sea in because of her evil behaviour.

MR. PRETYMAN was understood to say that what happened was this. The ship had to proceed to Queenstown. The water ballast was put in too far forward and the vessel shipped a good deal of water at the head in heavy seas. When, however, the ballast was put back and the vessel was properly trimmed, she proceeded to sea the next morning and behaved extremely well.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES: But the First Lord was afraid to go to sea in her.

Resignation of Sir Charles Eliot.

MR. BAYLEY (Derbyshire, Chesterfield): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs if he will state whether the resignation of Sir Charles Eliot of his position under the Crown in East Africa was on account of ill-health or difference of opinion with the Government on its policy in East Africa.

THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Earl PERCY, Kensington, S.): As I stated in the course of the debate on Monday, Sir Charles Eliot's resignation is due to a difference of opinion between him and the Government, arising out of their refusal to grant leases of land within a certain area in the province of Naivasha pending a final decision on the question of a native reserve.

MR. BAYLEY: Might I ask the noble Lord whether he will, before the grant is given, let the House have an opportunity of seeing what the grant is.

EARL PERCY: What grant?

MR. BAYLEY: The grant of territory which is to be given to certain concessionaires out there.

EARL PERCY: I think that the hon. Gentleman is referring to the lease of land that is to be granted to the Jewish Syndicate which is in a different part of the country.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean): I think, Sir, the noble Lord referred to a difference of opinion with the Government arising out of a refusal to grant leases of land. I think that my hon. friend desires to know what those grants are before they are granted.

EARL PERCY: They are grants of leases to private persons.

Chinese Labour and Beri-beri.

MR. JOHNSON (Gateshead): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether the disease beri-beri appeared among the Chinese coolies brought from Hong-Kong to Durban; if so, how many suffered from this disease and how many died from it; whether the coolies were medically examined before embarking; and if he can state to what cause the outbreak is attributed.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Mr. LYTTELTON, Warwick and Leamington): I have no official information, but, as I stated yesterday, I have telegraphed to Lord Milner on the subject. The coolies were medically examined before embarking. I am making inquiry as to the cause to which the reported outbreak is attributed.

Captain NORTON: Will the right hon. Member state the date of the telegram.

Mr. JOHNSON: Will the right hon. Gentleman say when he first telegraphed to Lord Milner.

Mr. LYTTELTON: I cannot say, I think the day before yesterday.

Licensed British-Indian Traders in South Africa.

Sir MANCHERJEE BHOWNAGGREE (Bethnal Green, N.E.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he is aware that Sir Arthur Lawley stated, in reply to an address presented to him at Heidelberg, by a deputation of British-Indian residents, on the 18th May last, that the liberty of licensed traders to carry on business outside locations, declared by the Supreme Court in the test case of Habob Motan *v.* the Transvaal Government to be legal, will not be tolerated, and that the Secretary of State for the Colonies had already been approached with a view to sanctioning legislation to annul the decision; and, if so, whether, in case he is so approached, he will refuse to countenance any such legislation, in view of the pledges repeatedly given by Lord Milner that existing rights will not be interfered with.

Mr. LYTTELTON: I have seen a newspaper report of Sir Arthur Lawley's reply to the address presented to him at Heidelberg in which he referred to the question of the introduction of legislation with regard to Asiatic residents in the Transvaal. Such legislation will, of course, be subject to the approval of the Secretary of State, and in dealing with the question I shall have specially in mind the safeguarding of the interests of British-Indians now settled in the Transvaal. I am in communication with Lord Milner on the subject.

Mr. GIBSON BOWLES: Has the right hon. Gentleman addressed any request, or will he do so, to Sir Arthur Lawley to ascertain whether he did make this outrageous declaration? Will the right hon. Gentleman endeavour to verify the truth, or the contrary, of the newspaper report.

Mr. LYTTELTON: Yes.

Chinese Labour for the Transvaal.

Mr. SYDNEY BUXTON (Tower Hamlets, Poplar): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether the coolie steamer "Tweedale," on arrival in Durban Harbour, was guarded by armed police boats; whether the wharves where the Chinese coolies landed were surrounded by armed police; whether the coolies are to be taken up the Rand in locked railway carriages, and whether, before their departure, their photographs and finger prints are to be taken for purposes of identification; whether these precautions are taken to prevent the escape of the coolies, and to ensure that they are not brought into contact with the colonists; and whether such precautionary action has ever been taken in the case of the arrival of coolies at British Guiana or Trinidad.

Mr. LYTTELTON: I have not received any official information on the subject, but I think it not unlikely that precautions were taken to prevent an evasion of the Natal Immigration Acts. I will ask for a report on the proceedings and the reasons for them. I am not aware that similar measures have been taken in British Guiana or Trinidad. I presume the hon. Member is aware coolies landing in British Guiana or Trinidad are not in transit to their destination through a colony in which they would not be allowed to remain.

Mr. BRYN ROBERTS (Carnarvonshire, Eifion): Might I ask the right hon. Gentleman, arising out of that answer, whether there is any authority for taking photographs and finger prints of these coolies for the purposes of identification, and whether the coolies will be informed that it is not lawful to do so.

Mr. LYTTELTON: It will be better to ascertain the facts before I give any hypothetical reply.

Transvaal Government Loan.

Mr. BUCHANAN (Perthshire, E.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies what are the purposes to which the £5,000,000, now being borrowed by the Transvaal Government, are to be devoted, and how much money is to be spent on each specific object in view.

MR. LYTTELTON: The £5,000,000 now being borrowed are required, in addition to the £30,000,000 raised last year, for the purposes set forth in the schedule to the South African Loan and War Contribution Act, 1903, which gives the amount under each head of expenditure.

MR. WHITLEY (Halifax): Can the right hon. Gentleman say that the amount of that schedule has not been varied.

MR. LYTTELTON: Statements will be laid this week on the subject.

MR. WHITLEY: But the right hon. Gentleman's reply to my hon. friend was to refer him to the schedule? I ask whether we can take it that the figures in that Schedule have not varied in the meantime.

MR. LYTTELTON: I must have notice.

The Gold Mine Profit Tax in the Transvaal.

MR. WHITLEY: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies if he can state the amount received by the Transvaal Treasury from the gold mines profit tax during the year 1903, and the amount saved by the mines by reduced cost of dynamite in the same period.

MR. LYTTELTON: The receipts during the calendar year were £162,573. I understand that the reduction of the cost of dynamite, as compared with prices in 1899, is considerable, but I am not in a position to say what amount was saved by the mines in the year 1903, nor does the hon. Member make it clear with what year he desires a comparison to be made.

MR. WHITLEY: I purposely put it in that way in order to give the right hon. Gentleman an opportunity to take any complete year he liked in both cases. Might I ask further whether the saving on account of dynamite was not greater than the total receipts of the tax.

MR. LYTTELTON: If the hon. Member will put down a general Question I will endeavour to answer it.

The Transvaal Guaranteed Loan.

MR. WHITLEY: I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer if he will withhold the payment of the remaining £5,000,000 of the Transvaal Guaranteed Loan until he has received the first instalment of the War Contribution, which was to have been paid in January last.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN, Worcestershire, E.): No, Sir; I am not prepared to act on that suggestion.

MR. WHITLEY: Does the right hon. Gentleman intend to pay over this sum of £5,000,000 without any understanding with regard to the £10,000,000 which is now six months overdue.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: There is no reason to vary the understanding with regard to the £10,000,000.

MR. WHITLEY: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that the two transactions are part of one arrangement?

*MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! That is arguing the question. The Question on the Paper has been answered.

"The Times" in Government Departments.

MR. MARKHAM (Nottinghamshire, Mansfield): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether, seeing that the manager of *The Times*, in the issue of *The Times* of 11th June states he had received an order from one Government Department for forty copies of *The Times* daily for twelve months for the sum of £120 per annum, he will say if free copies of *The Times* are provided for the use of all Government Departments; and, if so, what is the total amount annually voted for this purpose.

THE FINANCIAL SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY (Mr. VICTOR CAVENDISH, Derbyshire, W.): Copies of *The Times* are required in most public Departments, but I cannot state the total cost of supply without inquiry. I will make inquiry into the statement that as many as forty copies are supplied to a single Department.

Mr. MARKHAM: Will the hon. Member say under what Vote these papers are taken?

Mr. MACVEAGH (Down, S.): Will all these officials who are supplied with copies of *The Times* be also supplied with copies of "The Life and Times of Piggott?"

Mr. VICTOR CAVENDISH: The amount is charged against the Vote for the incidental expenses of the Department concerned.

Burglary at Golden Sub-post Office, County Tipperary.

Mr. CULLINAN (Tipperary, S.): I beg to ask the Postmaster-General whether he is aware that the Golden, county Tipperary, sub-post office was forcibly entered, and a considerable sum of money stolen therefrom, on the night of the 13th instant; and whether, in view of this and cases of a similar character, he can see his way to providing sub-offices with suitable safes.

The POSTMASTER-GENERAL (Lord Stanley, Lancashire, Westhoughton): I am aware that the office in question was recently forcibly entered and that a small sum of money was stolen. The matter is being investigated by the police. At offices of the class of Golden a safe is not generally needed, but if one be really necessary it should be provided by the sub-postmaster, whose salary and commissions are fixed on the understanding that he will arrange for the proper custody of official money.

Mr. CULLINAN: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether any clue has as yet been obtained to lead to the detection of the burglars who forcibly entered and took a considerable sum of money from the Golden, county Tipperary, sub-post office on the night of the 13th instant; whether the police patrolled the streets that night and at what hours; or whether the police were engaged at that time, under orders, patrolling the river banks acting in the capacity of water bailiffs.

The CHIEF SECRETARY for IRELAND (Mr. Wyndham, Dover): No clue has yet been obtained to the perpetrators of the outrage. The case is still under investigation. The police were on duty in the streets at various hours during the night. They do not act in the capacity of water bailiffs.

Porterage on Telegrams to Irishtown, County Mayo.

Mr. JOHN O'DONNELL (Mayo, S.): I beg to ask the Postmaster-General whether he is aware that for a number of years telegrams have been delivered free at Irishtown, county Mayo, as it is well within the three mile limit, and that recently a charge of one shilling each has been made for the delivery of telegrams in that place; and, if so, will he say what is the reason for the charge and will it be discontinued.

Lord STANLEY: I have not heard, but I will inquire.

Commercial Missions to Germany and the United States.

Mr. GUEST (Plymouth): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether he can see his way to extend the principle of commercial missions which has been adopted in the case of Persia and South Africa by sending similar missions to Germany and the United States, with the special object of furnishing expert reports on new or improved methods of manufacture and machinery adopted in those countries.

The PRESIDENT of the BOARD of TRADE (Mr. Gerald Balfour, Leeds, Central): I will communicate this suggestion to the Board of Trade Advisory Committee on Commercial Intelligence which deals with commercial missions. The hon. Member will, however, understand that an inquiry such as he proposes into improved methods of manufacture in highly developed commercial countries is a very difficult matter, requiring special expert knowledge with regard to each industry investigated.

Protection of Live Rails on Electric Railways.

Mr. RENWICK (Newcastle-on-Tyne): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether arrangements are being made to protect the public and railway servants from contact with live rails between platforms at stations where electric trains stop or pass through.

Mr. GERALD BALFOUR: I understand that on most railways which are being worked electrically the live rail is guarded where it passes through stations. Inquiries have been ordered into two recent accidents arising from electrical working, and when the reports of these inquiries are received the question of the precautions to be taken will be considered.

Mr. RENWICK: Might I inform the right hon. Gentleman that I can give him the names of certain lines on which in many important places live rails are unprotected. It is an extremely important question, and I hope the right hon. Gentleman will take notice of it.

Steamboats Racing on the River.

Sir HARRY SAMUEL (Tower Hamlets, Limehouse): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade if he is aware that the captains of pleasure steamers plying from the Thames to seaside resorts on the East and South Coasts frequently race their boats against each other causing great risk to life; and, if so, if he will take steps to put a stop to this dangerous practice.

Mr. GERALD BALFOUR: No complaints as to racing on the part of the Thames steamers referred to by my hon. friend have been recently received by the Board of Trade, but my attention has been called to allegations in the Press on the subject, and to these attention is being given. Whenever any such complaints have been received in past years, action has been at once taken with a view to putting a stop to this dangerous practice.

The Publication of Convictions.

Mr. MARKHAM: I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether his attention has been drawn to a large placard posted on the stations of the South Eastern and Chatham Railways giving the names and addresses of seventeen persons convicted in the Police Courts during the month of March, 1904, for trespassing and travelling without tickets on the lines of these companies; and whether, seeing these persons have been punished for their offences, he will advise these railway companies to discontinue the practice of inflicting further punishment on persons who have purged their offences in Courts of justice, and, failing a satisfactory reply, will he introduce legislation to render illegal such action by railway companies.

Mr. GERALD BALFOUR: Railway companies adopting the action referred to by the hon. Member do so on their own responsibility. I am not prepared to intervene in the matter.

Turbine Engines on Cunard Steamships built with Government Money.

Mr. MARKHAM: I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether the fact that the committee appointed by the Cunard Steamship Company, on which representatives of the Board of Trade sat, to report on the relative merits of reciprocating and turbine engines, recommended the use of turbine engines for the two steamships to be built by public money will, by reason of such Government officials recommending turbine engines, absolve the Cunard Company from liability if the ships when built are unable to maintain the contract average speed of 25 knots; and will he say what steps he proposes to take to safeguard the repayment to the Exchequer of the £2,000,000 granted for the building of these ships if the contract speed is not obtained; and what guarantee, if any, has been obtained to meet this end.

Mr. GERALD BALFOUR: No representative of the Board of Trade sat on the committee referred to. The fact of the committee having been appointed by the Cunard Company in no way absolves the company from liability. The repayment of the loan to the Exchequer is safeguarded by Clause 10 of the Agreement which was laid on the Table of the House.

South Eastern and Chatham Railway Company.

Mr. MARKHAM: I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether, seeing that the rates charged the public by the South Eastern and Chatham Railway Companies since the amalgamation of these companies are considerably higher than those charged by the Northern lines, that the rolling stock is generally antiquated, the trains are overcrowded and unpunctual, and that many of the stations are old wooden erections without any proper protection for the travelling public against bad weather, he will consult the Law Officers of the Crown with a view of taking action against these companies to compel them to carry out their statutory obligations; and will he make representations to them against the excessive rates.

MR. GERALD BALFOUR: I have no reason to believe that the rates charged by the South Eastern and Chatham Company exceed either the maximum powers which have been given them by Parliament or the actual rates charged prior to the amalgamation. If traders desire to make specific complaints as to rates the Board of Trade will be happy to consider them under Section 31 of the Railway and Canal Traffic Act, 1888. With regard to the remainder of the hon. Member's Question I do not know to what statutory obligations he refers. So far as the general condition of the railway is concerned I believe it to be common knowledge that the company has recently expended large sums of money on improvements to the line.

English Proof Marks on Foreign Made Barrels and Firearms.

MR. JESSE COLLINGS (Birmingham, Bordesley): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether his attention has been called to the practice of the English proof houses, both in Birmingham and in London, of proof marking foreign-made barrels and firearms with the same proof marks as those put upon British made barrels and firearms; and to the fact that this practice is taken advantage of by importers and Continental makers to send their goods to the English proof houses instead of to the proof houses in the countries of origin for the purpose of obtaining English proof marks and thereby passing off the goods so marked as of British make; and, if so, what steps do His Majesty s Government propose to take to prevent the deception.

MR. GERALD BALFOUR: The question raised by my right hon. friend is one of considerable difficulty. A conference epresenting the various branches of the trade was recently held under the presidency of my hon. friend the Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade to consider whether a remedy for the grievance referred to should be provided by a change in the regulations applying to British proof houses. No agreement, however, was reached, and the proposed new rule was ultimately withdrawn. I am afraid I cannot promise any further action at present.

MR. JESSE COLLINGS: Arising out of that Question, might I ask the right hon. Gentleman if he is aware that there are two branches. The one branch, which is in favour of the present state of things, is composed of gun dealers, who do not care where the guns are made; the other is composed of working men who suffer from the competition.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that a large number of guns and barrels used by the Government themselves are made abroad?

Smallpox in North Staffordshire.

MR. COGHILL (Stoke-upon-Trent): I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board whether his attention has been called to the renewed outbreak of smallpox in North Staffordshire; and if he can state what provision has been made for hospital accommodation by the local authorities, and what steps the Local Government Board propose to take to deal with the epidemic.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (MR. WALTER LONG, Bristol, S.): I am aware that an outbreak of smallpox has occurred in the Leek Urban District, and in connection with it I have sent a medical inspector to visit the locality and have received a report from him on the subject. Leek is included in the district of the North Staffordshire Joint Smallpox Hospital Board, and up to the date of the Inspector's report at the end of last week all the cases of smallpox had been removed to the temporary hospital provided by that board. Further and better hospital accommodation seems to be required. I have already sanctioned the borrowing of money by the Hospital Board for this purpose. I am pressing upon them to proceed with the works, and also to consider whether even further provision may not be needed.

Municipal Trading Accounts.

SIR GILBERT PARKER (Gravesend): I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board whether, in accordance with the recommendation contained in Clause 9 of the Report of the Joint Select Committee on Municipal Trading, he has invited a conference of representatives of the Institute of Chartered Accountants, the Incorporated Society of Accountants and Auditors, the Institute of Municipal Treasurers and Accountants of England and Wales, the Society of Accountants, Edinburgh, and the Scottish Institute of Accountants, Glasgow, to discuss the question of prescribing a standard form of keeping accounts for all municipal or other local authorities as therein set forth; or whether he has otherwise entered into communication with the various bodies mentioned in the clause; and, if such conference has not been convened or communication taken place as to its being convened, when such conference will be convened, or what other steps will be taken to obtain a standard form of accounts.

MR. WALTER LONG: I have received communications from some of the bodies mentioned in the Question offering to co-operate in the consideration of this matter. No conference has taken place; but I have been giving attention to the practicability of a standard form of accounts of local authorities being prescribed, and I am disposed to think that the best course will be to appoint a Departmental Committee to inquire into the system upon which the accounts should be kept.

Applications for Land Sales in County Longford.

MR. J. P. FARRELL (Longford, N.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland in how many cases applications for sale of estates to their tenants in county Longford have been lodged with the Land Commission; and will a Return be granted of these applications.

MR. WYNDHAM: The Return recently laid by me on the Table of the House [No. 181] gives this information in respect of the six months ended 30th April.

Colonel White's Estate, County Clare.

MR. SHEEHY (Meath, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether, when estates are sold in the Land Court under the Act of 1903, the Commissioners may sanction the sale though part of the property is left unsold; and whether the unsold land, as in the case of Colonel White's estate in Clare, is treated as a separate estate; and, if so, under what provisions of the Act it can be so treated; and, if such unsold land was held by an evicted tenant, what steps do the Commissioners propose taking to have him restored to his holding.

MR. WYNDHAM: The Estates Commissioners may offer to purchase a portion of the property for sale in the Land Judge's Court, and may declare it to be a separate estate for the purposes of the Act. The unsold portion may be purchased subsequently as another separate estate. Any application by an evicted tenant for restoration to his former holding would be duly considered by the Estates Commissioners before deciding to offer a portion only of a property for sale in the Land Judge's Court.

Lord Oranmore's Estate, County Mayo

MR. JOHN O'DONNELL: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether, in view of the fact that Lord Oranmore is charging his tenants, who live on small and uneconomic holdings at Ballindine, county Mayo, 50s. an acre for accommodation lands which are used for the purpose of grazing a cow in each case, and which are valued at about 6s. an acre, and that he has let more of his lands which are better in quality to graziers at 40 per cent. less than he has charged the small tenants; and, in view of the price at which he has offered to sell the unproductive small holdings to his tenants, whether the Estates Commissioners will refuse to make an advance unless he sells that portion of his estate which could be used for increasing the size of the holdings of these tenants.

MR. WYNDHAM: No application has been made to the Commissioners for the sale of this estate or any portion of it. The circumstances of the tenants will be fully considered in the event of such an application, but obviously the Commissioners cannot say in anticipation whether they will sanction, or refuse to sanction, an advance.

Major Hely's Estate.

MR. JOSEPH DEVLIN: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that Major Hely, of Foulk's Court, Johnstown, county Kilkenny, has sold the Ballyonskill, Queen's county, portion of his estate to his tenants at twenty years purchase and refuses to sell the Foulk's Court portion at the same price, though the land is of bad quality; and that he has seized on the cattle of several tenants on the latter portion of his estate, and served ejectment processes on others, and that at the same time he is negotiating the sale of Foulk's Court demesne to the Estates Commissioners; and, if so, whether, under the circumstances, the Estates Commissioners will consider it advisable to purchase his mansion and demesne.

MR. WYNDHAM. Agreements for purchase comprising the lands referred to have been lodged with the Commissioners (the average number of years purchase of the rent being 21·2), and, subject to the result of further inquiries, they have provisionally declared that these lands may be regarded as an estate. The vendor also proposed to re-purchase his demesne, but no order has yet been made on this application. The lands adjoining the demesne were not included in the originating application as part of the estate which the vendor contemplated selling.

Future Tenants in Ireland.

MR. JOHN O'DONNELL: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether it is his intention to introduce legislation by which future tenants in Ireland who now pay over 40 per cent. more rent than their neighbours may be enabled to go into the Land Courts, particularly on estates where the tenants have expressed their willingness to purchase and the landlords have refused to sell on reasonable terms.

MR. WYNDHAM: No, Sir, it is not my intention to introduce such legislation.

Sales of Land in Ballinrobe Union, County Mayo.

MR. JOHN O'DONNELL: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether any sales of estates have taken place, under the Land Act of 1903, in Ballinrobe Union, county Mayo; and, if so, how many, and what was the average number of years purchase given.

MR. WYNDHAM: No sales have yet taken place in this union.

Colonel Browne's Estate, County Dublin.

MR. JOHN O'DONNELL: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that Colonel Browne, Monkstown, county Dublin, has offered to sell his estate situate at Ballindine, county Mayo, to his tenants at twenty six and a quarter years purchase first-term rents; that he has refused to let them grass for their cows, which they had been in the habit of getting for many years, because they refused to pay him that price; that he offered thirty-six acres of grass lands to be divided amongst twenty-three tenants whose holdings are small and uneconomic; that he refused any of the grass land to one tenant, who has served him with an originating notice to have a fair rent fixed, because he is availing himself of the provisions of the Land Act of 1881, although other tenants on the same estate received a reduction of 40 per. cent. off first-term rents; and whether he will direct a prosecution against Colonel Browne for intimidation with a view to preventing his tenants from seeking the protection of the law.

MR. WYNDHAM: The action attributed to Colonel Browne, of which I have no knowledge, seems by the description in the Question to have been within his legal rights. No crime was committed and no prosecution will be instituted.

Natural History Museum, Dublin—Increase of Staff.

MR. BOLAND (Kerry, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he can give any assurance that, in preparing the Estimates for next year, provision will be made for an increase of the staff in the Natural History Museum of Dublin, in view of the representations which have already been made, and of the arrears into which the work of classifying and arranging recent acquisitions has fallen.

MR. WYNDHAM: The question of the sufficiency of the Museum staff has been investigated by the Department, which will shortly submit its proposals in the matter to the Treasury for consideration. The hon. Member will see, therefore, that until the decision of the Treasury has been taken I cannot make any announcement in the matter.

The Case of Constable Anderson.

MR. SLOAN: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that John Higgins, a witness at the Court of Inquiry against Constable Anderson, swore that Father Denis O'Hara sent for him and instructed him what he would have to prove against Anderson; and, if so, what action, if any, did the Court of Inquiry [take in the matter.

MR. WYNDHAM: The witness remembered making a statement to District Inspector Shankey on the 15th August in the presence of Father O'Hara and Sergeant Keegan; that Father O'Hara sent for and spoke to him on the subject a short time before, and told him he would have to prove this against the policeman. No action was taken in the matter by the Court of Inquiry; its function was to elicit facts.

A NATIONALIST MEMBER: Can the right hon. Gentleman say that without smiling?

Police Visits in County Cork.

MR. FLYNN (Cork County, N.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland how many police stations, including police huts and protection posts, have been closed in the Newmarket, county Cork, police district within the past three years; is he aware that police constables have orders to visit certain houses in the district, and that subsequently these houses are visited by a sergeant or other superior officer; to inquire if the constables have made these visits; and, if so, what explanation of these occurrences can be given by the Constabulary authorities.

MR. WYNDHAM: Three stations were discontinued in the past three years. It is one of the fundamental duties of a constable in every police force to inspire the community with confidence in his vigilant guardianship of person and property. As a means to this end the police in rural districts occasionally call at houses and inquire if the occupants have any complaints. These visits are not resented. The police are not instructed to visit particular houses. No inquiries of the character mentioned are subsequently made by a superior officer.

MR. FLYNN: Can the right hon. Gentleman say whether those visits were of an inquisitorial or social character?

MR. WYNDHAM: Of an inquiring but not of an inquisitorial character.

Atnell Estate, County Tyrone.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that the tenants on the Atnell Estate, county Tyrone, came to an agreement in January last with the receiver (C. E. Fair) for the purchase of their holdings at Sheskinspull at a reduction of 25 per cent. off the existing rents; and if he can explain why Mr. Fair, acting for the Lord Chancellor, is now threatening legal proceedings to recover the rent due last November, and ignoring the agreement to which he was a consenting party.

MR. WYNDHAM: I am informed that a receiver has no power to enter into agreements with tenants as to the purchase of their holdings, and that Mr. Fair did not purport to enter into any such agreement. The proposals made by the tenants were considered inadequate by those representing the estate, and have not been accepted.

National Schools at Rathview, Dundalk.

Mr. THOMAS O'DONNELL (Kerry, W.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that the national school in which Mr. Denis Lavelle, Rathview, Dundalk, teaches, was built by himself at a cost of £350; and that he was not refunded any of this when he was compelled to assign his interest to trustees; and, if so, whether special inquiry will be made into this matter.

Mr. WYNDHAM: I have received a Report in this matter, but as it does not deal in sufficient detail with the facts, I have called for further and fuller information. Perhaps the hon. Member will repeat the Question on Tuesday next.

Ringrove National School.

Mr. THOMAS O'DONNELL: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that the Ringrove National School, Castlepark, Kinsale, was closed owing to epidemic by the order of Dr. Browne, Local Government Board inspector, from 5th November, 1903, to 31st December, 1903, and that, in spite of this fact, salary was only paid for 54 out of the 92 days of the quarter; and, if so, whether under these circumstances the salary which has been withheld will be immediately paid.

Mr. WYNDHAM: The Commissioners are not aware that the school was closed by order of the Local Government Board inspector. They will give further consideration to the case of the teachers of the school.

Irish Fair Rent Appeals in Killarney.

Mr. THOMAS O'DONNELL: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the Head Land Commissioner will sit in Killarney this year to hear appeals; and, if so, when, and why is it that appeal cases heard June, 1903, are not listed for this year.

Mr. WYNDHAM: I am informed that it is improbable the Land Commissioners will be able to hold a sitting for the hearing of fair rent appeals at Killarney before the end of the present year. It has not been found possible to arrange for the holding of more frequent sittings of the Appeal Court at Killarney, having regard to the claims of other districts, and to the large number of fair rent appeals awaiting hearing from the several counties in Ireland.

Royal Irish Constabulary.

Mr. CULLINAN: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that the members of the Royal Irish Constabulary force are compelled to devote the greater part of their time to patrolling river banks and game preserves, rather than to looking after the interests of the general community; and whether, as such a system allows freedom of action to thieves and robbers, he will consider the advisability of having it altered.

Mr. WYNDHAM: The suggestion in the first part of the Question is absolutely devoid of foundation.

Mr. CULLINAN: Might I ask the right hon. Gentleman, as I am personally aware of the facts, whether he will make inquiries into the fact of whether the police are on river duty?

Mr. WYNDHAM: I can only refer the hon. Member to what I have said.

Town Tenants in Ireland.

Mr. SHEEHAN (Cork County, Mid): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he has recently received a resolution from the Macroom Town Tenants Association, making certain representations as to the necessity for legislation on their behalf; and will he state what action, if any, the Government intends to take in connection with this question.

Mr. WYNDHAM: The resolution has been received. The Government does not propose to introduce legislation such as suggested.

Police Arrangements in Ballingeary, County Cork.

Mr. SHEEHAN: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that ten years ago, consequent upon some alleged agrarian disturbances in the district, a number of police were stationed in the village of Ballingeary, county Cork; that, though the original reason for their introduction no longer exists, they are still continued; will he state how many cases they had at petty sessions within the past twelve months; and whether, seeing that there is another police barrack in the same parish, will he recommend that one of them be abolished.

Mr. WYNDHAM: A police barrack was established at Ballingeary in 1894 in consequence of the commission of crime and of the necessity for affording special protection to certain persons. This necessity happily no longer exists, but in the opinion of the local responsible authorities the station is still required for general police purposes in the district. There were eleven cases from the village tried at petty sessions during the past year.

Reinstatement of Evicted Tenant on the Warden Estate, County Kerry.

Mr. BOLAND: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that a fine of £100 has been paid by ex-Head Constable O'Sullivan for the farm on the Warden Estate, Sneem, county Kerry, from which Mrs. Currane was evicted; and whether, in view of the fact that the evicted tenant had previously lodged her application for reinstatement with the Estates Commissioners and has now returned from America in the expectation of being reinstated, steps will be taken to procure her reinstatement.

Mr. WYNDHAM: I am unable to say whether the facts are as stated in the first part of the Question. I have already said that an application for reinstatement has been received in this case and will be considered in due course by the Estates Commissioners.

Mr. BOLAND: Has the right hon. Gentleman directed an inquiry of the landlords?

Mr. WYNDHAM: I have stated that the case will be considered. It is not my business to address inquiries to landlords.

Mr. BOLAND: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that this is a case of land grabbing on the part of a police constable?

Trinity College Lands Commission.

Mr. MURPHY (Kerry, E.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland what is the object for which the Viceregal Commission has been appointed in connection with Trinity College lands; and how are the tenants concerned to secure the presentation of their views before the Commission.

Mr. WYNDHAM: The objects of the inquiry are set out in the Warrant appointing the Commission, which has been widely published in the Press. The Commissioners are authorised to examine all persons whom they shall consider to be possessed of information on the subject. The procedure to be followed will be that usually adopted on the occasion of such Commissions.

Mr. MURPHY: I wanted the right hon. Gentleman to tell me the real meaning of this.

Mr. WYNDHAM: If the hon. Member will carry his memory back to the time when the Committee was appointed, he will remember that the suggestion came from the other side of the House.

Mr. REDDY (King's County, Birr): Was it a shelving Commission?

Piers in the Dingle Union.

Mr. THOMAS O'DONNELL: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether any further steps have been taken by the Congested Districts Board to inquire into and report on the needs for better piers for the fishermen at Ballydavid, Smerwick, and Brandon Creek.

Mr. WYNDHAM: I have nothing to add to my reply to the similar Question on the 11th May by the hon. Member for West Kerry,[†] except that the slip at Smerwick will be commenced by the Board in the course of the present year.

Mr. THOMAS O'DONNELL: Might I ask the right hon. Gentleman whether, having regard to the position of the local fishermen employed in that part, he will reconsider his reply ?

[†] See (4) *Debates*, cxxxiv., 1023.

Mr. WYNDHAM : I have said I cannot reconsider my reply. There are other interests as well as those of the fishermen to be considered.

Construction of Pier at Minard.

Mr. THOMAS O'DONNELL : I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that Lord Ventry refuses to allow the Kerry Council and the Agricultural Department to construct a pier at Minard, which is urgently needed by the fishermen of the district ; and, if so, will he state what steps he proposes to take in the matter.

Mr. WYNDHAM : The Department promised to make a contribution towards the cost of erection of a slip at this place, but it has no information of Lord Ventry's alleged action in the matter.

Mr. THOMAS O'DONNELL : As Lord Ventry has refused, will the right hon. Gentleman take any further action ?

Mr. WYNDHAM : Neither I nor any one in this House has any power to order persons to part with their property if they do not wish to.

Boys' National School, Coalisland.

Mr. DOOGAN (Tyrone, E.) : I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that the Boys' National School in Coalisland is unsuitable in size and structure for the efficient instruction of the increasing average attendance, and that the parish priest and manager obtained a site, submitted plans, and made an application to the Commissioners for a building grant over four years ago ; and, if so, whether he can explain the cause of the Board's delay in sanctioning the grant.

Mr. WYNDHAM : The Commissioners have requested the manager of the school to state if he is prepared to proceed with the building of the school under the old regulations, and should he elect to do so the case will be considered accordingly.

Lord Shaftesbury's Visits to County Kerry.

Mr. MURPHY : I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland how often Lord Shaftesbury visited the county of Kerry since his appointment on the Congested Districts Board ; what was the date of his last visit to the county ; and did he on any visit or by other methods ever seek or obtain the opinions of the county council and other representative bodies in an official manner in reference to the problems to be dealt with and the methods to be applied.

Mr. WYNDHAM : Lord Shaftesbury made two visits to Kerry in 1902 ; two in 1903, and one during the present year, in February. He was accompanied on the last occasion by the Board's Chief Inspector, Mr. Doran. In the course of his visits he has come into contact with most of the parish priests and a large number of county and district councillors.

Mr. MURPHY : The right hon. Gentleman did not answer the question as to whether Lord Shaftesbury consulted the county councils or other representatives in their official capacity.

Trinity College, Dublin.

Captain DONELAN (Cork County, E.) : On behalf of my hon. friend the Member for South Donegal, I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether he will give the Return asked for in the Order Paper this day relating to the revenues and method of government, and administration of Trinity College, Dublin.

The PRIME MINISTER and FIRST LORD of the TREASURY (Mr. A. J. Balfour, Manchester, E.) : I could not promise to give this Return until I have had a full opportunity of communicating with the authorities of Trinity College, but in the Report of the Royal Commission of 1873 there are Returns available. If the hon. Member will put his Question again, I will communicate with the authorities with regard to the revenue.

Captain DONELAN : On what day may I repeat this Question on behalf of my hon. friend ?

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: This day week I shall be pleased to deal with it.

The Return referred to is as follows:—Trinity College, Dublin,—Return of Revenues and Statement of method of government and administration, in the following form:—

(*a*) A Statement of the Revenues of the College, and of the sources from which they are derived.

(*b*) As to the Fellows of the College—Their number; method of election; tenure of office; the duties and emoluments of each individual Fellow, and the sources from which those emoluments are derived; how many, and which of them, hold professorships or other offices.

(*c*) As to the Professors—Their number; method of election; tenure of office; the duties and emoluments of each Professor; whence are these emoluments derived; how many, and which of them hold other collegiate offices.

(*d*) A Statement of the method of government and administration of the College (distinguishing the duties of the Board and of the Academic Council) and of the number, duties, and salaries of the persons, other than servants, porters, etc., employed in the College.

(*e*) A Statement giving particulars as to the four professional schools, showing—(1) The number of Professors and Teachers in each school; (2) The emoluments received by each such Professor and Teacher; (3) The fees paid in each school for professional instruction.

(*f*) A statement giving particulars of the amount and employment of the Fund received as compensation for the Church livings of which the College was deprived in 1869, showing—(1) The original amount of the Fund; (2) The method of investment; (3) The employment of the interest of the Fund; (4) The present amount of the Fund.

(*g*) What provision is made for pensioning Fellows and Professors and other persons in the employment of the College. How many pensions have been granted since 1870. Age, employment, and cause of retirement of persons to whom such pensions have been granted. How many of such persons are now living.

Redistribution of Seats.

Mr. COGHILL: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether he will give a day, before the end of the present session, for the discussion of the principles on which the Redistribution of Seats Bill of next session is to be founded.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: My experience is that the business of the current session is quite enough for the time of the session. I am unwilling to introduce the addition my hon. friend thinks appropriate or necessary, and he will forgive me if I cannot accede to his request.

Mr. COGHILL: Might I ask the right hon. Gentleman if I am to gather that the Government have no intention whatever of introducing such a Bill during the present Parliament.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: I am not aware that any phrase or part of a phrase I may have used would give my hon. friend any foundation for that inference.

Effective Warlike Preparations.

Mr. J. F. HOPE (Sheffield, Brightside): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury if he is prepared to appoint an Inter-departmental Committee to consider the bearing of the present financial system of the country on effective warlike preparation in times of crisis and to report whether, by the establishment of a money reserve or otherwise, any changes in that system are desirable.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: I am aware my hon. friend has given much time and trouble to this subject, but technical reasons influence the Treasury and induce me to ask him to allow me to consider his request further. I will communicate with him on the subject, but I hope he will not assume that further consideration will necessarily end in a favourable reply to his Question.

Southwark and Birmingham Bishoprics Bill.

Mr. THORNTON: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether he will state when it is proposed to take the Report stage of the Southwark and Birmingham Bishoprics Bill.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: I am anxious to complete the remaining stages of this Bill, but my hon. friend is aware that I cannot give him any promise with regard to it.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

Mr. JOHN REDMOND (Waterford) asked what business would be taken on Friday and Monday.

Mr. BRYCE (Aberdeen, S.) asked whether it was intended to defer further consideration of the Scotch Education Bill until the Licensing Bill was finished. He also asked when it was proposed that the Secretary for War should make his promised statement. Perhaps the right hon. Gentleman would allow him to observe that the session was advancing, and it would become important before long to have a discussion on the Army Estimates, for which the statement was necessary.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: I differ from the right hon. Gentleman's last statement; the views of my right hon. friend do not affect the Army Estimates for the current year.

Mr. BRYCE: Surely we cannot properly discuss the Estimates without knowing what the proposals for altering the existing conditions in the Army are.

Mr. WINSTON CHURCHILL (Oldham) asked was it not a fact that Estimates had been passed on the understanding, given by the Secretary for War, that he had a plan he intended to announce?

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: I am not aware that he could do that. But the Estimates for the year deal with the necessary Army expenditure, and that estimated expenditure cannot be affected for good or for evil by a plan for Army reform which cannot come into operation until after the period dealt with by the Estimates. Therefore, though it might be very convenient to raise the question on the Estimates, it is not necessary for the discussion of the Estimates. The right hon. Gentleman asks a question in reference to the Scotch Education Bill. I think it would be inconvenient to make any definite arrangement as to the exact order in which the various stages of Bills that have to be passed should be taken. That depends on considerations that are not now present to my mind or the minds of Members. I can only deal with the immediate future. As to the Question of the hon. Member for Waterford, I had sanguinely hoped that, even if we were not fortunate enough to finish the Committee stage of the Finance Bill last night, we at all events should without difficulty or doubt be able to finish it on Friday; but it is evident now that the fulfilment of such a hope is not possible, and, inasmuch as I have promised to bring on the Licensing Bill on Monday, we shall not dispose of the stage of the Finance Bill whatever plan is adopted. In the circumstances, therefore, and to meet the strongly expressed wish of a large section of the House, I propose on Friday to take the two Irish Bills upon which the hon. and learned Member for Waterford has asked several Questions.

Mr. JOHN REDMOND asked if the Labourers (Ireland) Bill would be taken first. It would probably occupy the whole day.

Mr. BRYCE reminded the right hon. Gentleman that he had not answered the Question about the statement of the Secretary for War. The Army Estimates would contain a number of Votes for the salaries of officers whose offices might or might not be continued, and a discussion on these points would be useless if the offices were not to be continued in the next year. Did the Licensing Bill still stand for Monday?

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: Yes. I dissent entirely from the right hon. Gentleman. The Estimates will not be affected by the statement. for which I cannot now fix a day.

Mr. JOHN REDMOND: The right hon. Gentleman says he will take the Licensing Bill on Monday. Is he then going to hang up the Finance Bill? When will it be taken again?

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: I have already said I can only deal with the business immediately before us. It is quite evident that the Finance Bill must be passed and the Licensing Bill must be passed.

QUESTIONS TO MEMBERS.

Mr. WINSTON CHURCHILL desired a ruling from the Speaker upon a point of order which arose out of an incident on the previous day in connection with procedure in the House. The point he desired to submit for ruling was whether a Member was in order in addressing a Question to a non-official Member of the House on a subject relating to a Motion, Bill, or other business of the House with which that non-official Member was concerned. In asking for this ruling he mentioned that on the previous day Mr. Deputy-Speaker ruled——

***Mr. SPEAKER**: Order, Order! The hon. Member is now asking me to give a ruling in reference to a ruling given yesterday by the Deputy-Speaker. That cannot be done.

Mr. WINSTON CHURCHILL said he did not intend the slightest disrespect towards the Deputy-Speaker's ruling; he was anxious for guidance in the future, fearing that a valuable right might be lost to private Members. Most respectfully he asked, and not in connection with any incident of the previous day, for a ruling on the point raised, and in doing so drew attention to the record of proceedings in the House on 29th April, 1864, from which it appeared that, in answer to Sir C. O. Loghlan, the then Speaker said:—The Rule of the House in respect to asking Questions is that any Question can be put relating to any Bill, Motion, or any other public matter relating to business of the House, and if the hon. Member is prepared to show that his Question comes within this limit he may put it, otherwise he must take the opportunity of referring to the subject in debate." He desired most respectfully to ask the Speaker's ruling on the point.

***Mr. SPEAKER**: Of course I dissociate myself altogether from any suggestion that there is an appeal to me from any ruling given by the Chairman of Ways and Means. In answering the Question I confine myself to stating my opinion whether the ruling given in 1864 correctly represents the present Rule of the House. I think it does. The Question must relate to some Bill, proceeding, or matter for which the hon. Member to whom the Question is addressed has responsibility. It does not follow that any Question may be asked or that it ought to be asked without notice; it may be that the Member may require notice of the Question to be given. The hon. Member will understand that I give a categorical Answer to his Question and I decline to go further.

Mr. WINSTON CHURCHILL said he did not gather that the ruling of the Speaker was that in no circumstances could a Question be addressed to any Member without notice.

***Mr. SPEAKER**: It is sufficient to say that the Rule is correctly stated in Sir Erskine May's work, and also, I believe, in the Manual of Procedure recently laid on the Table.

***Mr. CORRIE GRANT** (Warwickshire, Rugby) drew attention to the fact that Question 52 on the Paper was not asked. Was that due to the fact that it had been overlooked or had the hon. Member withdrawn it?

Mr. SPEAKER: The hon. Member withdrew it.

NEW MEMBER SWORN.

John Williams Benn, esquire, for the Borough of Devonport.

ELECTRIC LIGHTING (LONDON) BILL.

Reported, from the Select Committee, with Minutes of Evidence.

Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 220.]

Bill, as amended, re-committed to a Committee of the Whole House for Monday next, and to be printed. [Bill 237.]

NEW BILL.

CROWN LANDS BILL.

"To amend the Crown Lands Acts, 1829 to 1894," presented by Mr. Victor Cavendish; supported by Sir A. Acland-Hood; to be read a second time upon Tuesday next, and to be printed. [Bill 239.]

THE CHAIRMAN OF WAYS AND MEANS.

The Clerk at the Table informed the House of the unavoidable absence of the Chairman of Ways and Means.

SUPPLY [14TH ALLOTTED DAY].

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[Mr. JEFFREYS (Hampshire, N.) in the Chair.]

CIVIL SERVICES AND REVENUE DEPARTMENTS ESTIMATES, 1904–5.

CLASS II.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £110,406, be granted to His Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1905, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Department of Agriculture and other Industries and Technical Instruction for Ireland, and of the services administered by that Department, including sundry Grants in Aid."

*MR. J. P. FARRELL (Longford, N.) said he rose for the purpose of drawing attention to the working of the Agricultural and Technical Instruction (Ireland) Act passed in the year 1899 for the purpose of advancing the agricultural interest in Ireland. He believed the intention of the Government also at the time was to create some new industries, or at least to protect those that remained in the country. The Board was to include a President, a Vice-President, and certain elected and non-elected members. Although the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary was the President of the Board created by the Act the Vice-President was really the be-all and end-all of the Department. He had no desire to make any personal attack on Sir Horace Plunkett, and if the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary thought they were criticising that gentleman too strongly he would remind the right hon. Gentleman that no one could say that too much criticism had been bestowed upon the working of this Act, considering that for the last four years it had escaped criticism altogether, although the House had voted large sums for its working. He did not doubt that this Department was set up with good intentions. He would be very slow to assume that the intentions with which it was set up were altogether bad, although they were opposed to those ideas which the Nationalist Members held, but at the same time he believed that the idea underlying the establishment of this Department was anti-Nationalist and to draw another red herring across the path of Home Rule. No one could say that the Act had not a fair trial, but so far as the result of its working was concerned it was, in his opinion, a ghastly failure. The Vote for the purposes of this Act was £196,406, in addition to which the counties provided a penny rate, so that in addition to the Imperial contribution Ireland contributed a very large sum for the working of this Act—a sum of nearly £400,000 a year. Of this amount £43,402 was for salaries paid to officials; for greasing the wheels of this machine; paid to a number of people who were believed to be experts in agricultural and technical sciences but who had been far from giving value for the salaries they received.

It might be said that because this Department was spending £400,000 a year on its work in Ireland they ought to be grateful for the sum that was spent upon this scheme, but that was not the view of the Nationalist Members. England had undertaken to rule Ireland and do everything for her which she could do for herself, and when some portion of the over-taxation which was extracted from her was given back in this way they did not look upon it as a favour. Further they were entitled to say the money should be spent in the way which would give the greatest benefit. He asserted that this Department was run according to the worst traditions of Castle Rule in Ireland. He had studied its work in his own bailiwick and had some personal knowledge of it, and he knew that on every occasion when the local County Committees, whether of Agricultural or Technical Instruction, with their better local knowledge of the necessities of the district, set their backs to the wall in order that certain concessions should be granted, they were told by the secretary of the Department that if they persisted in making these claims the Agricultural and Technical Instruction Grants could not be paid. He had read a book in which great claim had been made for the advance of democratic thought, but if this was a specimen of democratic management of the Department by Sir Horace Plunkett, then it would be a very good job if they had never seen the Department. Everything had been done by the people to give the Act a fair trial, but, although that was so and this Department had the assistance of all the expert local advice it could reasonably be expected to have, on every occasion that it was necessary for a committee to draw a line for themselves and not go according to the inspectors of the Department, they were threatened with these serious results unless they fell in with the wishes of the Department.

The Agricultural Committee under this Act devoted itself to improving the breed of cattle, swine, horses, and poultry. He had it on the authority of the largest farmer in county Longford, who was chairman of the county council, that the horse breeding scheme, so far as county Longford was concerned, was the very worst that had ever been invented. It had cleared the district of a strong native stock and had resulted in a positive injury to the farmers of the district. The same might be said of the pigs. Pigs were a very important item with the small farmer in Ireland. The Department had introduced a breed of pigs—"technical pigs" they called them in Ireland—the progeny of which was better fitted for a coursing match than fattening for a cattle show, long thin things which never fattened and one became tired of feeding them. More important still was the evil which had been done to the cattle; several classes of cattle had been introduced into the country not one of which had been suitable to the locality. At the end of last session political business took him to county Meath, and during his visit there he came across a large number of the grass farmers of that country, who assured him that before the institution of this blessed Department there was a good strong healthy native breed of cattle, but since the introduction of the new breeding stock the cattle had been much disimproved.

The Act, therefore, was an absolute failure and a loss to the farmers of the country. They complained loudly that they were already taxed to the extent of 1d. in the £ for the purpose of working this Department, which, so far from being of an assistance to them, caused injury. After having done all they could during the last four years to assist the working of the Act, and to extract all the good they could get out of it, that result was very disappointing, and he considered that they were entitled to complain that they did not receive value for the money expended nor was there any likelihood of obtaining value at the hands of this Department.

The same remark applied to the technical instruction side of the working of the Act. That was designed to give young lads and girls some training so that the eye and hand could work together and they might become something more than mere "hewers of wood and drawers of water." The complaint made with reference to this sort of instruction was that it was very good whilst it lasted but the results were not permanent. The proper facilities refused by the Department for the creation of a central school to which the best boys could be sent was the cause of this complaint. He did not like to introduce the question of sectarianism or religion in the House. Whatever the feelings of Irishmen might be towards their opponents as politicians, they had always been tolerant towards them as

Protestants. But Sir Horace Plunkett had written a book which he regretted had ever been published. The right hon. Gentleman, whilst professing a very great interest in their moral and material welfare, had gone out of his way to insult the feelings of the people of Ireland. No doubt he had bestowed credit and blame impartially, and seemed to find salvation in no place in Ireland. As much fault was found with hon. Gentlemen from Ulster as was found with the Nationalists. But it was a different thing when the right hon. Gentleman proceeded to criticise the clergy of Ireland. In the work of this Department the Catholic clergy had given the right hon. Gentleman a great deal of assistance, and they deserved better treatment at his hands. Sir Horace Plunkett said—

> "A charge of another kind has of late been brought against the Roman Catholic clergy, which has a direct bearing upon the economic aspect of this question. Although, as I read Irish history, the Roman Catholic priesthood, had, in the main, used their authority with personal disinterestedness if not always with prudence and discretion, their undoubted zeal for religion has on occasions assumed forms which enlightened Roman Catholics, including high dignitaries of that Church, think unjustifiable on economic grounds, and discourage even from a religious standpoint. Excessive and extravagant Church building in the heart and at the expense of poor communities has been objected to on the surely not irreligious grounds that the best monument of any clergyman's influence and earnestness must always be found in the moral character and spiritual fibre of his flock, and not in the marbles and mosaics of a gaudy edifice. If, however, in some cases the sense of proportion has been obscured by a misdirected zeal, the excesses complained of cannot be fairly judged without some reference to the past."

This was an insult of the gravest character. The right hon. Gentleman must know that when Ireland had its own churches and when Ireland had built up a great national system of churches throughout the country, the class to which he belonged came in and confiscated it. It was an insult of the very gravest character to now taunt the people of Ireland because they were trying to undo the work of centuries of Protestant zeal and Protestant confiscation. Another passage from the book was as follows—

> "It is not alone extravagant church building, which in a country so backward as Ireland, shows the economic sense. The multiplication —in inverse ratio to a declining population—of costly and elaborate monastic and conventual institutions, involving what in the aggregate must be an enormous annual expenditure for maintenance, is difficult to reconcile with the known conditions of the country."

Would it not be time to say this when the Catholics of Ireland made a protest? If the Catholic people of Ireland were willing to maintain their convents and monasteries, what had that to do with the right hon. Gentleman or with any Protestant so long as that Protestant was free and was not asked to contribute to their fund? The publication of this book was an insult to the Catholics of Ireland, and, after the help and assistance which the Catholics of Ireland had given, it was most ungrateful of the right hon. Gentleman to insult them in this unpardonable manner.

One would imagine from reading the book that everyone was treated on a broad and liberal basis by this Department, but he would call attention to the manner in which the Catholic and Nationalist clerks were treated by permanent Government officials. He would convince hon. Members that this liberality was not so real as it appeared. The Department was run by a great number of officials the heads of which received large salaries. Mr. Cautrell was a first-class clerk with a salary of £850, first-class railway fares, 21s. for lodging allowance, and 7s. per day of seven hours spent away from home. He was in charge of six clerks, to whose case he (the hon. Member) desired to call attention. These clerks, who constituted the main staff of the Veterinary Department, had all been in the service at least ten years, and yet their salaries were under £90 a year each. According to a statement prepared by these gentlemen, which he would be glad to send to the Chief Secretary, they conducted the administrative work of the branch practically on their own initiative; they had repeatedly asked the Department to give them salaries at a reasonable figure, but the request had always been refused, notwithstanding the fact that inexperienced persons, generally English or Scotch non-Catholics, were constantly being brought in to do exactly the same work at three times the salary. This was the broad-minded liberal Department which was to be a substitute for Home Rule in Ireland! Moreover, these clerks had received an intimation from Mr. Cautrell that if they pressed their application they would be removed from the Department altogether. He submitted that it was grossly unfair that such a man, brought in and placed over the heads of others, should be permitted to address these gentlemen in such terms, or indeed to refuse the revision of their salaries at all when Sir Horace Plunkett was at the head of the Department. The clerks had endeavoured, without success, to see the chiefs of the office, and they remained with wages practically equivalent to those of day labourers.

It would probably be said that it was very easy to criticise and condemn this or any other Department but that they never put forward an alternative constructive policy. It was not his place to propound policies, but he might express his individual opinion. The hundreds of thousands of pounds spent by this Department had been badly spent, there was no value to show for it, and he believed there never would be. The predecessor of the present Chief Secretary, when introducing the Bill by which the Department was created, prophesied that the working of the Board would be of so beneficent a character that emigration would cease. The Board had been in existence four years, during which time 160,000 people had left the shores of Ireland. So far from anybody having been kept in the country through the work of the Board, he believed it had prepared people to seek their fortunes elsewhere. There were many ways in which the money might have been spent, with less waste on officials and more benefit to the country. If one-fourth of the amount wasted under the Act had been spent on the railway system of Ireland, the whole condition of railway transit might have been altered. Many Acts for the benefit of the labourers had been passed, but they were starved in their operation by the refusal to grant money for the relief of rates. The drainage of the country and the amelioration of the condition of the congested districts afforded great fields in which this money might have been much more usefully expended. But it all came back to the old point. The Government were ready to take the advice of everybody except the elected representatives of the people in preparing their measures for the Government of Ireland. The only remedy for all this maladministration, the foolish expenditure of public money, and the bolstering up of officialdom, was Home Rule. The people had the right to work these things themselves without the control of imported inspectors or of men who neither knew nor wished to know the true wishes of the people. As a protest against the working of this Act, and as an evidence of his belief in its failure, he moved to reduce the Vote by £100.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum not exceeding £110,306, be granted for the said Service."—(*Mr. Farrell.*)

MR. COGHILL (Stoke-upon-Trent) said that with reference to the particular office under discussion, he thought a great breach of faith had been committed by the Government towards the House. When the then Chief Secretary for Ireland brought in the Bill creating this office he gave a distinct pledge that the office of Vice-President should be a Parliamentary office. When Sir Horace Plunkett was first appointed, he was a Member of the House of Commons, but at the election of 1900 he lost his seat, and in view of the Chief Secretary's pledge he ought to have ceased to hold the office. Since then he had stood as a candidate for Galway, and he (the hon. Member) was bound to say that the programme put forward by Sir Horace Plunkett on that occasion made it very hard indeed for any Unionist Member to support him. He wished also to refer to the appointment of the secretary of the Department, Mr. Gill. He did not wish to say anything about the merits or demerits of Mr. Gill, as he knew nothing about him; but he did say it was extremely hard, seeing that in the year 1887 they were asked to vote for the imprisonment of Mr. Gill, that they should now be asked to express their confidence in him as the secretary of a public Department. He wished to ask how long the present state of things was to continue, and when the pledge given by the late Chief Secretary was to be redeemed.

MR. FLYNN (Cork County, N.) said that they had tried to give the Department the fullest possible chance of promoting the material and moral welfare of the people of Ireland, but it had absolutely failed, and the Department was now in a woeful state. There was not a practical man in Ireland to-day outside the small coterie of officials who had any confidence in the Department. All along the Members of the Nationalist Party had mistrusted its ability to work out the millennium or to settle for ever the great political questions upon which the people of Ireland had set their hearts. After four years experience of this Department where did they find themselves? They found that they possessed in Ireland a Department as much overmanned as any Department that ever existed in Ireland. The Board of Agriculture had secured the hearty assistance of the various localities all over Ireland. and the co-operation of the county councils and the district councils, and these public bodies had raised rates and taxed themselves to further the work of the Department. Notwithstanding all this, after four years, the only result was that everything was centralised in Dublin in the hands of a few people. who were utterly ignorant of the public opinion of the rest of Ireland. Until the recent Return was issued, few people had the faintest notion of the manner in which this Department was overmanned. In the administrative branch they had five gentlemen with large salaries and an assistant costing £5,450 a year. Now, if there was one thing which the Vice-President of that Board had pleaded for more than another it was efficiency and economy. Then there were five other gentlemen, whose salaries came to £1,220 with travelling expenses. In the agricultural branch there were fourteen inspectors and assistants, costing £3,711, and the technical instruction branch employed nineteen inspectors and assistants, at a cost of £4,060. This Department cost £190,000 and the main result of four years labour was that no man or county in Ireland was one penny the better. His hon. friend had referred to a very lamentable fact. It was thought when this Department was started and thoroughly supplied with funds that it would effect such improvements in the condition of the people that the terrible drain of emigration would have been decreased, but this had not been the case, for no less than 160,000 young men and women had left Ireland since this Department was established. Consequently, it had not had the slightest effect in checking emigration.

He had heard it stated publicly by the Vice-President that in selecting gentlemen for appointments under the Board no regard was paid to nationality or creed, but it was a fact that nearly all the "plums" in regard to the chief appointments were given to gentlemen from England and Scotland, and from anywhere but Ireland, of whose experience they knew nothing. They were men of whose attainments they knew nothing, and yet they were paid those very fat salaries which they had hoped would never have been paid by the Board. In the fisheries branch there was an officer who was described as a temporary inspector, and he knew from his own knowledge that this gentleman was trained as a brewer. He believed this official had had some yachting experience but that was all. He should not have referred to this case except for the fact that he was anxious to show the system of jobbery which underlay these appointments in Ireland. The Chief Secretary had informed him that this gentleman was only appointed temporarily, but he noticed that when the Department took him over he was appointed at £500 a year. This official might be an excellent judge of porter and beer, but his knowledge of deep sea fishing was very small. He noticed in the list of officials that there was a Viscount at £250 a year. Viscount Ikerrin was appointed as an inspector in the Veterinary Department, and his qualification was that he had been the manager of an engineering firm. Therefore in Ireland they had veterinary inspectors trained in engineering works and fishery inspectors who obtained their experience in breweries.

Referring to the technical instruction branch of the Board's work, the hon. Member said the Irish people were told that they ought to depend more on their own energies instead of eternally crying to Parliament for this grant and that subsidy. They thought that was the spirit with which this Department was animated. The fact, however, was that it was the most centralised Department in Ireland, with the exception, perhaps, of the Prisons Board. A congress on technical instruction was held recently in Dublin, and good friends of the Department had sturdily denounced the centralisation connected with the work of the Board. A resolution was carried urging upon the technical department of the Board of Agriculture to secure a full share of the science and art grants and expressing regret that secret and exclusive meetings should be held between the Department and the county technical officials. This referred to the extraordinary action on the part of the Department in sending out to the principal teachers what appeared to be a secret circular inviting them to attend a conference in Dublin. Great dissatisfaction had been expressed by the local bodies that with the exception of a limited number they had been ignored. At the congress in Dublin one gentleman after another got up and complained of the action of the Department in utterly ignoring the local bodies with which they were connected in the sending out of that circular to the teachers, who were employed and paid by them, inviting them to meet in secret conclave in Dublin, in order to discuss some kind of curriculum. This was not the way to develop either self-help or the energies of the Irish people.

He wished to refer to what in the South of Ireland — which was largely agricultural—was regarded as a mistaken policy on the part of the Board. The Board seemed to distrust the system of home dairying in Ireland, and had given an unfair preference to the system of creameries. That was not the place to discuss the relative merits of home dairying and of creameries, whether proprietary or co-operative, but he might say that there were many who thought it was a misfortune for Ireland that expert skill in dairying should be lost by the people on account of the milk being sent for treatment at creameries. They held that if proper dairy arrangements were made at the farms better butter could be produced there than at the creameries. It was stated that the skim milk which was returned from the central creameries was most deleterious. One would have thought that, in a matter of this kind, the Board of Agriculture would have acted impartially, but they had encouraged the system of creameries, and discouraged the legitimate growth of home dairying. In a matter of this kind the Department should hold the scales fairly, and not throw in the weight of its authority and officialdom in favour of one particular class connected with the agricultural industry when there was among the people a marked division of opinion. The scheme of the Board's work had been a woeful, grievous, and disappointing failure. When it was proposed many of them looked upon it with distrust, and did not believe it was going to perform the extraordinary miracles in connection with the condition of Ireland which Sir Horace Plunkett so sanguinely predicted. It had had a fair trial. It had had the loyal and active co-operation of the best intellects of Ireland ; it had secured the co-operation of the county and district councils, the clergy of all denominations, and particularly the Catholic clergy, but notwithstanding all that it had caused a woeful waste of public money. The extravagance that had marked other departments of Dublin Castle had been manifested in this Department in an alarming degree. If hon. Members from Ireland had not criticised it before it was because they wished it to have a proper trial.

MR. ELLIOT (Durham) said he did not wish to enter on that fertile field of criticism which was always very much before the House of Commons in connection with the administration of Irish Departments—the subject of appointments. The hon. Member had criticised the appointments made by Sir Horace Plunkett. It was not disputed, he believed, that the appointments made by that man were extremely satisfactory from the point of view of the interests of the Department and the welfare of Ireland. In the case referred to, a man had been appointed who had been an extreme political opponent of the Unionist Party. He looked at this from an English or Scotch, rather than an Irish point of view, and for his part he rejoiced to find that the Government was able to let bygones be bygones, and to appoint a man who was generally considered to be best fitted to do the work. The Government might have preferred some one else on account of his partisanship. It was a little characteristic of an Irish debate on the Estimates that when the hon. Member behind him sat down after criticising that appointment, an Irish Member on the other side got up and proceeded, instead of defending the appointment, to criticise the appointment on precisely opposite grounds.

MR. FLYNN said he did not criticise the appointment on political grounds. It was entirely on the ground of efficiency that he protested.

MR. ELLIOT said it was rather hard that they should always have disapprobation of appointments. It would be sometimes advantageous if those who approved of an appointment were to stand up for it. He wished in all seriousness to call attention to the way in which Sir Horace Plunkett's recent expression of opinion had been treated in this House by the hon. Member who brought forward the Motion. It had been the spirit of Sir Horace Plunkett for years past not to work for Ireland as a mere politician. Looking at his work from that point of view, and remembering that it was his desire to promote the welfare of Ireland generally, he should have expected to find him supported instead of being attacked by Irishmen of different creeds and of different politics. It was Sir Horace Plunkett's desire to work for Ireland as a whole, and not as a mere politician, or as the representative of one religious persuasion. [A NATIONALIST MEMBER: We could do very well without him.] He had succeeded beyond his predecessors in rallying to his support those who took different views in politics. They had been able to work together on non-Party and non-political lines for the good and welfare of their country. The hon. Member for Longford accused Sir Horace Plunkett of having insulted the Roman Catholic religion or the priesthood. He had said things about Roman Catholics which were not dissented from by all Roman Catholics, and which were in the nature of criticism. He had made remarks of the same kind regarding the Unionist Party in Ireland which must have come home to some members of that Party. Was it not right that he, from his great experience in Ireland, should speak out frankly and point out the defects he might find on one side or the other instead of saying, as some people did, that which was only pleasant. When he was told that Sir Horace Plunkett had made an attack on the Irish priesthood he should like to read a few words from a work by him when referring to the great services rendered to Ireland by the priesthood. He said—

> "From such study as I have been able to give to the history of their Church, I have come to the conclusion that the immense power of the Irish clergy has been singularly little abused."

Then he went on, in the very next passage to that referred to by the hon. Member, as to the educational work done by the Christian Brothers and other associations. He was speaking as an educationist and gave full credit for the good work done by the Christian Brothers and other associations, and said—

> "Personally I do not think that the people who have retired from the world are the best moulders of the character of the youth who will come into direct contact with the trials and temptations of life."

Now, though Sir Horace Plunkett was a Minister of the Crown, it was of great use and importance that such views, expressed in quiet, temperate, almost judicial language should be laid before the public. Sir Horace Plunkett had been working hard with this great object in view. He believed in and greatly appreciated certain distinguished qualities in the Irish people. In some respects he considered that Irishmen were considerably in advance of Englishmen in natural gifts, and he singled out the one quality which the Irishman possessed in a higher degree than the Englishman—the power of working in association. He gave a certain advantage to the Englishman in regard to individual character, but he believed the genius of the Irish people would enable them to do better work associated together. Accordingly he had gone to work in that spirit with a system of agricultural reform which would call out those qualities which showed the merits of the Irish people in competition with the English and Scottish nations. Having acquired the habit of working together, Sir Horace Plunkett wished his fellow-countrymen to take a further step onwards in the direction he wished them to take. These views deserved the earnest consideration of Parliament. Were they an insult to the Irish people? He maintained that they were nothing of the kind. He had no sympathy with those who said that because Sir Horace Plunkett was a Minister of the Crown he should not express his opinions. In this country, which was governed by public opinion, it was not only the right but the duty of a man of experience and of a judicial mind to come into the open and show what he thought. Sir Horace Plunkett said that it was not only Irishmen who wanted teaching but Englishmen who wanted teaching, too. The latter had not understood the peculiarities, the merits, and possibly the defects of the Irish people. Sir Horace said that what was wanted was a better understanding between the one race and the other. He maintained that Sir Horace was doing a certain work such as had never been dreamed of in England or Scotland. He was taking the Irish people in hand, showing them how to help themselves and putting them in the way of developing their good or strong qualities. It was, he must say, a little disappointing to find that, when a man was animated by such admirable motives, the criticisms of his work assumed almost a captious character. Sir Horace Plunkett was an Irishman who was working to do good to Ireland, and if he had any extra-official criticism to offer he should say that it was necessary for the people at the Treasury to keep an eye on Sir Horace Plunkett. Instead of that the critics of the hon. Gentleman were in quarters where his best friends should be found. He hoped that as the debate went on there would be no condemnation of Sir Horace Plunkett because of the language he had held on political and religious topics. That gentleman had treated these matters in a judicial spirit and was an example to all of them. He had criticised the Irish Unionists in a way they did not like. He might offend one section or the other, but he had told what he believed to be the truth; and as the reader followed his words he came to believe that it was the truth that he was reading.

*COLONEL NOLAN (Galway, N.) said that although the Department had been at work for a considerable time, and had done good work, it was a fair subject for discussion and criticism. He could not agree with the hon. Member for Durham that Sir Horace Plunkett should be relieved from criticism. He was sorry that Sir Horace Plunkett had written the book which had been referred to, because it could not but create ill-feeling and coldness among the people with whom he was working. It was not very pleasant for the Catholic clergy to be attacked for extravagance in chapel building. He did not think there had been extravagance in this respect. During the last half-century they had been simply restoring and recreating chapels which had for three hundred years either been left to go to ruins or been smashed up. Sir Horace Plunkett had one disqualification—he was an Irish Protestant, and was not, therefore, qualified to criticise Catholics any more than he, Col. Nolan, was to criticise Protestants. He had attended every meeting of the Council and of the Board of Agriculture except when Parliament was sitting, and he knew the tone of these bodies. If it was wanted to find out what the public opinion was as to the working of the Agricultural and Technical Act, the meetings of the Agricultural and Technical Councils should be attended to. These Councils represented the opinion of the people, because two-thirds of them were elected by the county councils. Sir H. Plunkett had placed a very large number of Catholic clergymen on the Technical Committees, but the reason of that was that they took more interest in technical education than any other people. As to the Agricultural Department and its operations, people took very different views in regard to the breeding of horses and the rearing of cattle. Complaints had been made as to the bulls which had been purchased by the Department. There were 6,000,000 cattle in Great Britain, and 4,000,000 in Ireland, and although the Agricultural Department had done good work so far as it went in introducing bulls from first-class herds, too few had been purchased and it would be years before a full improvement could be made in the strain of cattle in Ireland. The reason for this was that the supply of good bulls in Great Britain was limited. As to horses, it was impossible to have any agreement. It was a vexed question as to whether hackney or thoroughbred sires should be employed; but he was sure that Sir Horace Plunkett had shown that he was most anxious to pay attention to the opinions of the county council committees. Sir Horace Plunkett and his Department had endeavoured, as far as possible, to steer clear of politics; but that did not always keep the Department in smooth water. Politics were all very well in their proper place. Irishmen should endeavour to obtain Home Rule, which would be far better for Ireland than any Department; but it was absolutely impossible to run a Department like the Agricultural Department politically. That had always been the policy of Sir Horace Plunkett, and he had been abused on all sides because of it. He was abused for appointing Mr. Gill. They had heard from the hon. Member for Stoke his opinion of Mr. Gill, who he said was an Irishman of the highest type. But, as a matter of fact, Mr. Gill was one of the mildest Irish Members who was ever in the House of Commons. A large number of Unionists in South Dublin were opposed to the appointment of Mr. Gill; and the result was that his hon. friend the present Member for South Dublin was returned in his stead.

Sir Horace Plunkett, undoubtedly, had great difficulty in selecting his staff. There was no first-class agricultural college in Ireland, although there were several in England and Scotland. Consequently Sir Horace Plunkett had to appoint Englishmen and Scotchmen although, doubtless, he would have preferred to have appointed Irishmen. Mr. Greene, whom he knew, was a man of first-class ability. He agreed with many of the remarks of the hon. Member for North Longford. He thought that the case of the clerks ought to be reconsidered. Sir Horace Plunkett only appointed clerks who had passed a Civil Service examination. That acted against the interests of his own province of Connaught because they had no available first-class educational establishments there; and, therefore, students had to go to Dublin to be trained. Sir Horace Plunkett's action was, however, proof that he had no desire to either use or abuse patronage. He endeavoured to get in touch with the people. He initiated a scheme by which every county could to a great extent manage its own affairs; and on the whole the scheme was working fairly well. Some counties wanted to purchase their own animals in England; but if that were allowed they would have thirty-two gentlemen from Ireland bidding against each other in the English markets. That could not be tolerated by the Department. Up to the present, however, Sir Horace Plunkett's relations with the county councils had been very satisfactory. He was attacked because he was too economical and had not spent all the money at his disposal; but his explanation was that while the Department was still engaged in the work of organisation he could not spend the money properly. But the money would eventually be useful. He himself hoped that the Motion would be discussed dispassionately, as, otherwise, it might have the effect of impairing Sir Horace Plunkett's authority in Ireland. He devoted himself to his work with great pains, and in a manner which on the whole was very successful.

Sir JAMES HASLETT (Belfast, N.) said that it was a matter for congratulation that this debate had been conducted in a kindly spirit. He joined with the hon. Member who had just sat down that they should not approach the subject in a carping spirit. He believed the right hon. Gentleman sought in the work of his Department to produce the best and kindest results to Ireland. He was somewhat surprised to hear from the hon. Member who moved the Amendment that the efforts to improve the breed of cattle had not only proved utterly abortive, but that the character of the cattle had deteriorated. He did not think the statement was borne out by the facts. Certainly it was not borne out by the exhibitions at the shows, nor by the cattle exported, nor by the Scottish demand for young Irish cattle. In all these respects it was universally stated that the quality of the cattle had appreciably improved. He was speaking only of the North of Ireland. Unfortunately he had no personal acquaintance with the South; but he was quite free to confess that outside the immediate prize counties of Antrim and Down there was a great improvement in the breed. In the North, farmers found it more profitable to breed young cattle for the Scottish and English demand than to fatten them themselves. Scottish buyers complained that the cattle were large in bone and correspondingly large in flesh, and they required them to be small in bone and large in flesh. The Ulster farmers were, as men should, endeavouring to meet that demand, because they must cater for the market and try to produce goods which would bring in the best possible prices. It had been said that after three or four years they had not had the result that was expected. He could quite realise that. But supposing they took the ordinary cow, the property of the ordinary small farmer, and tried to produce a superior calf by a superior bull. They had then only got one generation. It required three or four generations before they could rise to the higher scale in the animal creation and produce the highest class of animal. In the same way with regard to pigs. In Limerick they had a pig to which there was none superior in the kingdom. They had catered for the market both in the curing of the pork and the production of the pigs, and it was desirable that that practice should become universal in Ireland. The class of pig known as the "greyhound" had had its day. It would not put on flesh, though it was a splendid animal for grazing on the neighbours' farms. That, however, was not the class of pig wanted for the market in competition with America and the countries of Europe. With regard to horses, Ireland had produced, and he hoped would continue to produce, the best hunters in the world. The question was repeatedly being asked as to what class of animal could be best produced. If they went in for an extremely fine animal, such as was found on the racecourse, it would probably turn out deficient in bone and general usefulness. Personally, he believed hackneys would yield the best results. But, inasmuch as every hon. Member would have his own favourite, surely the proper policy to pursue was to try each and find out which yielded the best results. The West of Ireland would produce the best horses. He had been told that if a horse was taken from the West of Ireland and grazed in county Down or Antrim on what was generally conceded to be better grass, the horse would not turn out so good an animal as it would if kept on its native soil. These were matters for careful study and keen competition, and the Department, if it did nothing else, would have set men to think out the problem of the best way to make agriculture successful.

He was specially interested in certain matters connected with technical instruction. Technical instruction, like the breeding of animals, must be slow. It was necessary to begin with the youth of the country. Old men in businesses of any kind could scarcely adapt themselves to new forms and ceremonies. Therefore, the youthful mind should be grappled with, and moulded for greater usefulness in the society into which it would ultimately enter. The technical schools had produced certain results. Creameries had been established to compete with the creameries abroad, but they required very delicate handling. Everything started by Tom, Dick, or Harry, and calling itself a creamery, was not to be taken into one's arms as though it were certain to be a success. Creameries might be damned by bad management, therefore it was of the utmost importance that when they started on the principle of co-operation—for that was what a creamery practically meant—the creamery should be managed on the best possible business lines and according to a system that was economically sound. Unless that were done, farmers would find they had lost their money, and in consequence would look with suspicion upon everything which arose out of the system of creameries. He was not at all certain that Ireland could ever develop into a cheese country. It was strange that it should be so, seeing that Ireland was one of the best butter countries in the world, if only the manipulation of the butter progressed as it ought to do. But the old-fashioned arrangements with the midden outside the window of the building in which the cream and milk were placed to mature, and all that sort of thing, would have to give place to something better, and if the technical schools taught the people that "something better" they would have done good service.

The next point to which he wished to refer concerned the technical schools. He hoped the schools throughout the country would be generously treated, and that the scholastic work would be carried on without fear or favour. In Belfast they were establishing a technical school at a cost of £100,000. They received their share of the grant for technical instruction, amounting to £9,000 or £10,000 a year, and they raised a penny rate, which yielded about £4,500, but that was swallowed up by the interest on the cost of the building. Therefore, they were depending upon the grant in aid for technical instruction, and he hoped that that would man them fairly well for grappling with the entire subject of technology as necessarily applied to a manufacturing district like Belfast. In technology each district should try and adapt its technical instruction to the general wants and needs of the district. He was a Home Ruler in that respect. He held that they must of necessity take note of their instruction and bring it near to the people and let it be in sympathy with the wants of the particular district. But they must not stop there. They had passed the day when they could expect five or six sons of one farmer to vegetate about one farmstead; a number of them would necessarily go elsewhere. In that respect emigration was not to be deprecated. They were not to say that a man who sought a better outlay for his capital should not be allowed to go abroad. It was that which was the curse of Ireland in the old times—when a man with fifty acres had five or six sons, and as each of them got married he gave them a slice off his farm until he brought it down to five or six acres, upon which no man could live and prosper. Therefore, they must educate the men in their position, but they must not expect to fix them there, though in the long run he would hope that the technical instruction and general instruction would so open up the industries of the country that emigration might be stayed and that they might rather have immigration than emigration in the future.

Sia James Haslett.

As regarded the Belfast Technical School, it would occupy a postion of general instruction on all mercantile and general subjects. But there was a sphere beyond what a technical school could and should aim at, viz., the sphere of higher inquiry that belonged properly to a college. They would educate in technology through a college in Belfast, which would be second to none in the kingdom; but technical instruction or technology proper as applied to general instruction could not go up to the higher departments of inquiry in order to continue instruction given in the lower departments of technology. In chemistry, for instance, they taught all that at present was known as chemistry, but they would not begin to teach in a technical school the subject of research in bacteriology, though they might incidentally teach it in the ordinary lectures. But that was a necessary inquiry, because their health depended upon inquiry in connection with that great science. What he wanted to bring to the knowledge of the Chief Secretary and of the Attorney-General was that Queen's College at Belfast got its £10,000 a year. The wealthy citizens of Belfast had subscribed £40,000 or £50,000 in an endeavour to bring that Queen's College up to a high standard. In a year or two when the technical school or college in Belfast was fully equipped it would be in many respects superior to Queen's College, and that was the fault of which he complained. It ought never to be so. Queen's College should be the aim of the higher students, and the higher knowledge of Queen's College should be disseminated through the technical college. They had appealed to the Chief Secretary, who was always most kind and assured them of what he was going to do; but he had never brought that assurance down to the £. s. d. What they wanted was that they should have a fair and reasonable proportion of this technical grant given for special work in the higher departments connected with such subjects as chemistry and engineering, and plans worked out in connection with the great industries of the North of Ireland, which he hoped would be spread to the South and West of Ireland. He desired to see those departments fostered and matters so arranged that Queen's College would be no longer starved, the students no longer left craving for this higher instruction, and the professors no longer left hungering for the best powers of higher research. He did not grudge the higher school in Dublin; it was a centre which he hoped would prosper; but surely the North of Ireland should also have brought nearer to it an institution which would enable the authorities to supply what the Dublin Central Board supplied to the South of Ireland. He appealed to the right hon. Gentleman to give the matter favourable consideration.

MR. MOONEY (Dublin County, S.) said that one of the reasons the Nationalist Members criticised Sir Horace Plunkett's book was that Members representing English constituencies took it as representing life in Ireland as it really was. Four years ago, when the Board was created, the hope was held out that through its agency Ireland would once more take her position as a manufacturing and farming country. The Board was to be absolutely non-sectarian and non-political, working solely for the better education of the people, and the retention of the population in the country. Many people never believed the hope would be realised; but in view of certain events they abstained from evincing active hostility to the Board. The amount of money spent had been variously estimated, but, whatever it was, what had the country to show for it? Nothing but a tract from Sir Horace Plunkett. If the right hon. Gentleman were not Vice-President of the Board, nobody would have said a word about his having written the book complained of; but the ground of complaint was that Sir Horace Plunkett, holding a position supposed to be non-political, had stepped down into the Party arena, written a Party pamphlet, and thus abused his position as Vice-President of the Board of Agriculture. Personally, he (the hon. Member) would not exclude a man from an appointment on account of his political or religious beliefs; he did not care what a man's religion was, provided he was the best man for the post; but in a country where the majority of the people were of a certain belief, he did object to outsiders of another belief being brought in to take positions which native-born persons were competent to fill. He admitted that for some of the higher appointments it might have been necessary to import these foreigners. But the right hon. Gentleman himself did not practise what he preached, because, while it was constantly urged that the religious belief of the servants of the Board were absolutely unknown, Sir Horace Plunkett in his book made references "to notorious bigotry," and carried out his doctrine of recreating Ireland from within by importing Scotsmen from without. The whole spirit of the book was that of a superior being who had come down amongst the people, telling them that they possessed no moral character, no self-reliance, that they were deficient in all national qualities, and that they ought to forget their history and imitate English models. Sir Horace Plunkett might be proud of his connection with Ireland, but he knew very little of the Irish character if he thought that upon his *ipse dixit* the Irish people were going to forget either their history or their nationality. Long after Sir Horace Plunkett and his book were forgotten, the doctrines which the Irish people held to be right would remain. The right hon. Gentlemen had had to find some excuse for the failure of his Department to stem the stream of emigration, and he had turned on the Roman Catholic clergy, stating that—

> "No man can get into the confidence of the emigrating classes without noticing that it is largely due to the feeling that the clergy are taking all innocent joy from home life."

That was the return the Catholic clergy received for helping Sir Horace Plunkett in the work of his Department. If the Board was to do any good work it would have to be run on the theory with which it was supposed to have been started, viz., that it should be non-sectarian and non-political. At present it was neither the one nor the other, and for that reason the Nationalists had felt compelled to bring forward the present Motion.

COLONEL SAUNDERSON (Armagh, N.) agreed that hon. Members had every right to criticise the book written by Sir Horace Plunkett, but personally he had never read a less one-sided work. The writer certainly spoke his mind with regard to the Nationalist Party and the Roman Catholic clergy—though he (the speaker) could not find anything in the book insulting to their religion—but he also strongly criticised the Unionist and Orange Parties. It had been suggested that Irish landlords must have felt their plumage ruffled by the book, but he assured hon. Members that Irish landlords had had all the feathers plucked out of their plumage long ago. The Party opposite regarded any criticism of the Church to which they belonged, or of its clergy, as necessarily insulting to that Church. It was nothing of the kind. It was impossible to avoid criticising the clergy of the Church of Rome, not because of their religion, but because of the political attitude they had assumed. They were criticised not as Roman Catholic priests, but as political priests, and the criticisms which had been levelled against them were eminently such as any man with the slightest pretence to statesmanship would write when dealing with the condition of the country, to the improvement of which Sir Horace Plunkett had undoubtedly devoted his life. The Vice-President of the Board was not at present a Member of the House of Commons, but his rejection was mainly due to his sympathies with the Nationalist Party, and the present debate was the return they made. Both in his appointments and in his administration Sir Horace Plunkett had shown that his sympathies were largely with the Party opposite, and now to a man they rose to abuse him. Sir Horace Plunkett's work was work with which every Irishman who understood the requirements of his country would entirely agree. Who could read Irish history, either past or present, without realising that the one great obstacle to Irish growth and to Irish social happiness and prosperity was the gulf that was dug in the past, and which was kept wide open in the present by bigotry and political rancour? [A NATIONALIST MEMBER: On your side.] He did not for a moment deny that there was bigotry on his side, but could hon. Members opposite say that bigotry was not also to be found on their side. [Cries of "Yes."] He knew hon. Members opposite would say anything. Whether Nationalist Members agreed with him or did not altogether agree with his policy and procedure, he believed that Sir Horace Plunkett had done a most excellent work for Ireland. Whatever the result of this debate might be he was sure it would not be a condemnation by the House of Commons of Sir Horace Plunkett for having put down in black and white what he conscientiously believed to be the great crux of the Irish question.

Hon. Gentlemen opposite objected to some of the appointments made by the Board because some of those appointed got too much and some too little salary, but as to the work of the Board itself they did not pass any very scathing criticism. Hon. Members opposite did not like this Board, because it originated in the House of Commons. They said it had done no good. If they could trace the origin of a pig, or a cow, or a calf, to the action of the House of Commons, or even the money the House gave, it had a flavour that destroyed its pleasant taste to hon. Gentlemen opposite. That, however, was not the view of Irish farmers. He could give one instance which came to his own knowledge. Hon. Members opposite were good enough to set him down as a bigot. He should like to throw down a friendly challenge to hon. Members opposite. A bigot, he supposed, was a man who not only held very strongly to his opinion—he did that, and was proud of it—but allowed his religious feeling to affect the justice of his dealings with other people. He challenged hon. Members opposite to appoint a small Committee. Let them visit estates of Roman Catholic gentlemen in the South and West and put on a piece of paper the number of Protestant labourers on those estates. Then let the same committee go to the county in which he lived, visit his estate, and find out how many Roman Catholics he employed as labourers and workmen on his demesne, and they would find three-quarters of the labourers on his estate, in Ulster, Roman Catholics. They all went against him solid. Politically, he was sure they disliked him very much, but, personally, he was glad to say they were on most excellent terms. The case he wished to bring forward was this. The Board of Agriculture sent round to various counties in Ireland lecturers who spoke on the way of cultivating the soil and bringing up crops. He knew a farmer, a most excellent man, a Roman Catholic, who attended those lectures, and put in practice on his own farm the lessons he learned, and the result was that he trebled the amount of crops he grew on his land. Hon. Members laughed but they probably grew no crops. He had done this simply by learning from a lecturer how those things ought to be done. And the crops were so good that people came from the whole surrounding district to look at them. There was no politics in that, there was no religion in that. It was nothing but simply improving the Irish tenant by teaching him how to cultivate his land—a sort of humdrum policy which did not commend itself to excited political patriots. That was going on now all over Ireland, and as the Irish people learned, as they must learn soon, that by paying attention to the scientific cultivation of the land they would be able to compete with Denmark, France, and other agricultural countries, they would have learned a lesson that would do more to make Ireland a happy and prosperous country than all the politics that had ever been fulminated in their ears either south or north of the Boyne..

In regard to technical education he had always been told that Ireland was an agricultural country, and not a country that could carry on great manufacturing industries. It had not got coal and iron, true, but the great asset of Ireland was not a matter of horses or pigs or sheep or cattle; it was the brains that had been bestowed upon her people. He did not believe there was any other country in the world with which they did not compare favourably in that respect. How were they to develop the brains of the Irish people? One thing must be done. They must divest technical education of the flavour of religious intolerance or bigotry. Unfortunately that was not always done. In one case that came before him it struck him that the technical education authorities had not learned it yet, a case in which Sir Horace Plunkett, he was afraid, was very considerably to blame. In the town of Lurgan, where undoubtedly the majority were Protestants, although there was a considerable Roman Catholic minority, the local authority determined to set up a technical school; an inspector went down and the result was a grant of £850 was made to that school. But a gentleman who had been once a Member of the House, sitting on the Nationalist Benches, discovered a great difficulty in the way. He wrote a letter to say that to carry on a technical school in the town of Lurgan without separating the Roman Catholics from the Protestants was impossible. He stated that the Roman Catholic children could not leave the part of the town in which they lived and go to the part of the town in which the schools were situated without insult and injury. There never was a greater invention even of an exuberant Irish mind than that. The children in Lurgan lived on friendly terms. Certainly stones had been thrown in Lurgan —he did not deny that.

MR. JOSEPH DEVLIN (Kilkenny, N.): May I ask the right hon. Gentleman was this ex-Member of Parliament an Irish Protestant?

COLONEL SAUNDERSON: I do not think he has much religion of any kind. Hon. Gentlemen opposite were no doubt acquainted with him and knew his profession of faith.

MR. JOSEPH DEVLIN: I say the statement that he has no religion at all is a foul slander. He is as good a Protestant as you are.

COLONEL SAUNDERSON said he had not the least idea whether he had any religion or not. All he was dealing with was the letter he wrote pointing out the probability of the children being assaulted coming out of school. It was true that at one of his elections his speech was interrupted by one of the co-religionists of hon. Gentlemen opposite—some admirer of his—who threw a stone weighing 4 lbs. 8 ozs. which hit him on the head. Luckily his head was pretty hard. He now used the stone as a paperweight. If any hon. Member who doubted the accuracy of his statement would call at his house he would show him the stone. But that fact did not make the streets of Lurgan unsafe for children. After the representation made of the great danger run by children in going to and from school the grant of £850 was divided and £250 was given to the nuns' school, so that there might be two technical schools in Lurgan, one Protestant and the other Roman Catholic. He looked upon that way of working out the salvation of Ireland as absolutely and hopelessly bad. He contended that the Government and the Irish Board dealing with this matter should invariably see that the sectarian and religious element did not come into play. The facilities offered by the Board of Technical Education in Ireland ought not to be given with the view of keeping alive the hideous gulf between the denominations. There were two ways of getting rid of a gulf. It could be bridged or it could be filled up. Hon. Gentlemen opposite wi hed to fill it up by putting all the Protestants into it. He wanted to bridge the gulf, for he was certain that if Irish men and women were brought up together they would see, without any injury to their religion, a diminution of that spirit of hatred which had been kindled by bitter memories of the past and was now kept alive by the Irish politician. [A NATIONALIST MEMBER: By Orangemen.] If they pleased. [A NATIONALIST MEMBER: Why don't you say that in Portadown?] He had said it there a hundred times, and would say it again. That was his view. To fill up the gulf they must first bridge it over and bring people together. If the Irish people would learn that they were brethren, although they differed in religion, their children would grow up good citizens of Ireland, a credit to their country, and would make their power felt not only in this country but all over the world.

MR. CULLINAN (Tipperary, S.) said he had listened with very great pleasure to the speech of the right hon. and gallant Gentleman. It was almost a revelation to find him speaking so liberally with regard to his Catholic fellow-countrymen. He spoke with great anxiety apparently with regard to bridging over the gulf which separated Catholics and Protestants. That reminded him forcibly of the way they tried last year in that House during the passage of the Land Act to bridge over on fair and reasonable terms, by means of a bonus to the Irish landlords, the gulf that separated them from the tenants. What did they find? The gulf was being filled up by putting the tenants into it. He thought the effect would be somewhat similar if they were to attempt to bridge over the gulf to which the right hon. and gallant Gentleman referred. He had spoken of the intolerance and bigotry of the Catholics in the South of Ireland, and contrasted the disinclination on the part of Catholic employers there to engage Protestants with the spirit prevailing in his own locality in the North, where many Catholics were employed by the Protestants. His answer to that was that the Protestants in the North employed Catholics because they found it convenient to do so. He very well remembered when there were published in the Tipperary Press advertisements by Protestant landlords for grooms, stableboys, and ordinary workmen, the announcements stating that no Irish and no Papist need apply. Where was the bigotry then? That state of feeling had prevailed until quite recent times on the Protestant side. He was glad that the Catholics had had the courage to defend themselves against that kind of bigotry. Why did they find it necessary to offer adverse criticism of the proceedings of the Board of Agriculture? It was because when the Bill establishing that Board was passing through this House Irish popular sentiment was altogether ignord. The administration of the Board was carried on altogether from a partisan point of view. In regard to the importation of Englishmen and Scotchmen to fill appointments in Ireland, he and his friends did not object to that, when Irishmen could not be found for the performance of the work, but in many instances posts which were given to outsiders could be equally well filled by Irishmen.

The hon. Member for North Galway had stated that the scheme of the Board had not yet been given sufficient itme to accomplish the good results which might be expected from it. What had the scheme actually done? To his mind it had done more to help emigration and to send the youth out of the South of Ireland than any other method introduced in recent times. An attempt had been made to establish co-operative creameries in Ireland. He believed this huge co-operative system would have meant the disappearance of towns and villages, but, thanks to the good sense of the farmers interested in these places, the game did not succeed. They were told that the different breeds of cattle and horses had been considerably improved since the Board of Agriculture was established. As a member of the committee of the county council with which he was connected, he had been able to observe the working of the Board's scheme, and he must say that he had not seen evidence of the great benefits in which they were asked to believe. The hon. Member for Galway had referred to the buying of bulls. He was mistaken if he thought they were going to pay fictitious prices to English and Scotch breeders. When representatives of the county councils were sent to the English or Scotch sales they should be allowed to buy the animals they considered best suited for the localities from which they came. But they were not allowed to buy these animals, for an official of the Board of Agriculture walked round and selected a certain number. Whether the representatives of the county councils approved or disapproved of the selections, they had to take the animals and pay for them, not at a fair and reasonable price, but at the price fixed by the representative of the Board of Agriculture. He insisted that the local man, the practical farmer who knew the class of stock that would be useful for fattening purposes, was the man who was the best judge of the wants of the district. He was sure that hon. Members from the North of Ireland would not be very much out of line with him in that respect.

After the famine, when the landlords cleared the people out of the land and prices went up, they thought that they were going to make huge fortunes; but before many years had passed they found that estates cleared of people were not gold mines. Then they did not reinstate the Irish peasantry on the land, but introduced men from England and Scotland; but these experts, who were to remodel Ireland, all came to smash. He had been a member of a technical education committee which had been most anxious to develop a scheme of technical education; but after going to the expense of procuring a building, the Education Department refused to give them the necessary equipment. It was that sort of cheese-paring that they had to complain of. It was a waste of time to go on with technical or agricultural education because it was not done satisfactorily. Some of his own friends, including clergymen of all denominations, were anxious to promote technical and agricultural education in Ireland, but when a pupil had received his training there was no opening for him in his native land, and he had to go to a foreign country. He had always held that the system of education should be such as to confer a benefit on Ireland itself, and should be in accordance with popular sentiment and popular experience. For twenty-five years those who had contended for a reform of the land system in Ireland had been denounced as agitators, thousands had been sent to gaol or shot down in the streets of Irish towns; but the end of it all was the Land Bill of last year, which justified the whole action of the Irish people. The English Parliament would have to realise that the wishes of the Irish people to manage their own affairs must be conceded.

MR. BRYCE (Aberdeen, S.) said he was not competent to express an opinion in regard to the administration of the Irish Board of Agriculture and Technical Education to which most of the speeches that afternoon had been directed. But two topics had been touched upon as to which he wished to say a few sentences. One of these was raised by the hon. Member for Belfast, who adverted to the desirability of connecting technical instruction with the existing institutions for University education. He should like to express a strong concurrence with that view. He was persuaded that if they wanted to make technical instruction useful, it could not be better done than by connecting it with the hierarchy of University education. Therefore, he supported a very liberal treatment of the Queen's Colleges in Cork, Galway, and Belfast, and the institutions in Dublin which gave technical and scientific instruction. He did not mean to suggest that such institutions should be multiplied. The modern apparatus necessary for proper scientific instruction was costly, and it would be impossible to have them installed in too many centres. He thought it would not be wise to spend money over too many institutions, but they should have a few and make them strong. Subject to that condition, he believed a great deal could be done by giving promising young men, and, for that matter, young women too, an opportunity of obtaining a good technical education, and by training them in the study of the applied sciences. He was persuaded that that would be a great benefit to Ireland. Not so much had been done in Ireland for higher education as had been hoped for fifty years ago; but, nevertheless, we lived in an age when the methods of science might find means by which Ireland would suffer less from her want of coal and minerals than in times past. Any money spent in the furtherance of technical instruction would conduce to the development of her natural resources by her own children. He would like to see a liberal treatment of Ireland in that direction. Much had been done in England and Scotland by private liberality, but that could not be expected in Ireland on account of the poverty of the country. He did not think that in these matters they ought to adhere to the principle of exact equality of treatment between the three parts of the United Kingdom. He, for one, would be glad to see Ireland receive more than she had done in that direction; and he was sure that it would be good for Ireland and for the United Kingdom as a whole. Reference had been made to a book published by Sir Horace Plunkett. He thought that there was an excess of courage shown when any official attempted to write a book about Ireland. He did not mean to express any view as to the opinions enunciated in that book by Sir Horace Plunkett. He was quite sure that the whole tenor and spirit of Sir Horace Plunkett's life showed that he was quite free from any political or ecclesiastical bigotry, and that he approached these subjects as a friend of his country and as a patriot who had laboured very sedulously for many years in reference to the development of Irish industrial resources. Even those who thought Sir Horace Plunkett would have done better to have left this matter alone would feel that he deserved credit for having bestowed his criticisms impartially, and, whether he had written prudently or not, he had not written with a desire to censure any Party, but merely to express his honest opinions.

*MR. CHARLES CRAIG (Antrim, S.) said that the hon. Member for South Tipperary had stated that technical instruction was not for the benefit of Ireland as a whole but for the benefit of the individual. That was one of the most extraordinary criticisms he had ever heard. He did not think the resources of the Technical Board in Ireland would be sufficient for a good many years to come to provide more technical instruction than the recipients would be able to find ample opportunity to make use of in their own country, without going to America. He thought the technical side of this work was the more important of the two. In places like Belfast, Dublin, Limerick, and towns of a similar size there would always be a large number of trades in which technical education would be necessary, and for anyone to get up in the House of Commons and say that the country would not benefit, and the individual would, by technical education was, to his mind, nonsense.

MR. CULLINAN said he never said any such thing. What he said was that it would be more of a personal benefit.

*MR. CHARLES CRAIG considered that technical education would be quite as much benefit to the country as to the individual. In Belfast there had been a very great demand for technical education; only last year they had started upon the erection of a fine technical school, and he anticipated good results in a few years time. They had just listened to a dissertation on the breeding of pigs which was very interesting, and he only regretted that the hon. Member opposite did not continue his dissertation on cases other than "technical" pigs, and he might have introduced the "technical" bull. With regard to Sir Horace Plunkett's book, he had not read it, but he had seen a considerable number of excerpts from it, and a good many had been read in the debate, and judging from those he did not think there was much in them to which Nationalist Members had any right to object to. As the hon. Member for North Langford had rightly said, the book was simply an expression of opinion. They had all got fairly tough skins, and the book would not do any of them any harm. He was, however, surprised at the action of the Nationalist Party in regard to this matter, because Sir Horace Plunkett was more of a Nationalist than a Unionist. This Board was bound to do some good in the future. Nobody except a lunatic could be entrusted with the spending of such a large sum of money in Ireland upon these objects without doing some good. Whether this money was at the present time being spent in the most beneficial manner, the *data* before them were not sufficient to decide. The hon. and gallant Member for Galway was of opinion that a great deal could be done. Several Nationalist Members had expressed an opinion in the opposite direction. Personally he could say from his own experience that already a very considerable amount of progress had been made. The initial stages had been passed and the Board had settled down to its work. It was impossible to undertake work of this kind without a certain amount of experiments. After a few more years, when they had come to look at this matter from an absolutely non-political point of view, he believed this Department would do more to make up for lost time in Ireland than any other Department, and, with the operation of the Land Acts as well, Ireland would be placed on a footing which they were all desirous of seeing. With regard to Queen's College, Belfast, sight would not be lost of the great necessity of co-ordinating the work of technical education. He wished, however, to point out that the Technical Schools of Belfast could only serve those who lived in Belfast itself. The Queen's College was intended to serve the whole of the North of Ireland and not Belfast only. There were a large number of people who lived at some distance from Belfast who would not be able to take advantage of this technical school, but who would be able to take full advantage of Queen's College when it was properly equipped. It was most absurdly equipped at the present time, and suffered from want of funds and insufficient buildings. The whole question was so intermixed and dovetailed that he hoped the Chief Secretary, in replying to the remarks addressed to him, would be able to give some satisfactory assurance that the present unsatisfactory state of affairs in connection with Queen's College, Belfast, would be put an end to.

MR. HAVILAND BURKE (King's County, Tullamore) regretted that the question of religious differences had been introduced into the discussion. As a Protestant, in reply to the remarks of the hon. and gallant Member for North Armagh, all he could say was that so far as bigotry was concerned in Ireland the whole of the blame did not rest upon Catholic shoulders. When the power of the Catholic clergy was alluded to he said that those who made the Catholic clerical power were those who forbade Catholic education, who hunted Catholic priests, and who threw people wholesale into the arms of the parish priest as their one guide, philosopher, and friend in times of tribulation and oppression. The hon. and gallant Member for North Armagh had alluded to Irish ingratitude in moving this Resolution. But the constitutional form of attacking a public Department was to move a Resolution to reduce the salary of some official. They all knew that the Chief Secretary was only the nominal head of this Department and that the responsible head was Sir Horace Plunkett, who held the reins of government and had all the patronage which the Department commanded. So far as his personal feelings towards that Gentleman were concerned, he recollected the time when he was a Nationalist candidate against him for South Dublin. The contest was conducted with good feeling and temper, and both sides fought hard, but Sir Horace said that the fact that there was no incident to regret was due to the manner in which his opponent had acted. He had no feeling of antagonism towards Sir Horace Plunkett, and he would further say that so far from it being a case of Irish ingratitude, it was a case of Unionist ingratitude towards that gentleman, since the managers of the Unionist Party did not avail themselves of the opportunity to enable him to be present in the House and reply to the criticisms directed against his Department. It was almost a constitutional grievance that the head of a big patronage and paid Department should not be in the House to answer any Question of which he, above all others, had the most practical and intimate knowledge.

He was not among those who believed that the Department was going to make a sort of millennium for Ireland; he always had some scepticism of the Irish Board, but, the Department having once been constituted, he was entirely in favour of giving it the fullest and fairest trial, and he ventured to say that in the whole history of this House there was not an instance on record in which a great Government spending Department had a better start or a freer hand or a more prolonged freedom from criticism than this Department had had for the past four years. If the Irish Party had committed any fault at all it was that it had been too charitable to a Department which was costing £194,000, of which £43,000 went for the payment of official and odd expenses. This Department was not a philanthropic institution, or a gift horse that ought not to be looked in the mouth. They were perfectly entitled to criticise it without being told that they were political beggars who refused ungraciously the alms thrown to them. The Board had no fixed standard of fitness for its employees, and it subsidised the Agricultural Organisation Society, whose lecturers were as much Government employees as if they were appointed directly by the Government. He would ask for a recognition of the principle of popular control in the working of this Department, and he desired particularly to draw the attention of the House to the fact that the Irish county councils had distinguished themselves beyond all expectations by the completeness with which they had discharged their duties. They had the official statement that from the very first the county councils of Ireland had done their work to practical perfection, and yet it was to those bodies that power was refused when they came into collision with the Agricultural Department. The people of Ireland were anxious and willing to give the Department every possible chance of doing good, but those possibilities absolutely depended upon the recognition of the principle of popular control.

With regard to what had been said about Sir Horace Plunkett's book, he had never regretted anything more than that gentleman's allusion to the clergy, because he knew full well that four-fifths of the work done was owing to the aid rendered by the Catholic priests. In this position, the right hon. Gentleman would have been well advised to have abstained from criticism of the character used. In voting for this reduction he was not reflecting upon the character or the honour of the right hon. Gentleman as a politician, but was simply supporting the great principle of popular control.

*Mr. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.) said there seemed to be an idea that the discussion of the affairs of the Department necessarily involved a root and branch condemnation. That was not so, and he thought that neither Sir Horace Plunkett nor the Agricultural Department had any reason to complain of anything that had been said. Three objections had been put forward. First, the expenditure of the Department had been challenged; secondly, the appointment of officials had been challenged; and, in the third place, a good deal had been said about the book written by Sir Horace Plunkett. To deal first with the book, he had himself said, written, and done so many unpopular things that he had very great difficulty in condemning a man who felt strongly, because he happened to write what was unpopular. Let him put this case as fair-minded gentlemen anywhere would put it. They were dealing with Ireland, not with England or Scotland. Sir Horace Plunkett referred to the question of undue church building so far as Roman Catholics were concerned, to the large amount of money spent on conventual institutions, and to the employment of religious orders as teachers in contradistinction to the employment of laymen. The hon. and gallant Member for North Armagh said he knew many Roman Catholics who agreed with him. If a Roman Catholic had said it, nobody had a right to object. It was altogether different when a Protestant in Ireland criticised Roman Catholics. What right had he as a Presbyterian to object to the expenditure of the Roman Catholic population upon church building? They did not ask anything from him or from his. They did it at their own expense. Let it never be forgotten, too, that in the past history of the country Protestants took all their churches from Catholics, that up to a hundred years ago their religion was practically proscribed, and that if they worshipped at all it was in many cases under thatched roofs. Because Roman Catholics emerging from that state went to what many might think excessive church building, surely it was no concern of Protestants. It was done with the loftiest motives, and it did not lie with Protestants to complain. Much less did it lie with a Minister of the Crown. Sir Horace Plunkett ought to have sat down and asked himself plainly whether, engaged as he was in a work which he believed involved the regeneration of the country, writing of this sort would be more likely to hinder and impair his work than to promote it. When a man became a Minister of the Crown the less he took part in these fiercely contested questions in Ireland the better. Sir Horace Plunkett had a peculiar position in Ireland to fill, and had filled it, he thought, admirably. He had tried to unite two races which had been hostile for two hundred years, and he had done something in that direction although he had made mistakes. He believed that Sir Horace Plunkett had made a mistake in this instance, and he thought in his calmer moments he would admit it.

The charge had been made that aliens had been brought in to fill these positions under the Board, but they must look facts in the face. With regard to Mr. Blair's appointment, it was true that he was a Scotchman, but it was a strong proof of the wisdom of this appointment that Mr. Blair had just been appointed by the London County Council to the highest position in the administration of the Technical Education Act in London. Mr. Blair had been given this high appointment on no other ground than that of merit. That was a strong point in favour of this particular Scotchman. There had never been any proper system of technical education in Ireland, and therefore it was impossible to find in Ireland a man who had had sufficient experience to qualify him for such an appointment. Like hon. Members opposite, he was in favour of Irishmen being appointed to these positions, even against Scotchmen. He agreed that, all other things being equal, or nearly equal, Irishmen ought to have the preference; but there were exceptions, and he thought that in regard to the appointment of superintendent for technical education the Board made an excellent choice.

In regard to the expenditure, the estimate roughly was £200,000. He should not consider twice that amount excessive for this great work. There was £43,000, for salaries, but this money was not all for clerks, for it included inspectors, lecturers, and teachers all over the country. He knew that some interesting experiments were being carried out for encouraging the growing of early potatoes for the London market. Early potatoes now came from Guernsey, Jersey, the Scilly Isles, and Malta, but there was nothing to hinder Ireland engaging in this competition, and a teacher under the Board was now engaged in that work with success. Look what could be produced per acre on a farm in this way. Although mistakes had been made—it would be a great wonder if a new Department did not make mistakes—they would do well to give the Department time to grow before they condemned it. The plea was all the stronger because of this. He remembered one of the lecturers coming to South Tyrone and lecturing in his constituency. He asked a number of his friends what they thought. They said it was very fine, but so-and-so, naming a certain person, got up to move a vote of thanks at the end, and told the lecturer they would be a great deal more glad to see him after the Land Act was passed. What did that mean? They were asked to put money into the land and improve it, and, if they did, then the Commissioners would come round and raise the rent. Farmers in South Tyrone did not take any action upon that lecture, but what was now the case? A very large number of the farmers of Ireland would probably in a few years own their holdings. He was told there were £6,000,000 of applications before the Commissioners now.

When the farmers became owners of their holdings they would listen to these lectures. All that could be done to bring scientific education to these men was for their good, and although he thought Sir Horace Plunkett made a mistake in his book, and although the Department had made mistakes, he thought it should have a chance of living. He told hon. Members frankly that in the only bit of business he had had with the Department he was totally unsuccessful. He thought them absolutely and totally wrong, but he had been in a Department himself and he did not condemn a Department for one thing although he was the sufferer himself. The Department had been doing good work, and he thought it was capable of more. Though he thought nothing but good could come of a discussion like that, still he should be sorry to see a division against Sir Horace Plunkett's salary.

*MR. JORDAN (Fermanagh, S.) said he agreed in many things with his hon. friend who had moved this Motion, especially when he said he did not desire to say anything against the work which Sir Horace Plunkett had done nor against Sir Horace himself, nor against the Department. He agreed with the hon. Member for Longford that with regard to the money spent by this Board they did not get full value for their money. He believed they did not get fair value for their money. It cost too much. In every department the salaries were too high. In the counties the minor officials got more than was necessary. He thought a great deal of economy could be effected by proportioning the salaries and expenses to the work which had to be done, and to the capacity of the parties doing it. He could not agree with his hon. friend who said that the Department was a ghastly failure, and that the country was not a penny the better for the whole expenditure and the whole machinery. He thought it had effected some good. While he admitted that there might have been mistakes and errors he did not see how a new and complex Department could be initiated without them. He thought the Department ought to be kept strictly under supervision, and that it ought to be under popular control. The hon. Member for Longford had referred to the disagreements between his county council and the Department in connection with their scheme of technical education. That was not his experience in the county he came from. Their scheme was formulated by a much respected Catholic clergyman, passed almost unanimously by a Unionist county council, and sanctioned without any material change by the Department. It had been working well ever since. He objected, however, to the too high salaries paid to the lecturers who were going about the country. He thought the Department had come to stay, but moderate criticism of its work such as they had had that day would not militate against, but rather promote, its efficiency.

MR. PARKER SMITH (Lanarkshire, Partick) called attention to the cattle trade between Ireland and this country, and to the necessity of seeing that the cattle were taken proper care of. He had had the honour of sitting on two Committees appointed to look into the condition of things. They found that great injury was frequently done to cattle in transit, and it was felt that the state of things ought to be remedied on two grounds, namely, the cruelty to, and suffering of, the cattle, and the pecuniary loss to those concerned in the trade on account of the injury done to the beasts. It was estimated that the injury the cattle suffered in the course of a journey from an Irish fair to Glasgow or Liverpool, ran frequently to £1 per head or even higher. The Committees had made a good many recommendations both in regard to the conduct of those concerned with the cattle in Ireland and with the steamers coming to this country. The Board of Agriculture took charge of this matter in Ireland, but great difficulty was found in dealing with it so far as the steamers were concerned, because several Departments were concerned. It was very hard indeed to get hold of the person responsible where several Departments were concerned. The Irish Department did not interfere too much with the discretion of the shipowners so long as they succeeded in landing the cattle in a comfortable condition; but where serious mischief was done to the cattle, of which the Commission had been told terrible stories, then it was time to intervene and prosecute by course of law, so as to secure that that should not be repeated. The great difficulty experienced in initiating prosecutions in such cases was the divided responsibility as between the different Departments. In Scotland, when they endeavoured to prosecute, they were met by witnesses from Ireland who said that the cattle were in a perfectly satisfactory condition when they were put on board the steamer. The result had been that prosecutions, even in bad cases, had altogether failed in Scotland. On this Vote there was a considerable sum for inspectors whose duty it was to see the cattle actually on board the steamer. He thought that that was a mistake, and that the duty of inspection in Ireland ought to be limited to the treatment of the cattle so long as they were on the quay. There was strong reason for throwing the responsibility on a single department, the officers of which should have charge of the steamer and all that happened to the cattle during the voyage. He was very glad to welcome the new Order issued by the Board of Agriculture. It would be very valuable, but he did not think it would cover the treatment of cattle on board ship.

MR. FFRENCH (Wexford, S.) said as this debate had covered such a wide field he would merely refer to what the Board of Agriculture had not done which it might have done. When the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade was Chief Secretary for Ireland, he (Mr. Ffrench) remembered making a speech in that House in which he recommended that something should be done for the inland fisheries of Ireland. That was many years ago, but nothing had been done, and the rivers of Ireland were becoming depleted of salmon. The Canadian Government was spending £100,000 a year on their inland fisheries, and the American Government were also spending large sums of money in the development of their inland fisheries. They had established not only salmon hatcheries, but hatcheries for small fish which served as food for the salmon. Then something should be done for the sea fisheries of Ireland. Many of the small fishing harbours were becoming silted up with sand. He suggested to the Chief Secretary for Ireland that two small dredgers should be purchased—they would cost only about £2,000 each—to dredge these fishery harbours in order that the fishermen should have security for their boats. Something should be done to encourage barley-growing for malting purposes. Some weeks ago he had put a Question to the Chief Secretary for Ireland in which he pointed out that the farmer's profits were becoming diminished, owing to the use of patent spirit in the production of whiskey, and the right hon. Gentleman said that there was no proof of that. That reminded him of Mark Twain's story of a certain gentleman who was trying to prove that there was no such thing as pain, and happened to tread on a cat's tail. The cat yelled, and Mark Twain said, "I wonder what is the matter with that cat." What was the matter with the Irish farmers? They were becoming poorer and poorer. Last year there were 10,000 acres less under barley than in the previous year. He recollected before patent spirit was used for the production of whiskey that the price of barley was 22s. a barrel, that is 2 cwt; whereas the price was now only 12s. or 13s. in the Wexford market for the same class of barley.

There was another matter to which he called the attention of the right hon. Gentleman a few days ago; and that was foul brood in bees. Bee-keeping was being introduced into his constituency, but it was being destroyed by foul brood. He would suggest that a Bill of a few lines might be passed through the House making it compulsory to destroy bees affected with foul brood. Then there was the question of remounts for the Army. Wexford was remarkable for the breeding of horses; and there were more horses in that county than in the county of Dublin including the city. Some time ago, dealers were sent to Enniscorthy to buy remounts for the Army; this was one of the principal fairs in the county. They, however, only bought three or four horses, whereas the ordinary dealers bought 150 horses on the same occasion. Afterwards the Government dealers actually turned round and bought from the ordinary dealers the horses they required. That meant a considerable loss to the farmers; and he would, therefore, suggest that in future the Government dealers should deal directly with the farmers. The Department was striving to make good farmers in Ireland. They were sending lecturers all over the country; and he did not say that they were not doing good. If, however, the Government desired to have good farmers in Ireland, they should give every farmer security in his holding. Even if the Department were able to make two blades of grass grow where only one grew before, if they could make every cow have two calves instead of one, how would it benefit the farmer when his judicial term expired? The only way to make good farmers in Ireland was to make them the owners of the soil they tilled. Why did an Irish farmer stick to his holding, and borrow, wherever he could, in order to stave off the evil day of eviction? It was because the improvements and the buildings and the very hearthstone spoke to him. They were the work of himself or his predecessors in title. If his house were secured to him, if he were the owner of the land he tilled, the Irish tenant would be a good farmer; otherwise, all the theories of the Board of Agriculture would not be successful.

MR. MURPHY (Kerry, E.) said it was desirable that an expression of opinion from all parts of Ireland should be uttered in this debate. There had been, however, such an unnecessary amount of laudation of Sir Horace Plunkett and his Department that he was afraid he would strike a jarring note. He hoped the Chief Secretary would be able to give a record of some substantial work carried out by the Department, having regard to the vast sum of money spent in connection with it. The Estimate of the present year amounted to £190,000, of which £74,000 was for salaries. It did not require any very strong argument to show that there must be something wrong with a Department which produced so little of a substantial character and cost so much. Schemes in connection with technical instruction had been beneficial to some slight extent in some parts of the country; but the whole administration was worked in an unbusinesslike way, and for ulterior purposes. Sir Horace Plunkett stated in 1895, when he was inviting persons to participate in his Recess Committee, that if his policy were carried out the Irish people would cease to desire Home Rule. The Government had placed enormous sums of money at his disposal, and it was being distributed in a very peculiar manner, but still Home Rule remained as the demand of the Irish people. It had been said during the debate that Sir Horace Plunkett did not desire to exercise patronage; but if precedent were to be followed, some of the relatives of hon. Gentlemen who had spoken would be given appointments.

And it being half-past seven of the clock, the Chairman left the Chair to make his Report to the House.

Committee report Progress; to sit again this evening.

EVENING SITTING.

MAIDENHEAD BRIDGE BILL [LORDS] (BY ORDER).

*DR. SHIPMAN (Northampton) said that in moving the Instruction that stood in his name, he hoped he had done all that was possible to bring the matter to a settlement, and he had put down an Instruction as, he thought, representing fairly what Mr. Joseph Taylor claimed. The Maidenhead Bridge Bill was brought forward in order that the corporation might not be charged with the application of certain moneys that had been received and which properly belonged to the public. It was a Bill to indemnify the Corporation of Maidenhead, who appeared as claimants not so much for justice as for mercy, and asked that all its misdeeds should be passed over and that it should be enabled to start a new and more honourable career as a corporation. Section 11 of the Bill said the corporation was to be discharged from liability for past misapplication of this fund. It also asked that they might be put into secure possession of a property to which they had no right. It also asked to be allowed to borrow £20,000 in order to pay past debts, and all expenses and costs incurred in getting this Act passed. The House might ask with reason, "Where does Mr. Taylor come in?" He did not come in at present, but he had as large a claim to do so as had the corporation. Neither had any legal claim. The corporation asked for an act of mercy, and he pleaded on behalf of Mr. Taylor for an act of justice. The corporation wanted to be whitewashed, but it wanted the expenses to be paid by someone else. It had used the bridge estate, which was a valuable property purchased out of tolls and which should have gone to free and maintain the bridge. If it was mean of Mr. Taylor to ask for his expenses to be paid, it was equally mean for the corporation to make a similar appeal. They were both on the same level, except that Mr. Taylor was a weak and helpless man and the corporation was a strong body. Mr. Taylor would have liked to address the Committee of the House of Commons just as he addressed the Committee of House of Lords. The corporation, being afraid, put in a notice of objection, and the Court of Referees said he had no *locus standi*. The Court could not have acted otherwise, but the corporation might have given Mr. Taylor a chance of being heard before a Committee of the House of Commons. The only opportunity afforded was by addressing the House through a Member, and he believed Mr. Taylor had an excellent case, as whatever grounds could be used for supporting the corporation in getting this Bill passed could be used in favour of Mr. Taylor. It had been said that he wanted to blackmail the corporation, but, as a rule, blackmailers did not do their work first and then ask for their money. The reputation of Mr. Taylor could stand all the petty insinuations that had been launched against him. He had devoted a great deal of his time to the public service. He had got Windsor Bridge freed by taking an action up to the House of Lords, and it was due to his energy and public spirit that he got the Charity Commissioners to investigate the whole matter. Mr. Taylor did not ask for all the expenses to which he might have a moral claim, but only for the barest expenses that could be properly allowed, and he was willing for the amount to be determined by a taxing official. The sum in question could not be very large, but in case there was any dispute and the parties could not agree it was proposed to take the matter before a taxing official either of the House of Commons or the House of Lords. The Instruction only asked for the actual out-of-pocket expenses incurred incidental to, and arising from, the inquiry held by the Charity Commissioners, and further that, as he had already received something from the public, anything received in the shape of public subscription should be deducted. He asked the House to pass the Instruction and embody it in a clause to be added to the Bill. It would be hard if a great corporation was to approach the House of Commons and get what it wanted and for an individual who had done a great public service to be denied a simple act of justice.

MR. THEODORE TAYLOR (Lancashire, Radcliffe), in seconding the Resolution, desired to explain that he was not a relative of Mr. Joseph Taylor. They did not bring the Instruction forward in any vindictive or censorious spirit, but only asked the House of Commons to do justice to this private individual who, without personal interest and gain, had done a great public service to the inhabitants of the district. Maidenhead Bridge was the second that Mr. Taylor had freed. He had no desire to cast a stone at the Corporation of Maidenhead, but their action in the past had required whitewashing by means of this Bill, and private individuals ought not to be allowed to lose money by doing the public a service. They had heard about the extravagance of corporations, but this would not be a case of wasting public money. It was only a simple act of justice that this gentleman should have his expenses, and he hoped that the Rules of the House would permit them to be paid.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That it be an Instruction to the Committee on the Bill to insert a clause directing the Corporation of Maidenhead to pay as costs, under Section 28, the balance of the actual out-of-pocket expenses incurred by Joseph Taylor, of Eton, Buckinghamshire, incidental to and arising from the inquiry held by the Charity Commissioners on the 18th November, 1902, after deducting therefrom £35 19s. received by him from public subscriptions, and in case of difference the amount of those expenses to be taxed in the manner provided by the said section."—(*Dr. Shipman.*)

MR. GARDNER (Berkshire, Wokingham) said he agreed with the mover and seconder that there was no reflection against Mr. Taylor intended by the Corporation of Maidenhead. He had, however, to speak for the ratepayers. There was a debate on the Second Reading of the Bill when the sins of the corporation of pretty well a century ago were brought up. The present day ratepayers were under no responsibility for the troubles caused in respect of their bridge, and it was unreasonable that they should be called upon to do more than was necessary to put themselves right. He did not quarrel with the suggestion that Mr. Taylor should not be a loser by the course he had taken, but he did not think that Mr. Taylor had any right to go beyond the necessities of the case with which they were dealing. Mr. Taylor's action in regard to Windsor Bridge had been referred to in support of his claim in this matter. Windsor Bridge was freed by proceedings which were much more expensive.

*Mr. SPEAKER: There is nothing about Windsor Bridge in the Instruction. The hon. Member must confine his remarks to the Instruction.

Mr. GARDNER said that when Mr. Taylor suspected there was something wrong with the administration of this bridge, all he had to do was to move the Charity Commissioners and ask them to hold an inquiry. But he went beyond it. He took counsel's opinion, and, having obtained that, all he had to do was to tell the Charity Commissioners what he had done and leave the whole question in their hands. There was no necessity whatever for him to have gone beyond that. Reasons could be advanced that made the corporation fear very much to allow Mr. Taylor to have more than his legal expenses. Out of what funds was the corporation to pay the costs, if awarded? They could only come out of funds to be provided by this Act and to be borrowed under the control of the Local Government Board. The funds had all to be accounted for, and he suggested that they had no right to make any further demand upon those funds beyond the necessities of the case. Mr. Taylor had already received by public subscription £35 or £36, and the case of the corporation was that that amply covered all the expenses to which he had been put in this matter. The corporation feared that if this Instruction were passed Mr. Taylor might make terms which it would be difficult to satisfy or

repudiate. He had made large claims in the past, and, although they had now been limited, the corporation objected to be in his grip or under his control in this matter. They had done everything to put themselves right; they thought that they had behaved straightforwardly, and they asked to be protected from this Instruction.

Mr. CRIPPS (Lancashire, Stretford) said he knew nothing about the merits of the case until that evening, but in his opinion a weaker case had never been brought forward. He hoped no one would think the House would bear hardly upon any individual, but, if they were to act with impartiality, no such Instruction as this ought to be passed except in an extreme case. Could anyone think it right to put upon borough funds, compulsorily and without any inquiry, an expense of this sort—an expense to which there was no claim whatever, and which ought not to have been brought before the House? To pass this Instruction would be to act in the teeth of all tradition of private business, and he hoped the House would not consent to the Instruction.

Mr. TOULMIN (Bury, Lancashire) said the hon. Member for Berkshire had admitted that out-of-pocket expenses should be granted, and if Mr. Taylor were found to have no claim there would be nothing to pay. The claim was to be submitted to the taxing officer, and if he did not establish anything there would be nothing to pay. The corporation might not have the power to make the payment, but this Bill would give them the power, and he thought a case for the Instruction had been made out.

Sir FREDERICK BANBURY (Camberwell, Peckham) asserted that a more extraordinary Instruction had never been submitted to the House of Commons. Mr. Taylor, from philanthropic or some other motive, took certain proceedings of his own free will, but he afterwards asked the ratepayers to pay him for doing it. In this case the Maidenhead Corporation had taken the only course possible to pursue, and it was useless to contend that the House of Commons ought to sanction the payment of expenses incurred of one's own free will. Such a course would raise up a class of people who would take action in order to get something out of it.

Question put.

The House divided:—Ayes, 85; Noes 69. (Division List No. 172.)

AYES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N.E.)
Austin, Sir John
Barry, E. (Cork, S.)
Bell, Richard
Boland, John
Brigg, John
Burke, E. Haviland
Burt, Thomas
Caldwell, James
Campbell, John (Armagh, S.)
Cogan, Denis J.
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Crean, Eugene
Crooks, William
Cullinan, J.
Delany, William
Devlin, Charles Ramsay (Galway
Devlin, Joseph (Kilkenny, N.)
Donelan, Captain A.
Doogan, P. C.
Esmonde, Sir Thomas
Farrell, James Patrick
Fenwick, Charles
Ffrench, Peter
Field, William
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Flynn, James Christopher
Gilhooly, James
Hammond, John
Hayden, John Patrick
Hayter, Rt. Hn. Sir Arthur D.
Holland, Sir William Henry
Horniman, Frederick John
Johnson, John (Gateshead)
Jones, William (Carnarvonshire
Jordan, Jeremiah
Joyce, Michael
Kennedy, Vincent P. (Cavan, W.
Kilbride, Denis
Law, Hugh Alex. (Donegal, W.)
Lundon, W.
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
M'Arthur, William (Cornwall
M'Crae, George
M'Hugh, Patrick A.
M'Kean, John
M'Killop, W. (Sligo, North)
Mooney, John J.
Moss, Samuel
Murphy, John
Nannetti, Joseph P.
Nolan, Col. John P. (Galway, N.)
Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South)
O'Brien, James F. X. (Cork)
O'Brien, Kendal (Tipperary Mid
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Brien, P. J. (Tipperary, N.)
O'Connor, James (Wicklow, W.)
O'Doherty, William
O'Donnell, John (Mayo, S.)
O'Donnell, T. (Kerry, W.)
O'Dowd, John
O'Kelly, James (Roscommon, N.
O'Malley, William
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
O'Shee, James John
Power, Patrick Joseph
Reddy, M.
Redmond, John E. (Waterford)
Roberts, John Bryn (Eifion)
Roche, John
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Shackleton, David James
Sheehan, Daniel Daniel
Sheehy, David
Sloan, Thomas Henry
Spear, John Ward
Spencer, Rt. Hn. C. R. (Nothants
Sullivan, Donal
Thomas, Abel (Carmarthen, E.)
Thomas, David Alfred (Merthyr)
Toulmin, George
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
White, Luke (York, E. R.)
Young, Samuel

Tellers for the Ayes—Dr. Shipman and Mr. Theodore Taylor.

NOES.

Acland-Hood, Capt. Sir Alex F.
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Bagot, Capt. Josceline FitzRoy
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Balcarres, Lord
Beach, Rt. Hn. Sir Michael Hicks
Bhownaggree, Sir M. M.
Bignold, Arthur
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Bowles, Lt.-Col. H. F (Middlesex
Campbell, J. H. M. (Dublin Univ.
Cavendish, V. C. W. (Derbyshire
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Chamberlain, Rt Hn. J. A (Worc.
Chapman, Edward
Clive, Captain Percy A.
Craig, Charles Curtis (Antrim, S.
Cripps, Charles Alfred
Cross, Alexander (Glasgow)
Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Davies, Sir Horatio D. (Chatham
Dickson, Charles Scott
Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
Elliot, Hon. A. Ralph Douglas
Fellowes, Hon. Ailwyn Edward
Forster, Henry William
Greene, Henry D. (Shrewsbury)
Groves, James Grimble
Haslam, Sir Alfred S.
Haslett, Sir James Horner
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Hermon-Hodge, Sir Robert T.
Hoult, Joseph
Hudson, George Bickersteth
Hunt, Rowland
King, Sir Henry Seymour
Lawrence, Wm. F. (Liverpool)
Lawson, John Grant (Yorks N.R.
Lee, Arthur H. (Hants, Fareham
Macdona, John Cumming
M'Killop, James (Stirlingshire)
Mount, William Arthur
O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
Pease Herbert Pike (Darlington
Peel, Hn. Wm. Robert Wellesley
Pemberton, John S. G.
Percy, Earl
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Randles, John S.
Rasch, Sir Frederic Carne
Reid, James (Greenock)
Renwick, George
Rollit, Sir Albert Kaye
Ropner, Colonel Sir Robert
Rutherford, W. W. (Liverpool)
Sadler, Col. Samuel Alexander
Sandys, Lieut.-Col. Thos. Myles
Sharpe, William Edward T.
Skewes-Cox, Thomas
Smith, Abel H. (Hertford, East)
Stone, Sir Benjamin
Strutt, Hon. Charles Hedley
Valentia, Viscount
Walrond, Rt. Hn Sir William H
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
Wilson, John (Glasgow)
Wolff, Gustav Wilhelm
Wortley, Rt. Hn. C. B. Stuart

Tellers for the Noes—Mr. Gardner and Sir Frederick Banbury.

SUPPLY [14TH ALLOTTED DAY].

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[MR. JEFFREYS (Hampshire, N.) in the Chair.]

CIVIL SERVICES AND REVENUE DEPARTMENTS ESTIMATES, 1904-5.

CLASS II.

Motion made and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £110,406, be granted to His Majesty to complete the sum necessary to defray the charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1905, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Department of Agriculture and other Industries and Technical Instruction for Ireland, and of the services administered by that Department, including sundry Grants-in-Aid."

MR. MURPHY, resuming his speech, which had been interrupted by the adjournment, said Sir H. Plunkett could not be surprised if he and his policy were regarded with a certain amount of suspicion, seeing that in 1895 he stated that if his policy were adopted the Irish people would cease to demand Home Rule. The right hon. Gentleman, however, was mistaken in his view, because when he and his policy were forgotten the Irish people would still be true to the national ideal. With regard to Sir H. Plunkett's book, it had been truly said that both his friends and his enemies were pleased that it had been published; his friends because they were saved the necessity of reading the manuscript, and his enemies because it had revealed the true character of the man. Ireland in the main was a Catholic country, and yet this gentleman, who drew his salary from the Irish people and administered a large public Department, thought it proper to write of the religion of the people in these terms —

> "The Roman Catholic clergy cannot be exonerated from some responsibility in regard to Irish character as we find it to-day. . . .An impartial observer will, I fear, find amongst the majority of our people a striking absence of self-reliance and moral courage . . . and there is a listlessness and apathy in regard to economic improvement which amounts to a form of fatalism, and in backward districts a survival of superstition which saps all strength of will and purpose."

In view of such an expression of opinion, one could only come to the conclusion that the writer was unfit for the position he occupied and ought to be removed from it. How was it that a grant of £194,000 was frittered away to the extent of £82,000 in salaries and expenses? There must be leakage and improper administration somewhere, and the Committee were entitled to detailed information so that they might judge where the defect and bad policy came in. Much had been heard about the Agricultural Organisation Society, established under the patronage of Sir H. Plunkett, and existing to a large extent upon grants made out of the public moneys of the Irish people. That organisation competed with other organisations, such as the Manchester Co-operative Wholesale Society, which had spent large sums of money in Ireland, and would have been able largely to assist the butter-making industry had it been given a fair field. Owing, however, to the action of Sir H. Plunkett in financing the other organisation, the work of the co-operative society had been crippled, and the butter producers deprived of the opportunity of securing fair competition and better prices. In several ways it had been clearly shown that the maintenance of butter-making and dairying in the old form with improved methods was necessary in the interests of the Irish farmer, but the Board of Agriculture, following Sir H. Plunkett's policy, had done everything possible, not to foster dairying in the old form, but to destroy it and to establish instead the creamery system. The creamery system had some advantages, but it was altogether unsuited and was calculated to be very injurious to certain localities. The butter was all produced in the summer time, and being sent to one market in such large quantities it caused a glut, with the result that it had to be sold at a lower price than the ordinary dairy butter would fetch. The fact that the advice of public bodies and public men with regard to winter dairying had been disregarded was a strong proof of the neglect of the Department in reference to a matter of prime importance to the people of Ireland. Under the Act of 1899, the sum of £10,000 was set aside for introducing improvements and getting additional land for the benefit of the Munster Dairy School, but the governors of that institution had still to complain that nothing whatever had been done in the matter.

The question of transit was a matter of great importance in Ireland, but, in spite of the excessive rates and the improper arrangements of the railway companies, the Department had done nothing to improve the carrying facilities in the country. This Department, which was to have revolutionised Ireland, especially the agricultural districts, had appointed to look after the question of railway rates a gentleman connected with the veterinary department, with the result that matters of detail, but of considerable importance, had been neglected. Nobody with the least intelligence would deny that technical and agricultural schemes, if properly worked, would effect great improvements in the condition of Ireland. In some instances schemes had been well worked, and had resulted in improvement to the community; but the credit for such excellent work and improvement rested not with Sir H. Plunkett and his Department, but with the local representatives who had had charge of the schemes. The whole matter came back once more to the fact that Government departments could not be expected to work well in Ireland as long as the Irish people were deprived of their own Government. Much of the work of Sir H. Plunkett was calculated to direct the minds and thoughts of the Irish people as far afield from their own land as possible, and in that connection he asked whether any of the moneys of the Board were devoted to paying the expenses of gentlemen who were sent to America and elsewhere in connection with the fads and fancies of the Vice-President of the Department. There would never be proper administration of technical and other schemes in Ireland until the people enjoyed self-government. He begged to move to reduce the Vote by £100.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £110,306, be granted for the said Service."—(*Mr. Murphy.*)

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (MR. WYNDHAM, Dover) said he did not include himself among those critics, if such there were, who consider five hours an excessive time to devote to this one subject. The debate had doubtless been a long one, but no one interested in Ireland could pretend that it had been tedious. Fifteen or sixteen speakers had taken part in the debate, and nearly every one of them would have satisfied the rigorous standard of the hon. and gallant Member for the Chelmsford Division of Essex with regard to the duration of speeches. Speeches had been answered by other speeches which had been delivered. From each side of the House they had had a measure of criticism and a measure of praise. That should stand as his first plea for Sir Horace Plunkett's Department. That a Department in Ireland had been administered for four years, and that praise and blame was then not confined to the one or the other side of the House, was in itself a tribute which very few of the right hon. Gentleman's predecessors in any official position had ever been able to obtain. Their debate of five hours had centred round four pivots, first, the book recently published by his right hon. friend; secondly, the *personnel* of the Agricultural Department; thirdly, the allegation of extravagance in the expenditure on salaries; and fourthly, the contention that the Department had not been sufficiently considerate of local wishes expressed through local authorities. He would add that during the whole of the discussion there had not been a single charge that the Department had favoured one part of Ireland at the expense of another part. That was not only remarkable but unique, and he claimed that part of the case by default. It would not do for hon. Members later to argue that more money might have been spent in this province or the other. That charge had not been made, and that in itself was a tribute to the Department. He did not himself intend to speak about Sir Horace Plunkett's book. They had had a great deal of advice offered to those who had written, or might intend to write, a book; but no hon. Member had quoted the old dictum "Oh! that mine enemy would write a book." But every hon. Member who took part in the debate was very careful to point out that he made no charge against Sir Horace Plunkett's honour, good intention, zeal, or industry. Hon. Members might differ from his right hon. friend, but they evidently did not regard him as an enemy. Perhaps next to writing a book the most foolish thing was to criticise a book, and it was very unwise for one official person to criticise a book written by another official person. But in declining to do so it must not be thought that, leaving the author on one side, he was not sensible of the value of the work Sir Horace Plunkett had done. He did not know in Ireland, or in any other country, a man who had so devoted all his thoughts and hours for so many years, without rest or relaxation, to give effect and force to an idea which he believed, and with some justice he thought, to be conceived in the best interests of his country. When many of them, who had tried according to their opportunities and capacities to do something for Ireland, were forgotten, he believed the name of Sir Horace Plunkett would be remembered, enshrined in history side by side with the names of Arthur Young and Thomas Drummond.

Having satisfied himself that his right hon. friend was working for the good of Ireland, he felt it no part of his duty to check him at every turn, although he was responsible to that House for the Department. It had been suggested that there was an anti-national intention underlying the creation of the Department. But the Department had its birth in a conference of Irishmen of all political beliefs. The Recess Committee and the Land Conference marked the initiation of two measures, which would do more for Ireland than many others which had been passed solely because they were conceived in that way. He admitted that after the intentions of those who conferred were put into the form of Acts of Parliament or of administration, there always was a reaction. But the dynamic forces which sprung from the fact that these measures were conceived by Irishmen of different political opinions meeting together would very soon pierce through and overbear the momentary disappointments that were bound to arise. He now came to the second general point of the argument developed by the hon. Gentleman who moved the Amendment and those who supported him, the point of the *personnel* of the Department. Ireland could not afford to neglect the example of every other country, which, in similar circumstances, had made a deliberate attempt to foster agriculture and industry. Nothing was more technical than technology. They could not possibly start technical instruction unless they acquired the brains and the experience of those who for years had devoted their lives to the work. Could it be said that in Ireland they could find men who were fitted not only to teach immediately themselves but to lay down the lines upon which teachers should be trained? Surely it was the duty of Sir Horace Plunkett to seek elsewhere for men possessing these qualifications; and it could hardly be said that he had been unwise in his selection when they found that one of those chosen by him to start this system of training teachers, Mr. Blair, had been recaptured by the London County Council to fill the chief post in their technical educational system at an initial salary of £1,000 a year. There was no country in the world which did not select men for such purposes from other countries. That he, thought, was a conclusive answer, so far as the higher officials of this department were concerned. It had been contended that the expenditure of £43,000 upon the staff at headquarters was excessive in comparison with the amount spent on practical work in the country. That attack was founded upon a great misconception. They had an annual income of £200,000, and there was the extreme possibility of getting local aid amounting to £56,000, not £200,000 as the hon. Member the mover stated. A penny rate over the whole of Ireland might result under the most favourable conditions in a revenue of £56,000. The staff had to deal not only with the administration of these sums, but also with the administration of a number of national institutions. Therefore £20,000 should be deducted from the £43,000 for the salaries of the staffs of departments like the College of Science, the National Museum, the Botanic Gardens, the National Library, and the School of Art. Apart from these national institutions, the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction were charged with the administration of seven or eight Acts of Parliament which in England were entrusted to other departments. That being the case, it was fair to calculate that not more than

£10,000 was paid to the staff at headquarters for dealing with agriculture and technical instruction throughout the country. He contended that that was not too much. He was criticised on the one hand because the staff of this office cost too much, and on the other hand because a few temporary clerks were not paid enough. His reply to the latter criticism was that these clerks had now been made permanent Civil servants, and not only had security, but could look forward to a pension.

MR. JOHN REDMOND (Waterford) pointed out that a sum of £29,500 was down on the Estimates for the salaries of the staffs of the national institutions to which the right hon. Gentleman had alluded. Therefore the sum from which the £20,000 should be deducted was not £43,000, but £72,000.

MR. WYNDHAM said his argument was that of the total of £72,000, only £19,856 represented the cost of the new permanent staff, the balance being the salaries of the staff transferred to the Department from many other offices, not only those which he had named, but many other departments throughout Ireland. It was said that the administration of this £200,000 cost £43,000, and he had given reasons to show that that was not the case. He had given reasons to show why it could not be said that £43,000 a year was the cost of administering this £200,000. Of course the people in the country who were doing the practical work were paid, and sometimes paid by the local bodies, but the whole point of the contention had been that the headquarters staff received this enormous sum for administering the £200,000, and that it was out of all proportion to that expenditure. The Department had been criticised for not falling at once completely into agreement with local bodies throughout Ireland. Sometimes local bodies asked the Department to sanction the appointment of this or that secretary. If the secretary whom the local bodies wished to appoint was a man who had no clerical experience and was unable to send to headquarters intricate and complex reports upon five, or six, or seven different topics, and was unable to put a large amount of information before the headquarters in a proper state, the result was they had to have another clerk at headquarters to do the work that ought to be done in the district. It was unfair to criticise the headquarters on the ground that they had a large clerical staff and at the same time to maintain that the local body was entitled to have its own way and to say the last word on every appointment. There must be some adjustment between the two unless the local bodies were to become really extravagant. He was the last man to say that this House was not supreme or that any department should be free from criticism; but he did submit that that Committee, and certainly Ministers, were not competent to say that in this rural district or that urban district the right man or the wrong man had been chosen, or that the pay should have been £100 instead of £90. Criticism ought to be one of two kinds. Either they should prefer a charge that some one had been malicious or negligent, or they must bring some general proposal before the House and say that the whole constitution of the Department was at fault and ought to be amended in this or that particular.

The fourth charge which had been brought against the Department was that it had not given sufficient consideration to popular control. He would, however, invite the Committee to take seriously into account the speech of the hon. and gallant Member for North Galway, who showed that he had the courage of his opinions. The opinions of that hon. and gallant Member were those of a member of the Agricultural Council instituted by the Act of 1899 and of the Board of Agriculture. The hon. Member stood up in his place and stated that the Agricultural Council was a body two-thirds of whose members were representative of Irish local opinion, and the other third of which, though nominated by the Department, included a number of persons who were acceptable to him. Indeed, complaint had often been made by some of his hon. friends that the whole of this Department was run upon national lines, because the Agricultural Council of 102 members was composed in that manner. The Agricultural Council had been persuaded, sometimes reluctantly no doubt, to assent to all the propositions challenged in that afternoon's debate. Again, the majority of the Agricultural Board were representative. In any district there was always one party whose views were not permitted to prevail; but when a case had been settled in the locality by those who were cognisant of all the facts, it was idle after the lapse of years to bring it up again before a tribunal like the House of Commons, which could not possibly be cognisant of the facts. That would be a poor encouragement of local government in Ireland.

*Mr. J. P. FARRELL said he only used that as an illustration of the way in which the work was being carried on throughout the country. What he said was that the Department was continuing the worst traditions of Castle rule.

Mr. WYNDHAM said there might be people who had not had their way in particular districts. There were thirty-two counties in Ireland, and this Act had been in operation four years. If it were true that local opinion had been uniformly over-ridden during those four years would they not have, instead of a general statement that local opinion had been disregarded, not one but fifteen, twenty, or thirty cases in which schools, put forward by particular localities, had been rejected. They had, however, one from Longford, and in that county a scheme had been in operation for three years with the tacit and explicit sanction of the Longford District Council, and of the Agricultural Council. It was idle to bring a case of this kind before the Committee, which knew nothing of the flux and counter flux of local opinion. As to the Viscount Ikerrin, whose "outlandish" name one hon. Member had suggested was that of a Spanish grandee, and another had likened to that of a Japanese nobleman, he happened to be the son of an Irish peer and a member of one of the oldest families in Ireland. Surely it was to his credit and not to his reproach that instead of wasting his time he had gone into business and had then offered his services to an Irish department in which he worked hard for the salary of £200 a year. The hon. Member for North Galway had referred to what he called the secret consultation between the Department and the masters of certain technical schools. Something was made of that matter at the Congress which recently sat at Dublin. What the Department had done was to ask the headmasters to meet them upon certain matters which might or might not involve expenditure of money. He asked this House whether a Government Department was to be told that it was not to consult experts upon matters which might involve the expenditure of money, unless all the deliberations were to be published in the Press. If they consulted experts and published the deliberations in the Press they at once laid themselves open to the charge of bringing unfair pressure to bear on the Treasury. The very worst way to ask the Treasury to advance money for a legitimate object was to create the impression that they were using an unfair lever to make them disburse the sums required.

He had appreciated much the speech of his right hon. and gallant friend the Member for North Armagh. It would interest Sir Horace Plunkett to hear that in some quarters he was supposed to sympathise entirely with the Party opposite; and he thought that was proof that Sir Horace Plunkett was not a target for all the shafts which had been levelled at him. With regard to the Lurgan schools, his right hon. and gallant friend was in error in supposing that a sum was deducted from the original grant and allocated to another scheme. A scheme had been assented to which involved a local contribution of £100 a year, a contribution from the Department of £500 a year, and an equipment grant of £360 a year. It was represented to the Department that some of the young Catholic children could not always attend in the Protestant quarter, and that was met, not by a diminution of the original grant, but by an addition to it. Unfortunately there were places in Ireland where the populations were divided into different quarters, and where if both sections were to have all the advantages of citizenship facilities must be given, not in common, but separately. That was a fact which he deplored, but they must recognise it, while hoping that a better state of things would ultimately supervene. He had been asked what had the Department done. [Nationalist cheers.] Of course, if every reference to tuition was to be met only by gibes he had no case. But in Ireland, as had been the case in Denmark, Gothenburg, or Switzerland, tuition not for four years only, but ten or fourteen must precede any full revival of industry. Until Irishmen were educated in these sciences they could not expect such a revival. Last year the Department gave 719 lectures throughout the country, and they had an average attendance of ninety people. He did not know whether any hon. Member had ever tried to lecture in a village, but even if the meeting were on a burning political question they might congratulate themselves on having evoked a great deal of interest if they had an attendance of ninety. To illustrate the progressive expansion of the work of the Department he would mention that the number of instructors in horticulture had increased from one in 1902 to nine last year and fourteen this year, and that the number of counties which were working on horticulture were three in 1901, twenty-two last year, and thirty-two this year, or all the counties of Ireland. The number of experimental science schools was in 1901, 154, last year 196, and this year 250, every one of them equipped with laboratory appliances. The year before the Department was started the number was six. Last year the number of students was 29,500; this year 40,000. Of the teachers who had been trained there were, in 1901, 276, last year 562, this year 711.

His answer to the charge on the ground of expenditure was that in starting work of this kind there must be initial expenditure upon the staff, which at first blush might seem excessive. They must employ men from other countries who knew something of the matter, but if they saw such an expansion as these and other statistics indicated then they ought not to doubt the ultimate success of this great experiment. Whereas at the outset almost every county and urban district resented or dissented from the scheme proposed, now nearly all of them agreed. And believing as he did that in the future it would be possible to consult local feeling more than in the past, he would submit that the Committee ought not to pass a vote of censure upon men who had worked and overworked themselves in this most promising undertaking, and which would be misunderstood in the country. They should encourage the officials of the Department, the teachers and the pupils; they should encourage also British constituencies in a hopefulness of this experiment, which, he was convinced, would be attended during the next four years with far greater success than had attended it in the past.

MR. JOSEPH DEVLIN said the speech which the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary had just delivered had been a delightful intellectual treat. The right hon. Gentleman spoke for sixty-five minutes, and had devoted sixty of these minutes to the delightful political flippancies for which he was noted, and the last five minutes to the work of the Department. The speech of the right hon. Gentleman proved how essential it was that Sir Horace Plunkett should keep the promise which he made when the Board of Agriculture was constituted, that he would either come into the House or resign his position. It was important that a great Department like this, which spent £200,000 a year, should have a representative in the House to answer the criticisms of the representatives of the Irish people. It was a curious compliment to Sir Horace Plunkett that there was not a constituency in Ireland to accept him. Sir Horace had received the blessing of the hon. and gallant Member for North Armagh that night, and he opened his eyes when he saw that hon. and gallant Gentleman deliver that eulogy, because it was notorious that the hon. and gallant Gentleman had been one of the chief agents in keeping Sir Horace Plunkett out of South Dublin. It was the landlords of Ireland that were responsible for the absence from the House of Commons of the Vice-President of the Board of Agriculture. He could easily see why it was that the hon. and gallant Member for North Armagh had given his benediction to Sir Horace Plunkett that night for the first time. Sir Horace Plunkett had written a book in which he spoke of the Irish people with a feeling of contempt. The late Lord Salisbury once compared the Irish people to Hottentots; Sir Horace Plunkett in his book described them as a race of imbeciles. He had attacked the Irish clergy, which was rather ungrateful of him, because the Irish clergy had stood by him and encouraged him in his work. This was what Sir Horace Plunkett said—

> "The real matter in which the direct and personal responsibility of the Roman Catholic clergy seems to me to be involved is the character and *morale* of the people of this country. No reader of this book will accuse me of attaching too little weight to the influence of historical causes on the present state, social, economic, and political, of Ireland, but even when I have given full consideration to all such influences I still think that, with their unquestioned authority in religion, and their almost equally undisputed influence in education, the Roman Catholic clergy cannot be exonerated from some responsibility in regard to Irish character as we find it to-day. Are they, I would ask, satisfied with that character? I cannot think so. The impartial observer will, I fear, find amongst a majority of our people a striking absence of self-reliance and moral courage; an entire lack of serious thought on public questions; a listlessness and apathy in regard to economic improvement which amount to a form of fatalism; and, in backward districts, a survival of superstition, which saps all strength of will and purpose—and all this, too, amongst a people singularly gifted by nature with good qualities of mind and heart."

That was the description by Sir Horace Plunkett of a powerful and virile race which had sent missionaries the world over, had produced famous poets, and had been a great intellectual force in Europe for hundreds of years! Sir Horace Plunkett had also made sweeping charges against the teaching orders in Ireland. He said that the Christian Brothers and nuns were incapable guides of Irish youth; but Mr. Dale, the Protestant inspector of schools, who had been sent to Ireland to report upon educational work being done there, refuted these reckless charges. He had inspected 292 convent schools and many of the Christian Brothers' schools, and found them the most efficient and best schools in Ireland. He hoped the Committee would recognise that if a department like the Board of Agricultural and Technical Instruction was to be conducted by a man with practically the whole power in his own hands, that man ought to have sympathy for the people and their aspirations. Sir Horace Plunkett's sympathy showed itself in a slander upon a great body of public servants who were engaged in a high and holy mission. Sir Horace Plunkett was nothing more or less than the head of a great proselytising agency in Ireland, which had come in to kill Home Rule with kindness. If this was a part of the kindness with which Home Rule was to be killed, it would take much more than Sir Horace Plunkett could accomplish to do it. The real and legitimate settlement of the Irish question could only be done through the agency of an Irish Parliament. He had heard the Chief Secretary quote a number of continental countries where agriculture flourished under the direction of the Technical Instruction Department, but the right hon. Gentleman forgot to mention the one notable difference between these countries and Ireland—they were self-governing countries, whereas in Ireland the representatives of the people had nothing to do with the administration of the public funds of this Department. He was not afraid to give his vote on this question. Sir Horace Plunkett should not be held to be above criticism, and the Irish Members were justified in the attitude they had taken up in regard to that gentleman.

*MR. DELANY (Queen's County, Ossory) said he wished to support the Motion of his hon. friend. He agreed with the hon. Member for Longford that no practical result had followed from the expenditure by the Agricultural Department. Emigration was on the increase, and the condition of the country was worse than it was four years ago. He said this from his own knowledge, as he was a member of two county committees and also of the Agricultural Council. He believed the Department was working on wrong lines. Something might be done to keep the young men and the young women in the country. He would quote an opinion on the working of the Department, which, perhaps, would be received with some respect by hon. Gentlemen opposite. It was given by Lieutenant-Colonel W. Warburton, who was recently on a visit to a relative in Ireland. That gentleman said—

> "I now turn to the Irish Department. Sir Horace Plunkett and Mr. Gill have been aware of this for over a year and a-half, but they have persistently shut their eyes to the facts with which they were acquainted, and they have been squandering the public money in 'industrial efforts' which only tend to the impoverishment of the people and the country in the interest of England and English industries. Since 30th November last I have been urging the Irish Department and the public, through the columns of the Press, to change their policy. The replies of Mr. Gill, the book written by Sir Horace Plunkett, the last issue of the Irish Department's journal, and concurrent testimony, leave me no doubt whatever that the policy of the Department has been designedly shaped with this end in view—the prevention of Irish competition, and no other. The Bishop of Ardagh, in the chair at a lecture in Longford by the chief instructor of the Department, uses these words: 'What have you done these four years with the Department's money and the ratepayers' money? Have you kept the people at home? The answer to these questions reveal failure. I have my serious doubts if we are not squandering the money that is so badly wanted for other purposes.' I have none. The answer to these questions is, not only nothing has been done, but the efforts of the Irish Department have been concentrated upon hand industries which have nearly all disappeared in England, and whose principal effect is poverty, emigration, denationalisation, and aggravation of all the evils which the curse of seven centuries of English rule has inflicted on Ireland. A complete and sufficient explanation of the policy of Sir Horace Plunkett and Mr. Gill (who has been purchased at a cheap rate by his master) may be found in one paragraph of a paper read by Sir Richard Sankey, R.E., at the Cork Exhibition and published in the Irish Department's journal over a year ago. 'The peat bogs are the true gold mines of Ireland. There is no reason why all the machinery of Belfast should not be run from the bogs. They are capable of sending out vivifying streams of power to the farthest corner of Ireland, which would be placed in a position to compete in all forms of industry with England and Scotland.'"

That was an expression of opinion of a Lieutenant-Colonel in His Majesty's Army. Reference had been made during the debate to the unfair methods which had been pursued in connection with the appointment of the staff of the Department. The Chief Secretary made a great point of the fact that, owing to the neglected state of technical education in Ireland, Irish instructors could not be found. When, however, the King's County Technical Committee was about to appoint a chemical expert, an Irishman of good qualifications was a candidate. The Department sent down two other candidates, and intimated that the Irish candidate had not proper qualifications. Reference had been made to the clerks in the

Veterinary Department. He believed that no more partisan or sectarian action was ever taken in Ireland than that which had occurred in connection with that Department. When the Department was transferred from Dublin Castle it contained twelve clerks and one head clerk. Six of these were Catholics; and although they had from ten to thirteen years service they had to remain at £90 a year, and when they petitioned for an increase of salary they were threatened with dismissal. There were, however, others in the Department who were receiving salaries of £1,000, £950, and £700. When he put a question with reference to this partisan and unfair treatment of men of capacity and respectability, he was informed that the Department had no knowledge as to the religion of these gentlemen; just as the Attorney-General said that he did not know what was the religion of the twelve Protestants he put into a jury box to convict a Nationalist. If the matter were not remedied he would revert to it again, in order that justice might be done. He had no objection to any man because of his creed; but he certainly objected to the sectarian and partisan manner in which these clerks were being treated; it amounted in his opinion to a public scandal.

MR. FIELD (Dublin, St. Patrick) said he desired to intervene in the debate because he had been a member of the Recess Committee and was at present Chairman of the Technical Instruction Committee at Blackrock. He had been identified with the Department and, therefore, he did not wish to give a silent vote. He was glad to hear from the Chief Secretary that he welcomed criticism. Criticism was not only useful but absolutely necessary to preserve the efficiency and economic administration of every public Department. It was even more necessary in Ireland than in England, because in Ireland the officials were masters of the situation. He agreed that the discussion was a practical one as far as the mistakes and omissions of the Department were concerned; and it was in the interests of the Department as well as in the interests of the Irish ratepayers that the present situation should be discussed. He would not enter into a discussion of Sir Horace Plunkett's book. They were engaged in discussing his Department, not his book; but, at the same time, he thought that an Irish Minister who was responsible for a Department which was supposed to be non-political and non-sectarian would be wiser in not writing such a book. On the general question he thought that the reason why Ulster was more prosperous than the other three Provinces was that they had in Ulster absolute ownership of land and houses. He was of opinion that ownership went to the root of all prosperity in Ireland; and that the security of farmers and town tenants in Ulster undoubtedly helped to establish the prosperity of the province. No doubt security would be partially accomplished by the Land Act as far as farmers were concerned; but he hoped that similar protection would also be afforded to town tenants. One of the principal reasons why the Agricultural Department was not working more efficiently was because there was a certain difference between local opinion and the opinion entertained by the Department. He did not know how the friction to which his hon. friend referred arose between the Longford County Council and the

Department, because if the county council did not approve of the scheme they need not have adopted it. The Department and the local authorities did not, however, appear to be in harmony. For instance, a breed of bulls called Galloways were introduced into the West of Ireland against the strong protest of farmers and dealers. The result was that dealers would not now attend fairs in districts where Galloway bulls had been introduced. He only mentioned that as one instance. Then, again, Hackneys were introduced into Connemara, although everyone knew they would be unsuitable for the work. It was assumed that the Department had certain functions with regard to the railways; but, in practice, they found that Sir Horace Plunkett had practically no power; and that the railways did as they pleased. It was difficult to get at the figures and facts of the railway question. Years ago he suggested that a Viceregal Commission should be appointed.

MR. WYNDHAM said it was the hon. Gentleman himself who accepted the alternative of a Departmental inquiry.

MR. FIELD said he did not then expect that a policy of masterly inactivity would be pursued. He had been reading Reports of the American Board of Agriculture, and he found that one of its functions was to test soil. Why should not similar tests be introduced into Ireland, in order that the soil might be utilised to the best possible advantage? With reference to technical instruction the one thing necessary was that they should have schools properly equipped, and he thought that the Chief Secretary ought to bring pressure to bear on the Treasury to provide them. He hoped also that when boys and girls were given technical education, means of employment would be given to them.

Question put.

The Committee divided:—Ayes, 76; Noes, 146. (Division List No. 173.)

AYES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N.E.)
Ainsworth, John Stirling
Ambrose, Robert
Barry, E. (Cork, S.)
Beaumont, Wentworth C.B.
Boland, John
Burke, E. Haviland
Caldwell, James
Campbell, John (Armagh, S.
Causton, Richard Knight
Cogan, Denis J.
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Crean, Eugene
Cullinan, J.
Delany, William
Devlin, Charles Ramsay (Galway
Devlin, Joseph (Kilkenny, N.)
Doogan, P. C.
Farrell, James Patrick
Ffrench, Peter
Field, William
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Flynn, James Christopher
Gilhooly, James
Gladstone, Rt Hn. Herbert John
Griffith, Ellis J.
Hammond, John
Hayden, John Patrick
Hayter, Rt. Hon. Sir Arthur D.
Hemphill, Rt. Hon. Charles H.
Horniman, Frederick John
Jordan, Jeremiah
Joyce, Michael
Kennedy, Vincent P. (Cavan, W
Kilbride, Denis
Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cornwall)
Leamy, Edmund
Lundon, W.
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
M'Fadden, Edward
M'Hugh, Patrick A.
M'Kean, John
M'Killop, W. (Sligo, North)
Markham, Arthur Basil
Mooney, John J.
Moss, Samuel
Murphy, John
Nannetti, Joseph P.
Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South)
O'Brien, James F. X. (Cork
O'Brien, Kendal Tipperary, Mid
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Brien, P. J. (Tipperary, N.)
O'Connor, James (Wicklow, W.
O'Connor, T. P. (Liverpool)
O'Donnell, John (Mayo, S.)
O'Donnell, T. (Kerry, W.)
O'Dowd, John
O'Kelly, James (Roscommon, N.
O'Malley, William
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
O'Shee, James John
Pease, J. A. (Saffron Walden)
Power, Patrick Joseph
Reddy, M.
Redmond, John E. (Waterford)
Roberts, John (Eifion)
Roche, John
Roe, Sir Thomas
Sheehan, Daniel Daniel
Sheehy, David
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Sullivan, Donal
Taylor, Theodore C. (Radcliffe)
Thomas, David Alfred (Merthyr
White, Luke (York, E.R.)

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Sir Thomas Esmonde and Captain Donelan.

NOES.

Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arnold-Forster, RtHn. Hugh O.
Arrol, Sir William
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Aubrey-Fletcher, Rt Hn. Sir H.
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour, Rt. Hn. A. J. (Manch'r
Balfour, RtHn Gerald W. (Leeds
Balfour, Kenneth R. (Christch.
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Beach, Rt. Hn. Sir Michael Hicks
Bhownaggree, Sir M. M.
Bignold, Arthur
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Brassey, Albert
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Brotherton, Edward Allen
Bull, William James
Butcher, John George
Campbell, J.H.M. (Dublin Univ.
Cavendish, V.C.W. (Derbyshire
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor
Chamberlain, RtHn J.A. (Worc.
Chapman, Edward
Clive, Captain Percy A.
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Colston, Chas. Edw. H. Athole
Compton, Lord Alwyne
Craig, Charles Curtis (Antrim, S.
Cross, Alexander (Glasgow)
Cross, Herb. Shepherd (Bolton
Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Dalkeith, Earl of
Davenport, William Bromley
Davies, Alfred (Carmarthen)
Dickinson, Robert Edmond
Dickson, Charles Scott
Digby, John K. D. Wingfield-
Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
Dorington, Rt. Hon. Sir John E.
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers
Durning-Lawrence, Sir Edwin
Faber, Edmund B. (Hants, W.)
Fergusson, Rt. Hn. Sir J. (Manc'r
Fielden, Edward Brocklehurst
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Forster, Henry William
Gordon, Hn. J.E. (Elgin & Nairn)
Greene, Henry D. (Shrewsbury)
Gretton, John
Greville, Hon. Ronald
Groves, James Grimble
Guest, Hon. Ivor Churchill
Hardy, Laurence (Kent, Ashford
Haslett, Sir James Horner
Heath, Arthur Howard (Hanley
Heath, James (Staffords. N.W.)
Hoare, Sir Samuel
Hobhouse, Rt Hn H (Somers'tE.
Hoult, Joseph
Howard, John (Kent, Faversham
Hozier, Hon. James Henry Cecil
Hudson, George Bickersteth
Hunt, Rowland
Kennaway, Rt. Hon. Sir John H.
Kenyon-Slaney, Col. W. (Salop
Keswick, William
King, Sir Henry Seymour
Knowles, Sir Lees
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
Lawrence, Wm. F. (Liverpool)
Lawson, John Grant (Yorks. NR
Lee, Arthur H. (Hants, Fareham
Lees, Sir Elliot, (Birkenhead)
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Long, Col. Charles W. (Evesham
Long, Rt. Hn. Walter (Bristol, S.)
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lucas, Reginald J. (Portsmouth)
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
M'Killop, James (Stirlingshire)
Majendie, James A. H.
Martin, Richard Biddulph
Melville, Beresford Valentine
Mildmay, Francis Bingham
Montagu, G. (Huntingdon)
Morpeth, Viscount
Morrell, George Herbert
Mount, William Arthur
Murray, RtHn A. Graham (Bute
Murray, Charles J. (Coventry)
Murray, Col. Wyndham (Bath)
Newdegate, Francis A. N.
Nicholson, William Graham
Nolan, Col. John P. (Galway, N.)
O'Doherty, William
O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
Pease, Herbert Pike (Darlington
Peel, Hn. Wm. Robert Wellesley
Percy, Earl
Platt-Higgins, Frederck
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Pretyman, Ernest George
Rasch, Sir Frederic Carne
Reid, James (Greenock)
Renwick, George
Roberts, Samuel (Sheffield)
Ropner, Colonel Sir Robert
Rothschild, Hon. Lionel Walter
Round, Rt. Hon. James
Russell, T. W.
Rutherford, John (Lancashire)
Rutherford, W. W. (Liverpool)
Sackville, Col, S. G. Stopford
Sadler, Col. Samuel Alexander
Sandys, Lieut.-Col. Thos. Myles
Saunderson, Rt. Hn. Col. Edw. J.
Seely, Maj. J. E. B. (Isle of Wight
Sharpe, William Edward T.
Sinclair, Louis (Romford)
Skewes-Cox, Thomas
Sloan, Thomas Henry
Smith, Abel H. (Hertford, East)
Smith, H.C (North'mb. Tyneside
Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
Stanley, Hon. Arthur (Ormskirk
Stanley, Rt. Hon. Lord (Lancs.)
Strutt, Hon. Charles Hedley
Thornton, Percy M.
Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
Tuff, Charles
Valentia, Viscount
Walrond, Rt. Hn. Sir William H.
Webb, Colonel William George
Whiteley, H. (Ashton und. Lyne
Wilson, A. Stanley (York, E. R.)
Wolff, Gustav Wilhelm
Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B. Stuart
Wrightson, Sir Thomas
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George
Wyndham-Quin, Col. W. H.
Yerburgh, Robert Armstrong

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Sir Alexander Acland-Hood and Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes.

Original Question put, and agreed to.

Resolution to be reported upon Monday next; Committee to sit again upon Monday next.

PRIVILEGES.

Ordered, That the Committee of Privileges do consist of Seven Members.

The Committee was accordingly nominated of—Mr. Attorney-General, Mr. Balfour, Mr. Blake, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, Sir William Hart Dyke, Mr. John Edward Ellis, and Mr. Halsey.

Ordered, That the Committee have power to send for persons, papers, and records.

Ordered, That Five be the quorum.—(*Sir A. Acland-Hood.*)

Adjourned at twelve minutes after Twelve o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Friday, 24th June, 1904.

COMMISSION.

The following Bills received the Royal Assent:

1. Metropolitan Common Scheme (Hillingdon East) Provisional Order.
2. Metropolitan Common Scheme (Farnborough) Provisional Order.
3. Metropolitan Police Provisional Order.
4. Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 1).
5. Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 2).
6. Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 3).
7. Local Government Provisional Order (Poor Law).
8. Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 1).
9. New Zealand Loan and Mercantile Agency Company.
10. Great Northern and City Railway (Extension of Time).
11. Corbridge Gas.
12. Norwich Water.
13. Weston-super-Mare Grand Pier.
14. Barry Railway (Extension of Time, etc).
15. Victoria University of Manchester.
16. Sutton Gas.
17. Bishop's Stortford and District Gas.
18. Hampton-in-Arden Gas.
19. Ipswich Dock Commission.
20. Great Eastern Railway (Steamboats).
21. Huddersfield Corporation Act, 1902 (Amendment).
22. Metropolitan Railway.
23. West Metropolitan Railway (Abandonment).
24. Wellington (Somerset) Gas.
25. Kettering Improvement.
26. Gosport Water.
27. Amersham, Beaconsfield, and District Water.
28. Cambrian Railways.
29. Nuneaton and Chilvers Coton Urban District Council.
30. Ryde Gas.
31. Blyth and Cowpen Gas.
32. Whitby Gas.
33. Harlow and Sawbridgeworth Gas.
34. Sheppy Gas.
35. Govan Burgh (Electricity).
36. Liverpool and London and Globe Insurance Company.
37. University of Leeds.
38. York Town and Blackwater Gas.
39. Chesterfield Corporation (Tramways and Improvements).
40. Croydon Gas.
41. Chippenham Gas.
42. Elysée Palace Hotel Company, Limited.
43. St. Marylebone Electric Lighting.
44. Colney Hatch Gas.
45. Gomersal Gas.
46. North Staffordshire Railway.
47. Chesterfield Gas and Water Board.
48. Marylebone Chapels (St. James, Westmoreland Street).
49. South Staffordshire Mines Drainage.
50. New River Company.
51. Kirkby-in-Ashfield Urban District Gas.
52. Brixham Gas.
53. Littlestone-on-Sea and District Water.
54. Acton Improvement.
55. Midland Railway.
56. Lancashire Electric Power.
57. Tynemouth Gas.
58. Preston, Chorley, and Horwich Tramways.
59. Barnard Castle Gas.
60. St. Bartholomew's Hospital.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

The LORD CHANCELLOR acquainted the House, That the Clerk of the Parliaments had laid upon the Table the Certificates from the Examiners that the further Standing Orders applicable to the following Bills have been complied with:—Leyton Urban District Council; Swindon Corporation; Clyde Navigation (Works).

The same were ordered to lie on the Table.

Edwardes Square Protection Bill [H.L.]. The Bill not having been read a second time within the time limited by Standing Order No. 91. Ordered, That the Bill be not further proceeded with.

Donegal Railway Bill; Mullingar, Kells, and Drogheda Railway Bill. Read 3ª, and passed.

An Asterisk (*) at the commencement of a Speech indicates revision by the Member.

Barry Railway (Steam Vessels) Bill [H.L.]. Read 3ª, and passed, and sent to the Commons.

Great Northern Railway Bill. Read 3ª, with the Amendments, and passed, and returned to the Commons.

Tramways Orders Confirmation (No. 2) Bill [H.L.]. Reported from the Select Committee, with Amendments, and committed to a Committee of the Whole House on Monday next.

Ilford Urban District Council Bill [H.L.]; Great Central Railway Bill. The King's consent signified; and Bills reported from the Select Committee, with Amendments.

Manchester Corporation (General Powers) Bill [H.L.]. Reported from the Select Committee, with Amendments.

Bristol Tramways (Extensions) Bill [H.L.]. Reported, with Amendments.

Leith Corporation Tramways Order Confirmation Bill. Message from the Commons, That they have appointed a Committee to consist of three members to join with a Committee of this House to consider the Leith Corporation Tramways Order Confirmation Bill, and to request this House to appoint an equal number of Lords to be joined with the members of their House. The said message to be considered on Monday next.

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 5) Bill [H.L.]. Amendments reported (according to order), and Bill to be read 3ª on Monday next.

Education Board Provisional Order (Swansea) Bill; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 5) Bill; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 6) Bill; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 7) Bill; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 8) Bill; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 12) Bill; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 14) Bill; Local Government Provisional Order (No. 15) Bill; Local Government Provisional Orders (Gas) Bill. Read 3ª (according to order), and passed.

Gas Orders Confirmation (No. 2) Bill [H.L.]. Read 3ª (according to order), and passed, and sent to the Commons.

PETITIONS.

SUPPLY OF ELECTRICITY BILL [H.L.].

Petition against; of Sunderland Corporation. Read, and ordered to lie on the Table.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

DOGS REGULATION (IRELAND) ACT, 1865.

Accounts of receipts and expenditure under the Act, for the year 1903.

FINES, ETC. (IRELAND).

Abstract of accounts and fines accounted for by the Registrar of Petty Sessions Clerks, for the year 1902.

Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table.

IRISH LAND BILL [H.L.].

[SECOND READING.]

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

LORD MUSKERRY: My Lords, in the course of the debate on the Second Reading of this Bill, I am quite prepared to hear the Bill characterised as a preposterous measure by those who are opposing it. But, my Lords, what would you call the past land legislation in Ireland? Has it not only been most preposterous but also dishonest and unjust? The Bill now before your Lordships has, at least, the merit of being an honest one, for it only seeks to remedy some of this injustice and dishonesty.

I will, as briefly as I can, refer to some of the enactments of the past thirty-four years. In the Memorandum of the Bill there is mentioned the Deasy Act passed in 1860; this Act was undoubtedly an able piece of legislation, and I understand from those best qualified to judge that it has never needed any tinkering or amendment to carry out its object.

But ten years afterwards — in 1870 — the Government proceeded to pass an Act to limit the landlord's rights to regulate his property by contract, and, as you will see in the Memorandum, should he eject his tenant he had to pay him compensation for disturbance as well as compensation for any improvements the tenant should have made on the land, and it was declared that the tenant could not contract himself out of the benefit of the Act, unless his annual rent was over £50, a comparatively rare case in Ireland. The compensation for disturbance was to be for the loss which the Court should find to be sustained by the tenant by reason of quitting his holding, but these qualifying words were eliminated by Section 6 of the Land Act, 1881, which has in recent years been often styled "The Tenants' Charter." This Act of 1881 entirely revolutionised the whole system of land tenure in Ireland with, as I have been informed by legal gentlemen, a completeness which has been truly marvellous to them, accustomed as Lawyers to the immense difficulty which the Legislature has always experienced in uprooting settled traditions in even much simpler matters.

Feudalism had already been swept away in 1860, and now the freedom of contract was carried off in the torrent of revolutionary legislation. The tenant held no longer as the vassal or the contractee of the person still called the landlord, though his lordship, in any sense known to the law, no longer existed. The tenant, still so-called, though tenure was abolished, was now established for ever in his farm at an annual fair rent to be fixed by a new Court, and not regulated by any kind of contract, and so long as he paid this rent he could not, save in exceptional circumstances mentioned in the Act, be ever disturbed in his enjoyment of the holding. Nor was this rent itself sacred, but was subject to revision every fifteen years. The Irish Land Commission furnishes annually to Parliament, in the shape of a Blue-book, a Return showing results of proceedings, and from the latest Returns I have seen it appears that up to March, 1903, an old rental of £6,955,033 3s. 9d. had been dealt with and reduced to £5,503,536 15s., being a reduction of 20·8 per cent. off the rents. For the £1,415,496 thus compulsorily knocked off the rent rolls of the Irish landlords no kind of compensation, direct or indirect, has ever been given, so that they have been treated in a worse manner than the slaveholders on the emancipation of the negroes. Many of these reduced rents have again on the expiration of fifteen years been revised, with the result that fair rents amounting to £1,512,383 7s. 9d. have been compulsorily reduced to £1,191,904 2s. 1d., or 21·1 per cent. less than the fair rents fixed fifteen years ago, and no compensation has been paid to landlords nor has there been the least justification for such compulsory proceedings. Of the £7,000,000 of contract rents £2,278,186 0s. 7d. were dealt with by agreements and reduced to £1,873,931 1s. 6d. showing a reduction of 17·7 per cent. and of the million and a half judicial rents revised on expiration of fifteen years £451,196 were dealt with by agreement and reduced to £369,546, or an average of 18 per cent. reduction. It will thus be seen that the reductions compulsorily granted by the Court are considerably in excess of those at which the tenants were willing to settle. Mr. Gladstone, in supporting the Act of 1881 and defending the compulsory reductions of rent without compensation, urged that the punctuality, etc., with which new fair rents would be paid would compensate for the reduction since it would save much expense in the collection. At the outset there were, however, the costs of proceedings in the Courts to fix fair rents which at a very moderate estimate would be 5 per cent. of the rental dealt with; and, in fact, the new rents were not more punctually paid than the old.

It is a strange thing that notwithstanding the magnitude of these operations and the length of time the Courts have been at work, what constitutes a "fair rent," or how exactly it is to be ascertained, has never been defined by the Legislature or by the Courts, nor was even a basis suggested until after the Reports of the Matthew and Fry Commissions. In the case of *Gosford v. Alexander* (January, 1901) it was suggested that the fair rent should be arrived at on a book-keeping principle—deduct from the total produce the cost of production and then the balance was the profit on the farm. Out of this profit was to come allowance to tenant for improvements, and the residue was to be divided amongst landlord for rent and tenant for profit for farming as the Court should think fair. These concluding words not having received any authorised definition, the whole theory ends in nothing.

In 1887 the Legislature directed the adjustment during the three years 1887–9 of judicial rents fixed prior thereto in accordance with the fluctuation in prices since 1881, 1882, 1883, 1884, and 1885. In 1887, when this Act was passed, the prices of wheat, flax, grass seeds, oats, barley, eggs, butter, pork, potatoes, hay, store cattle, sheep, beef, and mutton had all fallen. After 1889 the price of wheat, grass seeds, oats barley, potatoes, hay, store cattle, and springers went up, but there was no legislation to increase the rents fixed prior to that date, although in the years 1887, 1888, and 1889 the reductions in rent were 25·8, 27·5, and 23·7 per cent., which were the highest on record except in the year 1897.

Now, my Lords, I have put before you, as briefly as I am able, the course of land legislation from 1860 up to the coming of the Land Act of last year, and I would ask your Lordships: Have any body of men ever been subjected to such utterly unjustifiable treatment, justified neither from the statesman's point of view nor from their own behaviour in dealing with their tenants? Can you call this legislation the acts of statesmen or are they rather not the measures of the Party politician? You surely cannot call legislation which has brought discord into the country, which has frightened capital out of the country, which has been the cause of vast sums of public money being expended—you surely cannot call that statesmanship. As to the behaviour of the landlords towards their tenants, you have Mr. Gladstone stating in 1881, in speaking on the Land Bill of that year, that it would not be due to misconduct on the part of the landlords of Ireland who, on the contrary, having stood their trial had been declared by the Bessborough Commission to be entitled to the greatest credit for not exacting all they were entitled to. And, again, the same gentleman, speaking of this agrarian legislation, stated—

> "The landlord will become a pensioner and rent-charger upon what is now his own estate. The Legislature has, no doubt, the perfect right to reduce him to that condition, giving him proper compensation for any loss he may sustain in money. Inasmuch as perpetuity of tenure on the part of the occupier is virtually expropriation of the landlord, and as a mere readjustment of rent according to the price of produce can by no means dispose of all contingencies the future may produce in his favour, compensation would have to be paid to the landlord for the right of which he would be deprived."

In the Act of 1881 provision was made for setting aside unfair leases (Section 21) but all other leases were to stand. In 1887 the Conservative Government opened the Land Courts to the other lessees, but although, under the Act of 1881, either the landlord or tenant could have a fair rent fixed, under the Act of 1887 this facility was given only to the tenant, so that the Conservative Government of 1887 was still more one-sided against the landlord than even Mr. Gladstone's Act was.

Speaking on the Second Reading of the last measure, the late Marquess of Salisbury said that his defence for assenting to a measure that he did not approve of was that the continuity of policy which was so necessary in foreign affairs was also necessary in home affairs. If this principle had been carried out of continuity of policy there would now be a South African Republic and there would have been no Boer War. Long leases and fee farm grants were excepted out of the Act of 1887. But the Land Courts were thrown open to these tenants by the Redemption Act of 1891, unless the landlord was willing to sell at a price to be fixed by the Land Commission.

But, my Lords, to come directly to the particular injustice that this Bill seeks to remedy, I would draw your attention to the first clause, which deals with the owners of land in Ireland who purchased estates from the Landed Estates Court, who professed to give an indefeasible title to the purchasers. In making these sales the rental of the estates was set forth as an inducement for purchase. I do not contend for one moment that the Landed Estates Courts guaranteed the continuance of this rental, but what they did guarantee was that the purchaser under the Landed Estates Court title was absolute owner of the land, subject to the legal contracts as regards leases, etc., that might be then existing, and that at the termination or falling in of those leases he could deal with the land as he pleased; he could either take it into his own hands or re-let it to the same tenants or to others as seemed most advisable; in fact, he was absolute owner of the land. But now, under the past legislation, he no longer owns the land, he cannot deal with it as he pleases, and he has found that in trusting to the guarantee of the Courts to establish his claim to the property purchased he has bee absolutely and deliberately defrauded by the British Government simply to further their own political schemes. Who, my Lords, in their senses would have purchased in those days had they ever dreamt of the legislation that was to follow? I will read a short note from a very well-known landowner in Ireland, which will give some idea of how things work—

> "In 1879 I purchased a property from Her late Majesty's Judges. I do not even know the names of the former owners. It originally belonged to a Mr.———, who left it to trustees to sell and distribute the money among sundry people whose names I have not heard mentioned. In 1881 Mr. Gladstone brought in his Bill for cutting down rents, and I immediately wrote to him asking him to give me back my money and take the property; but I only got an evasive answer. On this property there was a tenant who appealed against a rent of £65. I attended at Listowel with two valuers and an attorney, but there were so many cases on the list that mine could not be heard then. I again attended at Listowel with the same staff, and the sub-Commissioners left the rent unchanged. The tenant appealed and I had then to attend at Killarney before the Head Commissioners, again bringing the same staff, and although the Appeal Court valuers valued it at £75, the rent was again left unchanged. My costs altogether came to about £30, so that I had to pay about half a year's rent in defending my right to a property which I had purchased three years previously, on what was called, I presume ironically, an indefeasible title. If I had purchased from a private individual I could have got information about the owner's outlay, which I believe in this case was very large, but, of course, in purchasing from the Government I could get no information. Last year the tenant went into Court again for a second-term reduction, and got the rent lowered by £4, why or wherefore no one could give a guess."

It would at least have been honest if the purchase money had been refunded when the Courts found that, owing to Government legislation, the title which they had given to the purchaser was practically set at naught.

My Lords, what should be the desire of anyone who has the true interests of the country at heart? Is it a statesmanlike thing to legislate just for the present moment, and have no regard for the future or the evils that the present legislation may eventually bring about? Land purchase undoubtedly offers a solution of one side of the question, namely, how to get rid of the landowner's interest; but the absurdity of the situation is that this condemned interest is not abolished, but is carefully preserved and transferred to the tenant, so as to provide room, I suppose, for future legislation, when, in a few generations the peasant proprietors of to-day have become the landlords of the future—and I venture to appeal to any of those who know Ireland, as to whether the future landlords will be so considerate to their tenants as the landlords whom the Government are now trying to hunt out of Ireland—and when the whole agrarian question will be reopened, possibly in an aggravated form, to the serious disadvantage of the country.

It should be the opinion of everyone who tries to look at the question with any real breadth of view and with a desire to arrive at a sound conclusion, that the first and most essential want of Ireland at present and for many years to come, as it has been for many years past, is to have repose and security and to be allowed to settle down. Those who have capital and who might be induced to invest it in land or in manufacturing or other industrial pursuits are deterred from so doing by a feeling of intense insecurity. The tenants themselves are kept in an agony of unsettlement, imagining some great millenium is before them when they can get everything for nothing. The Land Act ought to be administered, not in the interest of landlord or tenant, but with thorough and impartial justice all round. And, my Lords, as the first step towards showing some justice to a portion of the landowners of Ireland I move the Second Reading of this Bill ensuring that the engagements entered into by the Land Courts shall be held sacred.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2^a."—(*Lord Muskerry.*)

*THE EARL OF CREWE: My Lords, I do not rise with any intention of following the noble Lord through the long review which he has given of Irish land legislation during the last thirty years. His arraignment of that legislation was complete and absolute. But I am bound to say that in introducing at this period of the session, a measure intended, so far as I follow it, to undo the whole of that legislation in certain cases, the noble Lord seems to be hardly approaching the subject in a serious spirit. Your Lordships' House is not, perhaps, overburdened with work, but, on the other hand, we are not a debating society, and I cannot help making the reflection that the speech of the noble Lord would have been better fitted to one of those local Parliaments where instructive and interesting debates are conducted, than to your Lordships' House. But my purpose in rising was rather to draw attention to the Memorandum which the noble Lord has prefixed to his Bill. I am fairly well acquainted with the general features of the different Acts relating to Irish land, but it is always pleasant to have one's memory refreshed, and I turned to this Memorandum hoping to find in it some information as to the object of the Bill and some statement explanatory of its provisions. Instead of that, I find the Memorandum is a kind of essay, or perhaps I should say a declamation couched in somewhat heated terms and full of denunciation of all Governments for the last thirty years. I do not say that this is an abuse of the Rules of your Lordships' House, because I confess I am not very well aware as to what Rules of Order govern these Memoranda, but I do say that it is something of an abuse of the practice of your Lordships' House, that a Memorandum which, prefixed to a Bill of this kind, is professedly explanatory, should be of the character I have described; and I think it right, on behalf of those who sit on this Bench, to express the hope that this practice will not become a general one.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR (The Earl of HALSBURY): My Lords, I must say I concur in the views expressed by the noble Earl who has just sat down. Your Lordships are aware that a Peer has a right to introduce a Bill without leave, and that, as a matter of course, and without any specific Motion on the subject, the Bill is ordered to be printed. I think that if the practice followed in this particular Memorandum were to continue, it would be necessary every time that a noble Lord moved the First Reading of a Bill to insist that the Motion authorising the Bill to be printed should actually be made, and not accepted merely as a point of form. It would then be possible for noble Lords to oppose its being printed. The Memorandum attached to a Bill is often convenient in explaining in a simple form its object, but to attach a kind of Second Reading speech, such as this is, to a Bill in the shape of a Memorandum is, I cannot help saying, an abuse altogether of the practice of the House, and I hope that your Lordships will not encourage it.

THE DUKE OF ABERCORN: My Lords, the House has no doubt listened with considerable interest to the statements made by the noble Lord in moving the Second Reading of this Bill. I will not enter into the question whether or not the Bill is a good one; but I am bound to say that noble Lords sitting in this House who own property in Ireland do not in any way sympathise with the object of the noble Lord in introducing this Bill. In fact, we altogether dissociate ourselves from the Motion which has been made, because we do not wish to enter again into the troubled question of land purchase in Ireland. Both Houses of Parliament were occupied for a considerable time last year in passing the Land Act, and at this period of the present session we do not again wish to enter upon that subject. It strikes me that there are two points which tell very much against this Bill. One is that it is an incomplete Bill, and only refers to estates which have been purchased under the Encumbered Estates Act; and the other is that the time chosen for the bringing of the measure forward is inopportune. The noble Lord could not by any chance hope to pass the Bill through the other House at this late period of the session, and I therefore hope that he will not proceed any further with the Second Reading, but that, having expressed the opinions we have all heard, he will be satisfied to let the matter drop.

THE EARL OF **DENBIGH**: My Lords, the duty which devolves upon me of expressing the opinion of His Majesty's Irish Government with regard to this Bill has been somewhat lightened by the remarks which have just fallen from the noble Duke, as representing those in this House who are interested in this question. I do not think anybody can accuse the noble Duke or those noble Lords who act with him of not being always very watchful over enactments proposed with regard to Irish land, and, seeing that this particular Bill is ostensibly introduced on behalf of Irish landowners, I think we may be pretty certain, after hearing the noble Duke's remarks, that the Bill is either impracticable or ineffective, or probably both, even though my noble friend Lord Muskerry may be of opinion that other noble Lords from Ireland do not know what is good for them. Among the aliases by which I am sometimes known, I happen to possess a somewhat ancient Irish patronymic, and for that reason I am sometimes suspected of being the owner of Irish land, but whenever I am so accused I always reply, "Thank God, I am not." My reason for that, I am afraid, is—and nobody can deny the fact—that Irish landowners have in the past received somewhat harsh treatment from the hands of the British Parliament, and there is no denying the fact that the confidence which we sometimes feel in the sanctity of contract has been rudely shaken when considered in conjunction with Irish land legislation. But, my Lords, we are face to face with the fact that all this has been the deliberate policy of Parliament, the policy deliberately adopted by Parliament. There is no getting away from that fact, and we have to recognise it. The Bill which the noble Lord has introduced would practically enact that all land bought under the Encumbered Estates Act and the Landed Estates Act should, as compared with other land in Ireland, be outside all land legislation that has been passed since 1870. Your Lordships can picture the confusion worse confounded that would probably ensue. We on this Bench heartily concur with the noble Earl opposite that this Bill can hardly be taken seriously, and we also agree that the Memorandum is hardly one which, in accordance with the practice of your Lordships' House, should have been printed. Taking into consideration the nature of the Bill and the time at which it is introduced, I have no hesitation whatever in asking your Lordships not to read the Bill a second time.

LORD **CLONBROCK**: My Lords, I should like to say one word following upon the statement of the noble Duke beside me. I wish it to be clearly understood that in dissociating ourselves from the Bill we do not for one moment admit that the noble Lord who moved it was not perfectly right in what he said as to the past treatment of Irish landlords. Indeed, I go further than he does. He barely alluded to one of the great grievances under which we have suffered. I refer to the imposition of tenant right over parts of Ireland where it never existed before, where a slice of the fee simple of the property was carved out and given to the sitting tenant to benefit him and him alone. I fully concur with what fell from the noble Duke that the remedy proposed by the noble Lord in this Bill is fragmentary and incomplete. As the noble Lord who spoke on behalf of the Irish Government has mentioned, it is confined to those who purchased properties under the Encumbered Estates Act, and leaves all the others out in the cold. We have always held that the owners of property that has come down from generations and the title of which has always been considered by laws indefeasible, have equally a claim. We dissociate ourselves from this Bill owing to the crude and incomplete manner in which such a great question as this is treated, and, further, owing to the period of the session at which the Bill is brought in.

LORD **MUSKERRY**: My Lords, I should like to say a few words in reply. Dealing first with the date at which this Bill is brought in, I might point out that it was read a first time on 8th March. I regret to say that I have not been very well since and have not felt able to bring it before your Lordships for a Second Reading earlier. The noble

Earl who spoke from the Front Opposition Bench, the Earl of Crewe, has alluded to the Memorandum, and I am informed that I have transgressed in that particular. I assure your Lordships it was through ignorance. I thought that some noble Lords might not remember the course of Irish land legislation, and I thought it wise, therefore, to refer in a condensed form in my Memorandum to some of the Acts that have been passed, and the treatment that Irish landlords have received. The noble Duke has, I regret to say, criticised my Bill adversely. I am very sorry for that. He is the President of the Landowners' Convention, and I am surprised at his action to-day because just before coming into the House I read the noble Duke's very able speech last August, in which he denounced the very breach of faith by the Government which my Bill proposes to remedy. My noble friend Lord Clonbrock, and also the noble Duke, stated that the Bill did not go far enough, and that there is no reason why the holders of land in Ireland who had been unjustly treated should be excluded; but, my Lords, this particularly flagrant breach of faith on the part of the British Government is a specific thing. When Consols were reduced from 3 per cent. to 2½ per cent., was it not in the power of every holder, say, of £100 worth of Consols—it did not matter whether he bought them at £110, at £96, or at £90—was it not left to him, if he did not agree to the interest on his capital being reduced, to go to the Government and get £100 for his £100 worth of stock. Here we have land sold by the Government, who give an indefeasible title. It does not matter whether the land that the purchaser bought was over-rented or under-rented. The Government sold him that land, and then deliberately reduced the interest on his capital by a half or more. I have only put in plain language what every one of your Lordships knows, what everyone who has knowledge of Irish land legislation knows, and what has not been denied in this House to-night, that nearly the whole of this land legislation has been both dishonest and unjust. This Bill only seeks to remedy one small portion of the injustice. It only deals with cases where the Government have absolutely broken faith. The present Government profess, and the preceding Government professed, to be strongly averse to Home Rule, but their actions have been the strongest arguments that could be made in favour of Home Rule, far stronger than any arguments that the advocates of that measure advance. This action is making many men who were strong opponents of Home Rule wonder whether they would have been so badly treated had a measure of Home Rule passed into law. They would certainly not have had to suffer from treacherous treatment on the part of those who were their friends. I do hope some at least of your Lordships will go into the Division Lobby with me in favour of this Bill as a protest against an injustice which is not denied.

On Question, Motion negatived without a division, Lord MUSKERRY, although he challenged a division, not persisting when the Question was put a second time.

IRISH LOANS.

LORD ORANMORE AND BROWNE: My Lords, I rise to ask His Majesty's Government, with reference to Land Improvement Loans made to landlords and tenants by the Commissioners of Public Works in Ireland—(1) What percentage of such loans has been repaid (*a*) in cases of loans to landlords, (*b*) in cases of loans to tenants, and what percentage of such loans in each case is deemed to be irrecoverable; (2) why the rate of interest on such loans is in excess of the rate at which money can be borrowed by the Government; and (3) to what purposes is the profit thereby made by the Government applied. It has been pointed out to me that my first Question is liable to be misunderstood and might be taken to refer to current loans, the work of preparing statistics in regard to which would entail much labour in the Department. I only mean it to apply to the cases of loans which have been closed. My second and third Questions refer to the rate of interest on such loans, and the purposes to which the profit thereby made by the Government is applied.

The rate of interest is, in round figures, 3½ per cent. That is the exact sum in the cases of loans repayable in twenty-five years. In the case of loans repayable in twenty-two and half years the exact rate is £3 8s. 3d. per cent. These loans are made by the Government for the purpose of encouraging the useful expenditure of money in permanent improvements of property in Ireland, but I am afraid the borrowers do not consider that they owe a deep debt of gratitude to the Government, for they have a shrewd suspicion that they have made a very good thing out of it. I have no doubt I shall be told that the expenses of administration are considerable, but I do not believe they are sufficient to swallow up the difference between the rate at which money can be borrowed and that which is charged on these loans; and if that is the case in the present day, when the state of the market is so depressed, what must have been the profit made in the palmy days before the Boer War, when money could be borrowed on so much more favourable terms? This was partly acknowledged it 1889, when the Government of the day grudgingly consented to reduce the rate of interest from 3½ to 3⅛ per cent., but this only took place in the case of loans which had been sanctioned before December 31st, 1881, and where all instalments had been paid up to date. It did not apply to any loans made since that date, and, consequently, in the vast majority of loans now outstanding the rate of interest is still 3½ per cent. I should be over-sanguine if I expressed a hope that all the profit which has been made on these loans should be applied towards the reduction of the capital still owing on them, but I believe the reply will show that, in the case of landlords at any rate, these loans have been well and punctually repaid. I have found a Treasury Minute dated 18th January, 1900—it is the latest I could get—which states that it was evident that the Local Loans Fund was no longer in a position to afford to lend to local authorities, allowing for expenses of management, at so low a rate as 3 per cent. per annum, and accordingly the Chancellor of the Exchequer recommended to the Board that the rate of interest prescribed for loans on the security of local rates should be, in the case of loans not exceeding thirty years, at the rate of 3¼ per cent. interest. I venture to hope that His Majesty's Government will see their way accordingly to reduce the rate of interest on instalments due in the future under these loans.

THE LORD PRIVY SEAL (The Marquess of SALISBURY); My Lords, my noble friend asks, in the first place, what percentage of these loans has been repaid in the case of landlords, and what percentage in the case of tenants. He has explained to your Lordships that he intends his observations only to apply to loans which have been concluded, and that he very reasonably and properly excludes those which are still current. I am glad to be able to reassure my noble friend. These loans, whether to landlords or tenants, have been repaid with extraordinary punctuality, and I think we may say that in the case of those loans which have been concluded the Government have been involved in practically no loss whatever by the transactions. The irrecoverable arrears, which have been written off as lost, only amount to ·41 per cent., or less than half per cent., in the case of landlords, and ·89 per cent, or less than 1 per cent., in the case of tenants. I think your Lordships will agree, considering the enormous number of these loans and the very small sums which are being dealt with, that that result is very favourable. My noble friend thinks the interest charged is too high. He has correctly stated the rate of interest at £3 8s. 3d. I am informed that this is by no means too high a rate of interest when the expenses of collection, which of course are considerable in the case of loans of so small a character, are taken into consideration. I may inform my noble friend that the figure stands rather lower in the case of landlords and tenants than in the case of local authorities, to whom the total 3½ per cent. is charged. Then my noble friend asked: What do the Government do with the profit? Well, practically there is no profit. The very small sum which appears in the Returns as profit is swallowed up by expenses on capital account. It is not possible, as the noble Lord is probably aware, for the Government to borrow at 3 per cent. now, and the difference between what they borrow at and par absorbs whatever small profit there is to be made out of these loans. I hope I have been able to reassure my noble friend.

THE CHINESE COOLIES AND BERI-BERI.

*THE MARQUESS OF RIPON: My Lords, I rise to call attention to the grave danger which appears to exist of the introduction into South Africa of the disease known as beri-beri, and to ask what measures His Majesty's Government are taking to prevent its spread. A few days ago, in the course of a discussion which arose upon the Resolution moved by my noble and learned friend, Lord Coleridge, I made some observations upon the appearance among the Chinese coolies who have been conveyed from China to South Africa of the dangerous disease known commonly by the name of beri-beri, but I did not ask for any statement on behalf of His Majesty's Government then because the circumstances of the debate precluded it; and I had no intention of raising the question again so soon. But I learn through the usual channels of public information that the other House of Parliament appears to lie under a sort of enchantment, in which it is in the power of any single Member of that House, however little known to fame, to prevent full and complete discussion of urgent and important questions of this kind for the rest of the session. In these circumstances I feel bound, as we at present, at all events, enjoy our full constitutional liberty in this House, to raise the question here, because it is one which interests a large portion of the public in this country and upon which some distinct and clear information is very desirable. Of course, in the House of Commons a Question can be asked, but we all know that under the very necessary Rules in that House in that respect there is not that freedom in putting Questions which we possess in this House. The Question can only be put in a few words, and can be answered as shortly as it may suit the Minister to answer it; but this is a question on which a somewhat wider expression of opinion is required before we can expect an answer from His Majesty's Government such as would satisfy the reasonable wishes of the public for information.

It is now more than a week since the first of these Chinese labourers arrived at Durban, and when they did arrive there the information was telegraphed to this country that the disease of beri-beri had broken out amongst them; that three, I think, of the Chinamen had died during the voyage, and that it was evident that the disease existed on board the transport. I have seen, since then, remarks which would tend to imply that some persons have doubts as to whether beri-beri has really appeared or not. I do not see myself how it can be doubted, but my first question to the Government must be whether they have received from South Africa any official information of the outbreak of this serious disease; and next, what are the steps that are being taken for the purpose of providing, so far as can be done, against the danger of the spreading of the disease. For this disease, my Lords, is a very dangerous and infectious one. It spreads under certain conditions very rapidly, and proves fatal in many cases. In a case like this, where a succession of these Chinese labourers are coming from China, where a succession of them are already proceeding from this very vessel upon which the disease has broken out to Johannesburg, it is of primary importance that the matter should be dealt with at once, otherwise there is the greatest possible danger that the disease will take hold of the mining population of Johannesburg and produce very serious mortality. Therefore, my Lords, I want to know what is being done to meet this evil.

There is in this morning's newspapers the statement that another batch of 330 Chinese labourers, the last of the men who arrived by the steamer "Tweeddale," entrained for Johannesburg yesterday without incident, and that there has been another death from beri-beri, making six in all. I cannot use the word "entrained" for Johannesburg without making one remark. I do not believe myself that the mode in which those men are conveyed through the Colony of Natal—locked up, prevented from moving, surrounded by police—I do not believe that that mode will be found to be legal in the Colony of Natal. Of course, it is legal under the Ordinance in the Transvaal, but the Transvaal Ordinance does not apply to Natal, and I very much doubt whether there is legal ground for such proceedings. I do not, however, press for a reply on that point, as I have not given notice of the Question. But with regard to the disease, there is this further statement from Johannesburg—

> "Four additional suspected cases of beri-beri have broken out at Johannesburg among the newly-arrived Chinese labourers. The men are but slightly ill and are able to exercise."

Therefore, there are deaths at Durban and an outbreak of the disease at Johannesburg. You have a large number of men who have been cooped up—necessarily cooped up, I admit—on the vessel with the persons who were sickening of beri-beri, and, therefore, it is a matter of the first importance that instant steps should be taken to prevent a spread of this disease. There are still some Europeans employed in the mines at Johannesburg, and they are liable to take the disease just as much as the Chinaman or the Kaffir.

This disease has been known, unfortunately, of late years in this country. It has attracted a great deal of attention among those who feel an interest in miners here, and there is, of course, a danger that it may spread from Johannesburg to the British Dominions at home. That, therefore, constitutes another reason—though I think the spread of the disease among the natives is quite as serious—why this matter should be speedily dealt with. As this disease has appeared in England, the medical faculty here know all about it. His Majesty's Government have only to consult experts in this country to know what is the best mode of dealing with it. I can conceive, though wishing to speak with all respect of the medical faculty at Johannesburg, that they may not be as competent to give opinions as to the proper mode of dealing with this matter as those to whom the Government at home might refer; and, therefore, I do say it is of the first importance that this question should be dealt with at once, that whatever steps are required should be instantly taken on the spot in order to prevent what would be really a very serious catastrophe, both to South Africa and possibly to this country, if this fatal and mischievous disease were to be introduced into the mines at Johannesburg.

*THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (The Marquess of LANSDOWNE): My Lords, in the unavoidable absence of the Duke of Marlborough, I have been asked to answer the Questions of the noble Marquess. In the first place, let me say that the noble Marquess does His Majesty's Government a great injustice if he supposes that either in this House or in the other House there is any desire to withhold information as to the facts connected with this outbreak of disease. I am afraid I am not able to add much to the noble Marquess's knowledge on the subject. Our attention has, of course, like his, been drawn to the statements which have appeared upon the subject in the Press, and a telegram has been sent by the Secretary of State to South Africa asking for information as to the outbreak, and as to the measures which were being taken for coping with it; but up to the present no official information on the subject has been received. It seems, however, clear that the case is one in which extraordinary precautions of some kind will be called for, and I have no doubt we shall learn in due course what those precautions are likely to be. I spoke of extraordinary precautions. The noble Marquess will find in the Papers which have been already supplied on the subject of Chinese immigration the ordinary precautions which are taken to prevent the introduction of disease by these labourers. Under their contract they have to be passed as in sound health by a medical man. They are obliged to produce certificates of health, and, if the emigration agent is not satisfied, a further examination must be made by the surgeon of the ship in which they are to travel. Then before the ship is allowed to sail every emigrant on board has to be examined by a qualified medical officer, nominated by the British Consular officer or his delegate. Finally, there is the examination on arrival. It is clear, therefore, that this contingency of the importation of disease had, to some extent at all events, been provided for. I will take care that any information which is received on the subject shall be placed within your Lordships' reach. I regret that at the present moment I am unable to tell the noble Marquess more. The Government are, of course, perfectly aware that this disease is a dangerous one, and fully recognise that no pains should be spared to prevent its spreading. I am tempted to add that it seems to me that, in the first instance at all events, it is for the local authorities to place their proposals before us, and it will be our business to see that they are sufficient, and, if necessary, to supplement them by others of our own.

LORD TWEEDMOUTH: There is another matter to which the noble Marquess has not referred, namely, the care that should be taken to secure that the ships in which these coolies are brought over from China are not infected with the disease. Shipboard is essentially a place to which the disease does seem to cling. It is very necessary that steps should be taken to secure in every possible way that all precautions are taken on board the ships that carry the immigrant coolies, and that nothing is allowed which is likely to facilitate the spread of the disease on board. The mere leaving of it to the local authorities in South Africa will not at all meet the circumstances of the case.

*THE MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE: It is not correct to say that this matter is left entirely to the local authorities. Precautions are taken before the emigrant is allowed to go on board the ship and when he is on board, but I quite admit that the question which the noble Lord has raised is worthy of consideration.

*LORD STANLEY OF ALDERLEY: My Lords, I wish to make one remark upon the answer which has just been given by the noble Marquess. I think we must all agree that in dealing with local outbreaks of dangerous illness the first responsibility falls on the people on the spot, whose duty it is to take all precautions; and it is because some of us feel this that we are a little surprised that the local authorities, who, according to the Leader of the House, were first bound to take action, have not thought it worth their while or taken the trouble to send any official information to the Government; that it was left to the Government here, who ought to be, I will say, the second line of defence, to take the initiative in telegraphing out, and that, so far as action has been taken of a remedial character in connection with this importation of labour under, I will not say servile, as that seems to cause offence, but under special conditions, from the beginning the initiative has had to be taken, here, through the impulse of Questions in Parliament. Even now we understand that the Minister responsible, who did give an assurance to the House of Commons on the subject, is asking to be relieved from that assurance. I do think we have a right to urge that the sense of responsibility so properly laid down by the Leader of the House should be impressed so as to result in more speedy action on the part of the persons who under this Government are responsible in South Africa.

EARL CADOGAN: My Lords, inasmuch as I am probably the only Member of your Lordships' House who has had to deal administratively with the disease of beri-beri, perhaps I may be allowed to say a word or two on the subject. We had an outbreak of beri-beri, when I was Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, in a prison hospital in Dublin. At first it was dealt with by the local authority, but I was advised that it was a disease which more than any other required immediate treatment. I also found that it was not possible, under the regulations, for the outbreak to be dealt with as rapidly as I could wish, and I thought it my duty to act, I believe, entirely illegally. I took the matter into my own hands and turned the patients from the hospital in which they were located into a disused prison. I ordered the hospital, of course, to be cleansed, and I can say this, which may be reassuring to the House, that though one or two fatal cases occurred, the severity of the disease was mitigated, and in a very short time it entirely disappeared. I believe there has not been a case since then in Ireland. It may be reassuring to your Lordships to know, if we may trust our experience in Dublin, that if this outbreak is dealt with promptly and vigorously it will probably not be as severe and dangerous as seems to be feared.

House adjourned at five minutes before Six o'clock to Monday next, a quarter before Eleven o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Friday, 24th June, 1904.

The House met at Twelve of the Clock.

ROYAL COMMISSION.

Message to attend the Lords Commissioners.

The House went; and, being returned,

Mr. SPEAKER reported the Royal Assent to a number of Bills (see pages 1089 and 1090).

UNOPPOSED PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

PRIVATE BILLS [LORDS] (STANDING ORDERS NOT PREVIOUSLY INQUIRED INTO COMPLIED WITH).

Mr. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in the case of the following Bill, originating in the Lords, and referred on the First Reading thereof, the Standing Orders not previously into, and which are applicable thereto, have been complied with, viz:—Stretford Urban District Council Bill [Lords].

Ordered, That the Bill be read a second time.

Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire Electric Power Bill [Lords]; Preston Corporation Water Bill [Lords]; Shipley Urban District Council Bill [Lords]; Ticehurst and District Water and Gas Bill [Lords]. As amended, considered; to be read the third time.

Education Board Provisional Order (Cardiff) Bill. Reported, with Amendments (Title amended) [Provisional Order relating to Newport not proceeded with; remaining Order confirmed]; Report to lie upon the Table.

Bill, as amended, to be considered upon Monday next.

Education Board Provisional Order Confirmation (London) Bill [Lords]. Reported, with Amendments [Provisional Order confirmed]; Report to lie upon the Table.

Bill, as amended, to be considered upon Monday next.

Drainage and Improvement of Lands (Ireland) Provisional Order Bill. Reported, without Amendment [Provisional Order confirmed]; Report to lie upon the Table.

Bill to be read the third time upon Monday next.

Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No 1) Bill. Reported, with Amendments [Provisional Orders confirmed]; Report to lie upon the Table.

Bill, as amended, to be considered upon Monday next.

Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 2) Bill. Reported, with Amendments [Provisional Orders confirmed]; Report to lie upon the Table.

Bill, as amended, to be considered upon Monday next.

Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders(No. 3) Bill. Reported, with Amendments [Provisional Orders confirmed]; Report to lie upon the Table.

Bill, as amended, to be considered upon Monday next.

Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 4) Bill. Reported, without Amendment [Provisional Orders confirmed]; Report to lie upon the Table.

Bill to be read the third time upon Monday next.

Saddleworth and Springhead Tramways (Abandonment) Bill; Maidenhead Bridge Bill [Lords]; Minehead Urban District Council Water Bill [Lords]; Southport and Lytham Tramroad (Extension of Time) Bill [Lords]; Clyde Valley Electrical Power Bill [Lords]. Reported, with Amendments; Reports to lie upon the Table, and to be printed.

Manchester Ship Canal (Finance) Bill [Lords]. Reported, without Amendment; Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed.

Bill to be read the third time.

PETITIONS.

LICENSING BILL.

Petitions against; from Acklam; Allerthorpe; Allerton Bywater; Anston; Asfordley; Avonmouth; Barmby Moor; Bielby; Binstead; Bishop Wilton; Bolton; Bonby; Bothwell; Brentry; Brighton; Bristol (two); Broadway Hill; Brunswick; Bugthorpe; Calgaith; Carlisle; Cleator Moor; Clifton; Clockface; Crewkerne; Dent; Dinnington; Dumfries; East Halton; Elvington; Essex; Fall Birch; Fangfoss; Filey; Fryup; Full Sutton; Glasgow (three); Glassonby; Goxhill; Great Broughton; Habrough; Hansonby; Hayton; Headingley cum Burley; Hemswell; Hertford; High Catton; Hinton St. George; Hopton; Horkston; Horwich; Huggate; Hull; Ilminster; Ilton; Ingleton; Islington; Killingholme; Kingsbury Episcopi; Kirmington; Lanehead; Langwathby; Langworth; Larkhall; Ledbergh; Littlewick; Llanidloes; Lochans; Low Bentham; Low Gill; Market Harborough; Martock; Maryport (two); Melbourne; Melton Mowbray; Merriott; Misterton; Nettlecomb; New Barnet (three); Newton; Newtown; Norden; Normanton (two); Northampton; Norton Sub Hawdon; Nunburnholme; Parkgate; Pocklington; Ramsbottom; Redland; Robin Hood; Rotherham; Rothesay; Rothwell; Sandal; Saundersfoot; Scothern; Shirehampton; Sidbergh; Skipton (two); South Ferriby; South Petherton; Stockton-on-Tees; Stoke under Ham; Stourton; Stow; Sutton upon Derwent; Sykehouse; Thixendale; Thornton; Ulceby; Uncleby; Upper Haugh; Warter; West Chinnock; Winteringham; Witney; Woodsells; Worcester; and Yapham; to lie upon the Table.

LICENSING BILL.

Petitions for alteration; from Bideford; and Tiverton; to lie upon the Table.

TRADE MARKS BILL.

Petition from Birmingham, in favour; to lie upon the Table.

VALUATION BILL.

Petitions for alteration; from Boston; and Todmorden; to lie upon the Table.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

SMALL DWELLINGS ACQUISITION ACT, 1899 (IRELAND).

Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 25th February; *Mr. O. Shaughnessy*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 221.]

DOGS REGULATION (IRELAND) ACT, 1865.

Account presented, of the Receipts and Expenditure under the Act for the year 1903 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 222.]

FINES, ETC. (IRELAND).

Copy presented, of Abstract of Accounts of Fines accounted for by the Registrar of Petty Sessions Clerks for 1902 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 223.]

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

Belfast Tramway Bill.

MR. JOSEPH DEVLIN (Kilkenny, N.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether his attention has been called to a meeting of the Law Committee of the Belfast City Council with representatives of the Belfast, County Down, Railway Company, held in Belfast on 14th instant, with regard to the Belfast Tramway Bill now before Parliament, at which an agreement was arrived at which if carried out will place a monopoly of the passenger traffic of an extended area on the county Down side of Belfast in the hands of the County Down Railway Company, and prevent that whole district from being opened up by the Belfast City Council's tramways; and, if so, whether, in view of the principles involved in this arrangement, he will take steps to secure its exclusion from the Bill when it comes before the House of Commons for further consideration.

(*Answered by Mr. Wyndham.*) The Bill referred to is a Private Bill, proceedings with respect to which do not appear to call for the intervention of the Government.

Policy of the Government—Suggested Dissolution.

SIR JOHN LENG (Dundee): To ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether, in default of any public demand for the Licensing Bill and the number of Petitions against it, the objections to a large increase of taxes in a time of peace, and the continued declarations of the constituencies against the Government, he will withdraw all seriously contentious measure and wind up the business of the session, in order to submit the policy of Ministers to the judgment of the country.

(*Answered by Mr. A. J. Balfour.*) I do not propose to take the course suggested by the hon. Member unless the Government incur such a defeat as proves that they have lost the confidence of the House of Commons; or unless they fail to secure that day to day support which is necessary in order effectively to carry on Parliamentary business. In either of these events, they would, of course, immediately ask relief from responsibilities, which they are not sustaining for their own comfort or satisfaction.

Macedonian Gendarmerie - Payment to Colonel Fairholme.

MR. MOON (St. Pancras, N.): To ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs is the £1,000 estimated for Colonel Fairholme's special service on the staff of the Macedonian Gendarmerie Commission intended to be paid to him alone, or distributed between him and the other three officers.

(*Answered by Earl Percy.*) The £1,000 estimated for Colonel Fairholme's special service as British staff officer to assist in the reorganisation of the Macedonian Gendarmerie represent the yearly salary paid to him by His Majesty's Government.

Expenditure of Money Voted for Unforeseen Services.

MR. MOON: To ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs how the £13,900 voted last year for Unforeseen Missions and Services was spent.

(*Answered by Earl Percy.*) The items will be shown in the Appropriation Accounts for 1903–4 which will be laid before Parliament in due course by the Comptroller and Auditor-General. Upwards of £13,000 were spent on the following services: Alaska Boundary Commission; Venezuela Claims Arbitration; Sugar Convention at Brussels; Japanese Leases Arbitration; and unforeseen expenditure was incurred under several other heads.

Flogging in the Navy.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL (Donegal, S.): To ask the Secretary to the Admiralty what is the weight, the thickness, the length of the canes used in ships of war and naval training ships in the infliction of floggings; and are these canes, with which twelve strokes are permitted for offences dealt with summarily, supplied, together with the birches used in flogging on board ships of war and naval training ships, from the dockyards; or, if not, how obtained.

(*Answered by Mr. Pretyman.*) The weight is about 2 oz., thickness ½ an inch, length about 3 feet. The canes required are purchased locally by the Home dockyard, where official patterns are kept for comparison.

Telephonic Communication to Nenagh.

MR. P. J. O'BRIEN (Tipperary, N.): To ask the Postmaster-General if he has ascertained the probable cost of extending telephonic connection to Nenagh via Limerick; if he will state how many annual subscribers at Nenagh the Department would require to secure the project being carried out; and if he will say, in view of the necessary guarantees being forthcoming, he will give the matter his favourable consideration.

(*Answered by Lord Stanley.*) From the estimates which have been obtained of the cost of constructing the telephone trunk line and exchange at Nenagh and of the cost of their working and maintenance, it appears that about fifty subscribers at the message rate, or about twenty-five at the unlimited service rate would be necessary. If the requisite number of subscribers were forthcoming or if a guarantee of revenue in respect of trunk line of £145 a year could be given, the arrangement would be carried out at once.

Expanding Bullets.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: To ask the Secretary of State for India whether the troops in the Indian Army or the British Army in India, or any of them, are provided with any bullet of an expanding character; and, if bullets of an expanding character are no longer supplied to the British Army in India, when did the change take place.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Brodrick.*) The use of bullets of an expanding character by the troops in India for purposes other than of practice was stopped in 1902.

Transit of Grain in India.

SIR MANCHERJEE BHOWNAGGREE (Bethnal Green, N.E.): To ask the Secretary of State for India if his attention has been drawn to the fact that owing to want of adequate traffic arrangements stores of wheat and grain of the last harvest in India have been detained at the Kurachi and other ports and at several railway stations, and that owing to the delay in transit thousands of bags have been rotting; and, if so, can he say whether the local authorities are taking steps for increasing the facilities for the transit of these stores, as well as for the preservation and storage of the surplus stock so as to make it available for future local consumption in seasons of scarcity.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Brodrick.*) I have no official report with regard to the statement made by the hon. Member, nor have I received any representations from merchants or shippers. There is believed to be a heavy pressure of export traffic in grain on the North Western Railway, which the railway authorities will do all in their power to meet. I will bring the allegations to the notice of the authorities, and I have no doubt that every possible precaution will be taken by them to provide for the preservation and accommodation of the grain while in transit, and to facilitate its carriage. It is not the policy of the Government to interfere with private trade by storing grain on its own account against seasons of scarcity.

Expanding Bullets.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: To ask the Secretary of State for War whether any and, if so, how many, of the cartridges S.A. (Small Arms) ball pistol Webley cordite II., of which, according to the annual accounts of the Ordnance Factories for the financial years 1900–1901 and 1901–1902, 4,674,336 and 3,450,828 were made, were furnished with expansive bullets; were the bullets or any of them of the Webley man-stopping type.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Arnold-Forster.*) Cartridges S.A. ball pistol Webley cordite mark II. were not furnished with expansive bullets, nor were any of them of the Webley man-stopping type.

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*SIR CHARLES DILKE (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean) intimated that unless by a form which he believed was possible, but not usual, a corrected reply was substituted for an Answer to an unstarred Question which he had received that morning with reference to the ventilation of the pressing room at the Army Clothing factory, he proposed to call attention on the Army Clothing Vote to the reply that "no complaints of the ventilation of the pressing rooms at this factory have been brought to the knowledge of the War Office either by a private deputation or by other communications" — inasmuch as he himself introduced a deputation and made a communication on the subject.

LABOURERS (IRELAND) BILL

[SECOND READING.]

Order for the Second Reading read.

THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. ATKINSON, Londonderry, N.) formally moved the Second Reading.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."

MR. MURPHY (Kerry, E.) expressed his surprise that the Second Reading should have been moved without a word of explanation as to the provisions of the Bill.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. WYNDHAM, Dover) reminded the hon. Member that he made a statement on the introduction of the Bill.

MR. MURPHY pointed out that the Bill was introduced under the Ten Minutes Rule, and that the right hon. Gentleman's statement, as were all his statements with reference to this question, was unsatisfactory, and the course of procedure adopted on the present occasion simply intensified the dissatisfaction caused by his preliminary statement. Everybody acquainted with Ireland knew that the labourers' question was a pressing one which required to be dealt with in a radical manner. More than any other section of the community the labourers had a claim to be put back on the land; and if it was a question of restoring people to the land taken from their ancestors, the Irish labourers as much as any other class were the descendants of those whose land had been taken from them. When the Land Act of last year was under discussion, the Chief Secretary, in reply to certain representations, admitted that this question was a pressing one, but urged that it was too large and complicated a matter for him to deal with while grappling with the land question from another point of view; and in consequence of a promise then given to inquire into the matter and to introduce a measure in the next session the Nationalist Members held their hand. That session had now come, the inquiries had been made, and a Bill introduced, but of that measure not a single section of the community had spoken in terms other than of condemnation. The Bill was weak, halting, inefficient in every possible way. Knowing how easily the drawbacks in the Labourers Acts could be dealt with, it was impossible to come to any other conclusion than that a half-hearted or careless effort had been made to grapple with the question. The Bill doubtless contained some provisions that would be useful and beneficial, but taken as a whole it was neither a radical nor even a fair treatment of the question, and it would do practically nothing to remove the evils of which complaint was made.

In order to deal effectively with the question in every province in Ireland money was required. That point had been urged from all quarters of the House. Hundreds of thousands of pounds could be provided for fads connected with industrial and technical education, and other rather doubtful schemes for the benefit of the Irish people, but when it was a question of finding the small amount of money necessary to place in a proper condition one of the best, most deserving, and neediest sections of the people, the Government gave a point blank refusal. If the right hon. Gentleman had not yet formed the opinion that the money would have to be provided, he would probably be driven to that conclusion by the present debate, and by the agitation which would arise in Ireland in consequence of his ineffective treatment of the question. If the labourers of Ireland were once driven away, their place could not be supplied for many years to come, but as fast as the emigrant ship could effect that purpose the Irish labouring community was being destroyed, and for the future welfare of the country radical measures were required to stop that stream of emigration. Much of the money spent in other directions might more usefully be devoted to this question. Why should not the necessary money be taken from the same fund as that which had been drawn on in connection with the transfer of land? The required relief could in that way be given without any ultimate cost to the community. The experience of the Labourers Acts, so far as they had been put into operation, showed the readiness of the people to do their part. Local bodies would be perfectly prepared to do their share in providing decent accommodation for the labourers, were they not prevented by legal difficulties and other disadvantages. Other aspects of the question than that of the expense ought to be considered. Disease and sickness frequently resulted from labourers with large families living in miserable hovels, and the provision of decent and properly constructed houses meant that the expenses connected with disease and suffering were to a large extent swept away. The change effected in the condition of the few labourers who had been dealt with, ought to be an incentive to the Government to find the money necessary to confer similar benefits upon the remaining portion of the labouring community.

The administration of the present Acts was rendered ineffective by the red tape and peculiar decisions of the officials of the Local Government Board. It took years to provide the necessary machinery to enable the local authority to erect houses, and even then, owing to the action of the officials, they were not erected as well as they might be. The right hon. Gentleman had altogether abstained from consulting the views of the Irish representatives with regard to existing defects, and the present bad measure was the result. It would be the duty of the leading members of the Party to point out the Amendments that were required to make the Bill effective, but it was as well to say at once that unless those Amendments were adopted the Bill, while it might be accepted, would be regarded not as a final solution of the question, but simply as a stepping-stone to something further. In addition to the lack of money, the question of title was of grave importance, but that aspect of the matter was not touched by the present Bill. The proof of title, and all the delay and expense consequent thereupon, were left in the same position as before. No doubt the right hon. Gentleman would say the Bill contained provisions which would confer benefits upon the labourers, but of what avail was it to deal with details if the principle was left untouched ? Neither speed nor cheapness would result from the present measure. If the right hon. Gentleman wished to give an evidence of the sincerity of his sympathy with the labourers it would be necessary for him to accept the Amendments to be put forward by the Nationalist Party, because they would be proposed by men who understood the subject, and who were dealing with it entirely in the interest of the nation as a whole. Local authorities were hampered by all manner of decisions, and case after case could be cited in which neither law nor common sense characterised the decisions which had been given. A radical reform of the whole procedure was necessary.

He thought this Labourers Bill illustrated once more how hopeless it was to find an Irish Secretary, who was an English Member of Parliament, no matter how good his intentions might be, who would be able to deal with the influences brought to bear by the people who swarmed round Dublin Castle. It might be a hard thing to say of the present Chief Secretary, but it was true. The right hon. Gentleman should be taught to feel that the Irish people wanted something more substantial than mere eloquence in dealing with the question of the Irish labourers, and that the remedies must be of a more drastic character than those now proposed if they were to receive the approval of the Irish representatives as adequate. The labourers of Ireland were dissatisfied with the treatment given to them by the right hon. Gentleman. Speaking as one of their sympathisers, he was greviously disappointed with the way in which the Chief Secretary had misled them with reference to the manner in which he was going to deal with the question during the present session. Their disappointment would not lead them to give up hope of having the question properly dealt with. Experience in Ireland clearly showed that nothing was to be got except by strong agitation. Strong agitation had broken down many a barrier placed before other sections of the community in Ireland, and the same agitation and combination on the part of the people would break down the barriers and red tape which prevented the labourers' question being dealt with efficiently and honestly.

Mr. WILLIAM MOORE (Antrim, N.) said he was disappointed with the redemption of the pledge, which was made on previous occasions on behalf of the Government, that there would be a comprehensive measure introduced for the solution of the Irish labourers question. He did not intend to spare his criticism of the Bill. He did not suggest that there was any personal breach of faith on the part of the Chief Secretary, but he understood that the facts were too strong for him, and that he had been unable to bring in such a measure as they anticipated, and as they were led to believe, which would be a practical solution of this question in the same way as the comprehensive and generous Bill of last year was a solution of the great land question which was then dealt with. But the Bill, in his opinion, was a useless Bill, and when they came to consider what its effect would be in Ulster it would be seen that it was absolutely mischievous. Speaking for himself, he would vote against the Bill if it was intended—and he trusted it would not be intended even at this period of the session—that a short Parliamentary day, and a Government closure or a Government division at the end of it, was to suffice for the settlement of the labourers' question in Ireland, because the Bill would require a week's discussion. Although the hon. Member for East Kerry might be of opinion that his colleague, the hon. Member for Mid Armagh, and himself, who had Amendments on the Paper, were wanting in honesty, he was quite prepared to answer to his constituents. The labourers in Ulster were not fools. They were educated to a great extent. They studied these Bills for themselves, and he had resolutions from labourers' associations in his own constituency, one of them asking him to oppose the Bill and the other expressing the hope that he would not take the trouble to bother about it. That was the labourers' view of the Bill, and he thought the labourer had scrutinised the Bill very closely. Therefore he had not the least compunction in saying that there was nothing in the Bill to tempt anyone to vote for it, and there was a great deal in it to tempt many of the Ulster Members to vote against it.

He agreed with the hon. Member for East Kerry that the time had come in dealing with the labourers' question in Ireland when they might expect some finality. They began in 1883. They had another Act in 1885—even the Land Act contained reference to it. They had another Act in 1901. At present it would be found that there had been six Acts all tinkering and pottering with the question, and the present Bill did not bring them one furlong further on the way. If anyone considered what the object of the Act was, they would recall the saying that it was easy to legislate on the line of least resistance. This Bill proceeded on the line of least resistance and of less utility than any Bill that could be presented. It would seem that every practical suggestion, either from the labourers or from the local authorities—the rural district councils—had been ignored in the Bill, and the whole machinery of the Bill had been directed to the adjusting of the differences which, in a few instances, arose between the rural council, when they passed their scheme, and the Privy Council when they were asked to reject or confirm a particular scheme. It was a Bill also to provide for substituting for the Privy Council, consisting of the Judges and others, an appeal to a single Judge at an assize. After all, how many appeals were there? He was not in a position to say how many schemes there had been. There were 10,000 schemes in Munster and there were not 1,000 in Ulster. Whatever the number of schemes might be—he was speaking absolutely offhand—he did not suppose that in 5 per cent. there had been appeals to the Privy Council. He supposed the Privy Council did not sit to hear appeals under the Labourers Acts a dozen days in the year, and they might dispose at each sitting of half a dozen objections. All this procedure was brought in for the sake of a few cases, and he did not think there would be one penny of expenditure reduced. At present no one came to the Privy Council except with a very serious case, because he did not get any costs even if he succeeded. Again and again the rural councils in Ireland had set the machinery of the Acts in operation in order to persecute obnoxious individuals, and the Privy Council had been appealed to successfully; but the costs of the appeal were generally more than the land was worth. This was to be altered, appeals were to be facilitated, which was what nobody wanted, and were to be heard in the county town. Witnesses were to be brought in, and there was to be a full-dress hearing. He did not think this would be any advantage to the rural district council. He did not think it made very much difference to the labourers to have appeals facilitated. There were two classes who would get the benefit of that, but it was not pretended that the labourers would get it. The rural council had never asked for this transfer of jurisdiction. The cases were always fought out between the rural council and the landlord. He knew of no case in Ireland where the local authority asked for the change.

What they asked for was some lessening of the cost of proving title which was found over and over again to be ever so much more than the actual value of the land. In this matter the rural councils wanted help from Parliament. If a man had a thousand acres and the cost of investigating his title came to £100, that did not seem excessive, but when they wanted to take one acre out of the thousand the same trouble, and expense, and delay were caused. As something had been said of landlords, he could assure hon. Members that in his part of the world there was very little difficulty with the landlord. He got little more than a nominal sum. The man who got the compensation was the tenant farmer. Suppose only half an acre was taken, as was generally the case in the North of Ireland, and suppose the tenant was paid £20 and the landlord £10, they had a total sum of £30? Why should they go through the whole expensive procedure of proving title for £30. It would be perfectly easy on a sum like that to pay the money into the County Court, let an affidavit be made that the man claiming the money had been in possession of the land, say for six, ten, or twelve years past, and pay out the £30 to him without further investigation of title, leaving it to him to distribute. He knew that from a lawyer's point of view that was not a proper thing to do, because conveyancing counsel would take as much trouble over half an acre as over a thousand acres, but there should be a short cut of some kind, and he regretted that nothing had been done to provide it.

There were many complaints about delay, and he heard also much about red tape at the Local Government Board. He had given the matter his best attention, having frequently been consulted by constituents whose names had been included in schemes and who had not got their land or cottage, and he was not prepared to say that the fault lay with the Local Government Board. He dared say they were understaffed, and his right hon. friend might take into consideration the advisability of supplementing the staff when schemes had accumulated. He was bound to say, however, that, in his part of the world, a great deal of difficulty arose from the feeling which existed between the labourers on the one hand and a certain section of the rural councils on the other. He had no desire to attack any section of people holding different political views from his own, but it was a common case that in certain counties in Ulster the Act had not been enforced by certain local bodies. That was the labourers' grievance, and he saw nothing in the Bill which would make the councils less unwilling than at present to help the labourers to get their cottages and allotments. He was aware there was a section in the Bill providing that where an authority made default in carrying out the Act, the Local Government Board might take summary action. The local authority, however, might do as had been done, adjourn the consideration of the scheme from time to time, write to the Local Government Board, and adjourn again; and every obstacle being raised the labourers were delayed in their schemes until they got so heart-sick that they would not go on with them. He knew of cases where there had been delays of two, three, and even four years. There was nothing in the Bill from beginning to end to compel the council to proceed. On this head he believed he might be allowed to say that he thought the Local Government Board might publish their Reports with more promptness. When addressing his constituents last September he wanted to find out how matters stood. Actually at this moment the last annual returns of the Local Government Board only brought them up to March, 1902. They were published in the autumn of 1903, and now in the month of June, 1904, they, could not tell how counties stood under the Labourers Act up to March, 1903. He believed a better administration of the existing Act would go a long way to remove difficulties.

He must say to hon. Members opposite that they seemed to administer the Acts well in places like Tipperary, Cork, and elsewhere, where there were a large number of houses, and where the feeling for the labourer was such that they were willing to put a burden on the rates. He did not think, as between the labourers and the local authority in those districts, there was much to complain of. There was, however, a good deal to complain of in the North, in the nature of a class feeling between the labourer on one side and the rural council, from which he was *de facto* excluded, on the other. It was a regrettable feeling which would disappear if the Acts were properly administered. The labourer also wanted, besides proper administration of the Acts, someone to represent his interests. It was practically impossible for the labourer to get someone to represent him on the rural council. If he was badly treated in any respect or turned out of his house, he had no one to put his case forward. He wanted some independent person who would not only hold inquiries, but would receive and act upon communications from people who dared not sign their names, just as factory inspectors acted on anonymous communications. The labourer also wanted the power, if he was a prudent and saving man, to purchase the fee of the house he held under the rural council, and to have the power under rules corresponding with those under the Acquisition of Small Dwellings Act, which would do nobody any harm. The labourer was as much entitled to State credit as the town occupier, and there would never be a settlement of the question till he was put in the same position. This, of course, only applied to cases where houses had been built or had been acquired by the local authority, for there would be endless difficulty where the labourer was in the employ of any other man, and living in a house by virtue of his employment. If a man employed a ploughman and put him in a house, he could not give that ploughman fixity of tenure for ever. That would mean that if there was a dispute between the farmer and his ploughman, and the farmer dismissed him, a new house must be built for the new ploughman, and the whole demesne might be dotted over with ploughmen's cottages. None of these considerations applied when they were dealing with allotments which had been taken from farmers' holdings or were held by the rural councils. He knew there was a provision by which labourers who had been five years in possession of their cottages might be treated as one of the privileged people under Section 2 of the Act of last year, but the labourers should have the same benefit of State credit as the tenants to enable them to acquire their cottages and allotments. This power the Bill did not give, and he saw nothing in it which would improve the administration of the Act.

He thought it an unfortunate thing to take away from the Local Government Board the power of enforcing the Act and vest it in the county councils. The county councils had already as much as they could do. It was a difficult thing to get people to attend the meetings of the county councils, and now it was proposed to add to their work the burden of administering the Labourers Acts. It should be also remembered that county councils were practically composed of the same class of people as those on the rural councils, and now it was proposed to throw on the county councils—people who met quarterly and whose hands were already full—the duty of putting the law in force and compelling the building of houses for labourers. The labourer would rather have the present system, by which the Local Government Board would enforce the performance of their duties by the local authority, than leave it in the hands of the county council. There was a provision in the Bill enabling rural councils to make rules guarding against undue preference in the building of houses, but he did not think the labourer would be much satisfied with it. In the West of Ireland there had been some extraordinary abuses of the existing Acts, and therefore it was utterly absurd to expect the labourer to feel satisfied. As regarded Ulster, the most mischievous part of the Bill was this: Section 13 proposed to transfer from each county in Ireland the amount ascertained of the annual grant. It had been officially stated that it was not proposed to deal with accumulated grants up to the present, but for the future it was intended to apportion the contribution which the rural councils at present got in proportion to the number of cottages provided under the Bill in their districts. In his opinion this proposal should be extended to allotments, because in a great many cases allotments had been provided and no cottages built. The Return, which showed how the Acts had been working in the various counties, gave Ulster as having built 1,000 cottages and Munster 10,000. The whole object of the section seemed to be to prevent Ulster councils in future from getting anything like the contribution which had already been credited to them for local purposes. Antrim County Council objected to it on the ground that if the local grants were not used for supplying labourers' cottages they should be used for their original purpose, which was to develop the motor transit problem. Rural councils were beginning to wake up and object that for the sake of other parts of the country they should be deprived of money grants to which they were entitled. It was grossly unfair. It was what was called in Ireland Macdonnellism It was on parallel lines to remitting police taxes in one part of the country and imposing them in another.

MR. WYNDHAM said there was no justification for making that statement, and it was most improper to import into the debate the name of a Civil servant in such a manner.

MR. WILLIAM MOORE said that if he was wrong in introducing the name of a gentleman who did not behave as a Civil servant but had been an open partisan, he would withdraw, but he thought he had special grounds for making the statement. Still, he would withdraw it so far as Sir Antony Macdonnell was concerned. If he had been misled into making statements the probabilities were that he had every ground for making them. The Unionists parts of the country were the only parts which the section would injure. The proposal was to take money away from them and distribute it over that part of the country which hon. Gentlemen opposite represented. They were asked to approve of this Bill, which was introduced as a Government measure, and the effect of which would be that the Ulster labourer might whistle for his cottage or allotment and the money would be used for other purposes. There was no justification for the clause remaining in the Bill, but of course it would be moved by the Government and would be cordially supported by hon. Members opposite, who wanted to get from the Unionist parts of the country the money which had been allocated to them.

MR. JOHN REDMOND (Waterford) said it also hit some of the Nationalist counties.

MR. WILLIAM MOORE quoted from a Return of the number of cottages that had been erected under the existing Act in the various counties, and said it would be found that the Unionist parts of the country were entitled to large sums from the contributions. There was no possible doubt as to the effect of this clause on the province of Ulster, and they had stood by long enough while other parts of the country got a far larger share than the proportion which they received, and, when it was proposed to take away from the Ulster labourer the last chance he had of encouraging the rural councils to provide cottages and allotments for him, it was time to draw the line.

There was one more matter calling for attention. It was a great misfortune that something was not done under the Bill to alter the *status* of the medical officer. That had long been a block in the efficient working of the Act. No one who knew the medical officers in Ireland—the self-sacrificing life they led, the life of toil and privations would say a word against them, but at the same time this present system of the Labourers Acts threw a most unfair burden upon them, and put them in a most invidious position. The dispensary doctor, as he was called in Ireland, was under these Acts a sanitary officer of health. His patient might be a farmer, and in the course of a visit to the farm he might find on the premises a labourer lodged like an animal. What was the doctor to do? It was his duty if a complaint was made to condemn the house, but he had acquired his knowledge whilst on a visit to a patient who might be a member of the rural council, and he might be told, "You must leave this matter alone, because you acquired your knowledge whilst on a visit as a doctor." On the other hand, the labourer might say, "If you condemn the house you are bound to stand by your condemnation." By espousing the cause of the labourer the doctor would be put in the position of making enemies on the rural council, and would have to run his head against those who gave him employment, holidays and remuneration. That was an argument for the appointment of an independent inspector who would stand between the labourer and everybody else. When the Government arrived at a settlement of this labourers' question some provision should be made for removing this burden from the shoulders of the dispensary doctor. Much remained to be done for the Irish labourers by Parliament. They were a thoroughly deserving class. He had been interested in them for many years, and it was for that reason that he felt bitterly disappointed that the Unionist Government when bringing in a Bill to settle the question should have done so little towards that object as would be done by this "painted lath" of a measure.

MR. SHEEHAN (Cork County, Mid) said the measure before the House was most important in this respect, that it proposed to deal with a subject affecting the lives, the happiness, the comfort, and well-being of the whole labouring population of Ireland. At the outset, however, he might frankly state that he could not congratulate the Government or the Chief Secretary on the manner in which they had approached and attempted to deal with a great social problem and with an evil which was admittedly one demanding the immediate application of efficacious remedies. The history of the Bill before the House was well known. Rather than lose his Land Bill of last year, the Chief Secretary solemnly pledged himself to deal with the labourers' question this year. Yielding to the pressure of circumstances, although many of them on the Irish Benches felt in doing so they were to some extent sacrificing the labourers, they accepted, in all good faith, the pledge given by the Chief Secretary that he would give his personal attention to the matter during the autumn. This distinctly implied that he intended to bring forward a great comprehensive measure which would remove all the grounds of difficulty and delay, of complaint and dissatisfaction, which had made the present Labourers Acts practically inoperative in many parts of the country. He did not know whether the right hon. Gentleman regarded the Bill before the House as a fulfilment of his pledge—given in circumstances which should make it exceptionally binding—but this he did know, that the Irish people and the Irish labourers did not regard it as such, and that the feeling, not alone in Ireland, was that unless it was radically amended and its provisions widely extended, they must condemn the Bill as being but a poor child of promise of whom the parent could have no reason to be proud. He did not say the Bill was wholly bad, but, knowing what he knew of the condition of the Irish labourers, and of the necessity of hastening and cheapening the procedure for their better housing if the remnant left of them was to be saved to the country, he emphatically asserted that it would not greatly serve the purpose for which it was intended or meet with any degree of approval unless an honest attempt was made to improve it and reasonable time given for its discussion in that House. The Chief Secretary had promised to give his personal attention to this question during the autumn. Had he done so? They knew that inspectors of the Local Government Board toured the country instituting special inquiries, and that even the services of the Royal Irish Constabulary were called in to his aid. What were the results of these investigations, and where were the reports? They had sought for them in vain. They were told they were private and only for Departmental use. But if there was nothing objectionable in them, why not give them to the light of day. They were not afraid to see them before the public in print. They could not damage their demands, because their case for legislation was so strong and powerful that nothing that might be contained in the report of any Government official could weaken it. But the attitude of the Government all along towards this Bill had not been satisfactory, and there were some of them who feared that this attitude would be reflected in their future action.

The defects of the existing Acts were manifold. Returns had been laid on the Table of that House showing the monstrous waste of expenditure in connection with them in law costs, costs of inquiries, appeals to the Privy Council, and in numerous other forms of red-tapeism which were as useless as they were extravagant. Indeed, a vastly undue proportion of the cost of labourers' cottages was wasted in frivolous charges and unnecessary details. They had all along demanded that there should be drastic reform here. He had studied the Bill, and it was not quite plain to him in what specific directions retrenchment was to be effected. They required a simplification of procedure. Under the present Acts it had been computed that no less than nineteen different stages had to be gone through before a single cottage could be erected, and, incredible though it might seem, five and six years had frequently elapsed from the time the representation for a cottage was first received until it was finally built. The arbitrary powers vested in Local Government Board inspectors was another source of much complaint which was, to some extent, modified in the present Bill. It was certainly a grave scandal that, after a council had gone to the expense and trouble of formulating a scheme with full knowledge of the local requirements, and taking each cottage on its merits, that an official should come down from the Local Government Board, hold an inquiry, and recommend that one-half or more of the cottages be rejected, and rejected they always were by the Local Government Board. As a matter of fact, everything was done to hamper and obstruct the erection of cottages, and to discourage the local authorities from putting the Labourers Acts into force. Hence, was it to be wondered that, though the Acts had been in operation for over twenty years, only 17,411 cottages had been actually built up to the present? It would be interesting to know how many were forced to emigrate in these twenty years owing to the scarcity or insufficiency of housing accommodation. And if they took the pathetic and the human side of the picture, they could compare in their minds the hundreds of thousands who, in all these years, had been compelled to live in hovels not fit to house the brute beast of the field; who had brought forth children and reared families in these fetid dens of fever, dirt, consumption, and disease; whose homes were worse than a dungeon when they were not a living grave; who were hopeless because there was no hope and who had to be content because rebellion of spirit seemed to bring them no nearer to a modest home and cheerful surroundings. It was for that they pleaded here that day, pleaded earnestly and with all the force at their command, that they might be enabled to take back to Ireland, when this session was brought to a close, such a Labourers Act as would speed forward the day when every tired worker going home from his heavy labour might have the sweet consolation and relief of sitting by a pleasant fireside in the midst of a contented family. But would the Bill as it stood do this? Emphatically no; but the skeleton was there, to which substantial framework a perfect structure might be superadded.

During the discussion on the Vote for the Board of Agriculture, the previous evening, mention was made of the fact that while it was hoped for it that it would have had the effect of arresting the tide of emigration, it had not done so; that it had, on the contrary, stimulated it by the encouragement of the rearing of live stock to the detriment of arable cultivation was his conviction, and he saw no hope whatever for any cessation of the deadly hemorrhage of the nation until the working classes in Ireland were firmly rooted in the soil, until they had fixity of tenure in decent houses and moderate allotments of land, and until the great grass plains, grazing ranches, and the untenanted land of Ireland were restored to the industry of a sturdy Irish peasantry. Would it not be better for the country, for its social, industrial, and commercial prosperity, that, instead of having vast areas roamed over by oxen and sheep, that these should be parcelled out into economic holdings and distributed amongst the labourers who were now so steadily leaving the shores of Ireland and taking to other lands that energy, that labour, and those powers which should be devoted to the reconstruction and regeneration of their own country? That was a phase of the Irish question which must be seriously considered in the near future if the native labouring population was not to dwindle to vanishing point. The land which was now given over to the rearing of bullocks to feed the British beefeaters must be restored to the industry of the people, and it was in that only would be found the final solution of the agrarian problem in Ireland. Farmers everywhere were complaining of the scarcity of labour and of the fact that they could not carry out their agricultural operations or get full value out of their land owing to this scarcity. But few farmers had constant employment for labouring hands, and when labourers could now get to America for a few pounds it was not in human nature that they would remain in Ireland on the chance of earning a precarious livelihood for five or six months of the year. Sir Horace Plunkett's panaceas would not keep a single labourer in the country. The only means by which that could be effected was by housing them properly, giving them reasonable allotments of land according to the varying necessities of different localities, and by finding for them remunerative outlets for their labour.

Speaking recently in the South of Ireland, the Lord-Lieutenant sympathetically referred to the emigration and pointed out how essential it was, even from a British standpoint, to devise some means of keeping the people in the country. Here and in that Bill was the opportunity for taking a great step forward towards keeping the people at home. His Excellency recognised that the people of any nation were its greatest asset. That was commonplace truth, but why, then, did not the Government bring in some statesmanlike measure which would achieve that, and not be paltering with a great question by petty, tinkering proposals unworthy of anyone claiming a title to statesmanship? He found from emigration statistics for the year 1903, that of the 39,789 natives of Ireland who left the country no less than 12,892 males were returned as labourers and 1,174 as artisans, whilst over 15,000 female servants emigrated. Those figures were startling as showing that it was mainly from the working classes the emigrant ship was filled. That showed that the labour problem and the population were inseparable—were really one and the same. If they solved the one they settled the other. In Ireland they had hoped, as far as they could hope for anything great from a British Ministry, that the present Bill, if not offering a complete solution, would at least do something seriously in the direction of grappling with the great social problem which existed in Ireland. But it was disappointing, it was almost worthless, and it was another scandal of Irish misgovernment and of British neglect of Irish necessities. In Ireland they had no great manufactures to keep the Irish people in the country and to give them employment. The land was the sole source of employment, and surely it was incontestable that if the land of Ireland was properly distributed and its productiveness utilised it could maintain in comfort and contentment at least double the present population. It had done so before and could do so again. When the Land Purchase Bill was before the House last year the Chief Secretary postponed the labourers' claims with fair assurances and smooth promises, and now look at what they had got—where they expected bread they had been given a stone. What answer had the Chief Secretary to make for himself and how could he excuse this shameless breach of faith. What was in the present Act that they were to be grateful for? Little—very little—so little that he wondered the right hon. Gentleman went to all the sham display of instituting special inquiries and of drafting its provisions at all. If this was all they were to get why did he not leave them to fight out this issue on the Land Bill and let them take their chance of forcing what concessions they could from the Government.

Doubtless other Members would analyse the clauses in detail and there was only one that he would now refer to, and that was Clause 15 which disqualified for election to a district council any person who was a tenant of a labourer's cottage. That was a most preposterous proposition and one to which the Irish Party could under no circumstances commit itself. It must be removed from the Bill. It was an insult to the Irish labourer and it was not in harmony with the spirit of the times. There were many reasons why the Irish labourer should at least receive fair and liberal treatment from the Government, if not full justice. His scale of life was far below that of the English and Scotch workers. His surroundings were of the most abject description, his life was one of constant toil and of constant struggle. His family were ill-fed and worse clad. He knew no home joys in any real sense. How could he know them kennelled as he was in dwellings which should not be even pig-styes and dragging out an existence on a wage which was no better, if as good, as that given to the Kaffir in the compounds of South Africa. They wanted to bring some light and sunshine into the homes of these poor people who tasted so little of the joys of life, and when they knocked at the door of Westminster, craving for some crumbs of comfort, they were told contemptuously to go about their business, that there was nothing for them, that bloated "Bung" had to be cared for first, and that the millionaire of Park Lane was very poorly off indeed because his dividends were not multiplying with sufficient rapidity. The labourers of Ireland knocked mildly now, but the time might come, and that sooner than was thought, when their knock would be neither timorous nor one that could be put off by soft promises and soothing accents.

They had tabled a series of Amendments in which they put forth their demands. He submitted that they were not extravagant and would do nothing to fundamentally disturb the existing social order. They were based on bed-rock principles of justice, and if they were conceded they would go a great way towards bringing peace, prosperity, and contentment to all classes in the country. At least they claimed for these Amendments, and this Bill, the right of a fair discussion in this House when they could more fully put their views before hon. Members. There was one class of men whom he would wish to bring by right within the four corners of this Bill. They were the fishermen. Replying to a Question of his on the 10th May, the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary replied—

> "A fisherman to be eligible for a cottage must come within the definition of the term 'agricultural labourer' prescribed by Section 4 of the Labourers Act, 1886, as amended by Section 93 of the Irish Land Act of 1903. It is not proposed to extend the definition so as to entitle fishermen, as such, to the benefits of the Labourers Acts."

He strongly made the claim that fishermen should by reason of their avocation have the right to apply for a cottage. He knew their difficulties and the necessity for this demand, and he hoped it would be conceded. In conclusion he had to thank the House for its kind indulgence and to say that the Bill could be made a reasonably good one if there was any desire on the part of the Government to treat the question fairly. If not, he promised the Chief Secretary that when next they demanded a measure of legislation on this subject it would not be to his charity or good will they should appeal. They should be in the position to dictate the terms of a just settlement of this great question which so much concerned the lives and happiness of the poorest classes in Ireland.

*Mr. LONSDALE (Armagh, Mid) said he thought it was evident to the House that in its present form this Bill did not satisfy anyone outside the ranks of the Government, and he hoped it did not fully satisfy even the members of the Government, and that his right hon. friend would endeavour to persuade the Government to consent to Amendment of the measure in such a way as to meet the very serious objections which had been brought against the Bill. In the first place, he found a strong feeling existed among those who would be called upon to administer the Bill when passed that the machinery it provided was too complicated and too costly. He had received resolutions passed by county councils and district councils, and they all agreed in the opinion that unless something were done to simplify the procedure very little good would be accomplished by the Bill. The compulsory acquisition of land, which was the first essential in the provision of labourers' cottages, was hedged about by too many precautions. First, there was to be an inquiry by the county council; then there might be an appeal from the county council to the Local Government Board. The Local Government Board, in that case, were bound to hold a second inquiry. In addition to that there was an appeal to a Judge of assize. All this meant delay and enormous expense. He thought they should be able to simplify procedure to a very appreciable extent. The appeal to the Judge, he thought, must be retained. That was especially needed for the protection of the scattered Unionists in the South and West of Ireland. Hon. Members opposite advocated the abolition of any appeal beyond the county council; but he was speaking the opinion of his friends from Ulster when he said that they could not consent to the right of appeal being swept away altogether. Events had shown, even in recent times, that the Unionist minority in Ireland could not always get that full consideration and fair play from their Nationalist fellow-countrymen which they thought they were justified in expecting. There was only too much reason to fear that if there was no appeal beyond the county council, cases of hardship would arise, owing to the councils so arranging their cottage schemes as to favour their political friends at the expense, probably, of those whose religion or politics might be objectionable to them. Such attempts had been made, and therefore he submitted that it was necessary to retain the means of preventing any such abuse of the powers of local government in the future. This protection had been afforded in the past by the Local Government Board, but there had been the additional security of an appeal to the Privy Council. Now it was proposed to substitute an appeal to a Judge for the appeal to the Privy Council, and he trusted the Government would resist all attempts to remove this safeguard from the Bill. At the same time, he believed they would do well to consider whether the intermediate appeal to the Local Government Board, with the contingent local inquiry, might not be dispensed with, in order to simplify the procedure under the Bill.

He believed also that the Bill should be modified in respect of the power it gave to the Local Government Board to force the district councils to take action. He found that Clauses 11 and 12 were looked upon with considerable misgivings by the district councils, and he could not help thinking that they were far too drastic in character. By Clause 11 the district councils were almost entirely ignored in the settlement of schemes for the accommodation of labourers under Section 96 of the Land Purchase Act of last year. These schemes were to be framed by the Land Commission in conjunction with the Local Government Board. But although the district councils might have nothing to say in the arrangement of the details of the schemes, those councils would have to carry them into effect and meet all the expenses they might entail. Clause 12 went even further. It provided that where rural district councils had failed to put the Labourers Act into operation, the Local Government Board might appoint an officer and confer upon him all the powers of a district council under the Act, and his expenses and remuneration, to be fixed by the Local Government Board, were to be paid by the district council. He did not think such extreme provisions as those, which involved a serious interference with the right of self-government, were either necessary or desirable. He quite admitted that in some cases district councils had shown a disinclination to put into operation the powers conferred upon them by the existing Labourers Acts. It was no doubt necessary to apply some sort of stimulus to these bodies; but the Government had, he thought, applied the lash with undue severity. He thought it should be recognised that in many cases district councils had not moved because the labourers in their district had not called upon them to do so. In the county of Armagh, for example, although the Act had been in force for over twenty years, the Armagh Rural District Council up to June, 1901, had not received a single application from a labourer for a cottage. In 1901 one solitary application was received. In the next year there were five; in 1903 there were thirteen, and in the present year there had been fifty-five, and in consequence the council was now formulating a scheme for building as many cottages as might be necessary. He thoroughly approved of Clause 2, by which it was enacted that an improvement scheme might be carried out without waiting for any representation on the part of labourers. In effect that clause placed upon district councils the positive duty of seeing that the labourers in their area were properly housed, and he had little doubt that if the procedure were simplified and cheapened the district councils would rise to a sense of their duty in this matter, and there would be less cause to complain of their inactivity in future.

The great blot on the Bill was Clause 13, which proposed to introduce a new system for the distribution of the Exchequer contribution; and he warned the Chief Secretary that his proposals under that head would receive the most strenuous opposition from the Unionist Members for Ireland. What was proposed was neither more n r less than sheer robbery of Ulster. The contribution from the Exchequer towards the provision of labourers' cottages had hitherto been divided among the Irish counties in the same proportion as the Irish probate duty grant. For the year

1904 the amount of the contribution was £32,049, of which the counties in Ulster received £11,922, or more than one-third of the amount. The Bill proposed to make a sweeping change in the future allocation of this money. The grant was to be distributed to the rural districts in proportion to the number of cottages provided under the Labourers Acts in the several rural districts. That would mean that Ulster, instead of receiving £11,922 for the provision of labourers' cottages, would get only a paltry sum of £2,030; in other words, the contribution to Ulster would be cut down from one-third to one-seventeenth. In the county Armagh last year the Exchequer contribution was £877; under the scheme of the Bill it would be less than £50. In contrast with this might be placed the county Limerick, which, under the new arrangement, would have its Exchequer contribution increased from £1,551 to £5,036. What possible justification could there be for such a monstrous and iniquitous proposal? If it was intended to punish in this way the local bodies who had been slow in carrying out the Labourers Acts, the proposal was grotesquely unfair and exceedingly ill-timed. It was unfair to the labourers of Ulster, who were chiefly concerned and would suffer most. If district councils had been slow to build when they had £12,000 a year coming in to help them, they could not be expected to be more ready to build when the Exchequer contribution had been cut down to £2,000. The proposal was strangely ill-timed, inasmuch as the district councils in the North of Ireland were just begining to provide labourers' cottages. If the new scheme of distribution was carried into effect the difficulties in the way of gratifying the desires of the Ulster labourers for cottages would be immensely increased. With this clause in it the Bill might rightly be called "a Bill to discourage the provision of labourers' cottages in Ulster." Taxation in rural districts was very heavy and was on the increase, and when this fact was coupled with the depression in agriculture it would be recognised that the proposal of this clause would place the district councils in Ulster in a very difficult position. How could they be expected to incur the serious responsibilities entailed by the adoption of the Labourers Acts within their area when the assistance from the Exchequer was to be so ruthlessly cut down? The proposal was so grossly unjust that the Ulster representatives felt bound to protest against it in the strongest possible way, and unless they had an assurance that the Government would remove the clause from the Bill the Chief Secretary could not expect to receive from them any assistance in getting the measure through the House.

On the question of whether a labourer should be allowed to purchase his cottage and allotment, he held the view that the labourer who did not tie himself to one spot by purchasing his house had a decided advantage in being able to remove himself to any place where he could more profitably dispose of his labour. Still he did not think that any man should be debarrd from becoming the owner of his house if he desired to do so. Therefore, he thought the Bill should give facilities to labourers to acquire their cottages on easy terms. He hoped the Chief Secretary, who he still believed had some regard for his supporters in Ulster, would be able to meet their objections to certain provisions in the Bill, and that they would be able to pass the measure in such a form that it would help forward the movement for providing decent dwellings for the labourers of Ireland.

Mr. CLANCY (Dublin County, N.) said he had always thought there was something in the nature of a sham about the opposition of the Ulster Members to this Bill, and their criticisms upon Clause 13 had confirmed him in that view. In many respects the Bill did not come up to the expectations that had been formed, but if there was one clause in the measure of which he approved it was Clause 13. The hon. Member for North Antrim had read out the amounts received by each county from the Exchequer contributions, and had seemed to convey the impression that in some way the Government had a discretion in virtue of which they could manipulate the proportion to be given to Ulster and the other parts of Ireland. As a matter of fact the proportions were settled by the Land Act of 1891, passed by a

Unionist Government, and hitherto acquiesced in as correct by the Unionist Members. How any injustice could be done to Ulster under the clause he failed to understand. It simply provided that wherever public bodies did not make use of their powers they should suffer by not having the enjoyment of this money at the end of the year. The mere insertion of the clause had done good in that it had aroused Armagh and stirred up Antrim. He hoped the proposal would be retained in the Bill, as it would be a valuable inducement to the ratepayers of Ireland to put the Labourers Acts into operation. The charge of robbing Ulster had a very poor foundation if it had no other basis than this clause. As he had said, however, the Bill did not come up to the expectations which had been aroused by the Chief Secretary's speeches on the subject. He asked the right hon. Gentleman whether he seriously thought this Bill would supply the more powerful inducement to stimulate the enforcement of the Labourers Acts which he himself had declared to be necessary. What was wanted was some scheme to prevent any undue burden being cast upon the ratepayers by the Acts being put into force, and that could only be done by decreasing the expenses attendant upon the operation of the Acts. Those expenses were really very serious. The cost of inquiries might, in his opinion, be lessened, but this Bill would increase them. The cost of making title was another serious item. He had known cases where sums of £20 or £30 had had to be lodged in Court because title could not be made, and the cost of taking the money out of Court had been three or four times the amount lodged. There was nothing in this Bill to remedy that flaw in the administration of the present Acts. The costs of arbitrations also were very serious. Every owner, occupier, or possessor of interest concerned, could get legal expenses from the district council, and the whole thing totted up to a considerable amount and formed a large proportion of the total cost of the scheme. The Bill did nothing whatever to prevent these expenses. There were many ways by which the expenses could be lessened; men would be deterred from insisting upon having their claims to compensation investigated if certain penalties awaited them. The Irish Party had considered the matter carefully, and were prepared to put forward reasonable propositions which the right hon. Gentleman would have to give substantial reasons for rejecting.

Without unduly occupying the time of the House, there was one other matter to which he might refer. The advances of money for the working of the Labourers Acts were supplied out of the Local Loans Fund, the working of which was regulated by the Public Works Loans Act, 1897. He had investigated the matter carefully, and, as far as he could understand, the Government had actually been making a profit out of these loans. If he was right in that, he thought it was a serious reproach to the Government. A sacrifice rather than a profit ought to be made for the purpose of housing the poor. From motives of general expediency, the State was bound to see that the housing of the working population was carried out properly, and, if necessary, at the expense of the nation. In the present case, however, it was not necessary to go so far as that. There would be no difficulty whatever in making the funds raised under the Land Act of 1903 available for the housing of the labourers, and, after all, a very large sum was not required. Under the Act of 1903 it was possible to raise any amount of money required for the purchase of Irish land. Why were not the labourers of Ireland entitled to the advantage of the cheap rates provided by the Act of 1903 as well as any others connected with the agricultural population. [AN HON. MEMBER: They are more entitled to it.] This would be a solution which would present no difficulty. It could not be said that any Department had been wronged because this country could not suffer by such an arrangement. The Government were pledged—and he had no doubt they would redeem the pledge—to save out of the Irish Estimates as much as would pay for the whole of this expense. It could not be supposed that the finances of the Irish Land Act would be deranged by applying a few millions to the workers of Ireland. He could not express his own opinion too strongly that some step was necessary in the public interest, not only for the purpose of putting into speedier and more effective operation the Labourers Acts, but to put a stop to emigration. He thought a better step could not be taken towards stopping the emigration of the labourers of Ireland than by giving them some inducement to remain in their native country. The best inducement that could be offered to any Irishman was to give him some interest in the soil which would keep him at home and enable him at the same time to maintain his family in comfort and educate his children. For the double purpose of carrying out the Labourers Acts, and stopping emigration, he begged the Government to take a larger view of this matter than was expressed in the Bill. He believed if they did so, they would have taken even a greater step than by the Land Act of 1903 in saving the situation in Ireland.

Mr. SEYMOUR ORMSBY-GORE (Lincolnshire, Gainsborough) said the question of keeping the labourers on the land was one which deeply concerned not only Ireland but also this country, though, perhaps, it more nearly concerned Ireland. Having lived the first part of his life in Ireland he could readily appreciate the anxiety shown by hon. Members from Ireland on this subject. He thought himself that this question had been scamped. He was perfectly aware that the Chief Secretary had a good deal of sympathy with the Irish people, but, at any rate, on this occasion he had not acted up to his former record. The right hon. Gentleman prided himself on his Geraldine blood. It appeared to him that his Geraldine blood had been running in the past in a popular direction, but on this occasion, he feared, it was running in a back stream. There were one or two great defects in this Bill and he thought one of them was with respect to the question of proving title. There never was anything more illusory than the facilities given in the Land Bill in regard to proving title. They could not get round the legal profession. When the Land Act was passed there was a suggestion as to the agents being allowed to do some of the work in connection with the proving of title, but the Incorporated Law Society of Ireland stepped in and served notices prohibiting them from interfering with one of their own prerogatives. He did not think that title would be more easily or more cheaply proved under the provisions of this Bill, and there would be just as much difficulty as before in obtaining land for the labourers as had been encountered under the Land Act. The new procedure for dealing with appeals provided by the Bill would be no cheaper than the present system and he doubted whether it would be quicker. He suggested that provision should be made by the Bill for a special assize in order to deal with appeals as quickly as possible. That would have been a far more satisfactory method of dealing with the question. The definition in the Bill of "Agricultural Labourer" was, to his mind, very unsatisfactory. Anybody might be able to call himself an agricultural labourer and acquire a house under this Bill. A very unsatisfactory clause in the Bill was that dealing with temporary letting by local bodies. When a house was wanted for a labourer there might be a great deal of difficulty in getting rid of the temporary tenant. He thought the suggestion made by the hon. Member for Antrim a sensible one, namely, that there should be an inspector to look into questions as to whether or not there ought to be cottages in particular localities.

Mr. VINCENT KENNEDY (Cavan, W.) said he was in favour of the acquisition by the labourer of the fee of his holding, and he unhesitatingly said that one of the best uses to which State aid could be given would be to assist in this. He approved of the suggestion as to the appointment of an inspector to protect the interests of the labourer. With regard to the apportionment of the land he thought that where work was plentiful perhaps an acre might be sufficient, but he knew places where for nine months of the year there was practically nothing to be done, and in these cases he would suggest that the allotment should be three acres. To say that the procedure under this Bill was cumbersome was to put the matter mildly. In his opinion the County Courts could deal with the whole matter expeditiously and inexpensively. The county councils at present had ample work to occupy their time without undertaking this further duty. The attempt to rush this Bill through the Second Reading on a Friday afternoon was, in his opinion, not well advised. After all, what was the use of the Land Acts and all the other Acts if the labourers were not properly provided for? He would impress on the Government that they should cautiously consider the question of the Irish labourers.

COLONEL SAUNDERSON (Armagh, N.) said he understood when the Land Bill was under debate last year that this year a large and comprehensive measure dealing with the labourers' question would be introduced. He did not think such a description would apply to the present measure. A Labourers Bill ought to have one great object, namely, to keep the labouring population of Ireland in Ireland. They could not, with the inducements held out by foreign countries and with facilities for travel, make an Irishman remain in Ireland unless he could live a comfortable life. It was said that those who supported the case of the labourers were animated by very low motives. Personally he did not care what was said about his motive by hon. Members opposite. For years past, he had said in this House that the labourers' question was of vast importance to Ireland. He had always cordially supported any Bill which furthered the interests of the labourers. He knew something about the Irish labourer. He admitted that there was a very great difference between the English and the Irish labourer. The Irish labourer was infinitely more intelligent, and quite as hard-working as the English labourer. The Irish labourer was as a rule better educated than the English labourer. He did not confine his thoughts simply to local matters. On the contrary he was generally an intelligent politician. Imperial matters occupied his thoughts. In his constituency they were a highly intelligent set of men. This Bill was to him a cruel disappointment. There was one great necessity in any Bill of this kind, and in this case that necessity was minus. If the Chief Secretary had plenty of money and would come to the House supported by the Chancellor of the Exchequer he would have no difficulty in satisfying them. They spent a good deal of money to help the tenants, who were a deserving class, a considerable amount to help the landlords, who were a very deserving class, and now it was proposed to satisfy the Irish labourer. He had hoped that the Bill would be of a generous character. He supposed that on both sides of the House the Irish labourers were considered to be a deserving class. They were hard-working and industrious, badly paid, badly housed, and badly fed, When a labourer came out of his miserable house he did much hard and useful work. [A NATIONALIST MEMBER: That is not what Plunkett says about him.] He did not care what anybody said about the Irish labourer. That was his personal experience.

How did his right hon. friend propose to get the money? He did not intend to follow his hon. friend the Member for North Antrim, whose speech, he thought, was one of the ablest and most lucid he had heard while in the House of Commons. The Bill proposed to get money under Clause 13—that was the gold mine. But in his opinion that was a most nefarious way of getting money. It was proposed to take away from those counties that had not used it the money that had been allocated to them for building cottages and providing allotments. He could not support a Bill having such a clause. He could not accept it as a settlement of this question. It was not a generous or comprehensive measure which would finally settle the question as they had been promised. When he returned to Ireland on 12th July he would probably be asked whether the Bill fulfilled the pledges made by the Government. He could not say that it did. He looked in it in vain for the generosity promised and for its simplicity, in vain for anything that would satisfy the Irish labourer and do justice to him. So far as the Irish labourer was concerned the Bill was an absolute delusion. Imagine establishing a title for a half acre of land! It would cost as much as establishing a title to a thousand acres. Any ordinarily intelligent Irish labourer would scout the idea that this Bill would satisfy what he believed to be a necessity for his continuing to live in Ireland. Therefore, as it stood, it was practically useless as a settlement of a question which he desired to see settled. If the Chief Secretary was desirous of leaving behind him in Ireland a happy memory, he could not do better than force into the minds of his colleagues in the Cabinet, and especially the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that no British money could be better laid out than in securing to Ireland in future that which Ireland had not got now — a labouring class comfortably clothed, well fed, and well housed. The establishment of a labouring class living under those circumstances would do a great deal, he believed, to establish peace and prosperity in Ireland.

Mr. WYNDHAM said he intervened at this point, because he thought it was only right that time should be left for hon. Gentlemen to deal with his arguments. They had heard so much about Clause 13 that he expected the remainder of the time at their disposal would be taken up in its discussion. The Exchequer contribution was distributed among the counties of Ireland in pursuance of the Land Act of 1891, and the proportion in which it was distributed was based upon the amount of money spent in those counties in one specified area upon roads. Could there be a more accidental test for the distribution of money for providing cottages throughout Ireland? It had no bearing whatever on the needs of the labourers. He did not make any complaint that before he had had an opportunity of speaking some of his hon. friends from Ulster had looked somewhat askance at this clause. Originally they assumed that the past balances would be taken away from those counties. The Bill made it perfectly clear that every sovereign standing to the credit of any county would still stand to its credit.

Mr. THOMAS O'DONNELL (Kerry, W.): That means £35,000 for Ulster.

Mr. WYNDHAM said Ulster would come uncommonly well out of this. Antrim had £10,000; Armagh, £5,000; Down, £14,000, and Fermanagh, £1,800. As a matter of fact, Ulster retained a very handsome endowment. He was very glad of that and he trusted it would be used as had been suggested by the hon. and learned Member. Coming to the future effect of this clause, if the charge of unfairness could be levelled against the Bill in respect of any part of Ireland, it could be levelled, he thought, with respect to certain counties in the West of Ireland with far more justice than with respect to Ulster. His hon. friends the Members for Antrim, Mid-Armagh, and others, had said that there ought to be more labourers' cottages in the constituencies they represented. If that was the case, there had been default on the part of the district councils. All they had got to do was to build those cottages, and at once they would alter the proportion in their own favour. Let them contrast that with the position of Galway and more especially Mayo. In Galway there were eighteen cottages at the present time and none in Mayo. That was not because the authorities had been remiss, but because Mayo was populated by a number of small holders who did not employ labourers. Therefore Mayo would lose under this clause, and he reconciled that to his conscience on the ground that in other points Mayo had not done so badly. If this clause acted unfairly at all, it acted unfairly against Galway, Donegal, Mayo, and Sligo, and not against Antrim, Down, Fermanagh, and Armagh. In Donegal there were seventy-one, in Sligo twenty-two, in Armagh twenty-four, in Down ten, in Fermanagh twenty-three, and he could not imagine that there would be any large increase in the cottages in these counties. If that were true what was wanted was to give some inducement to the local bodies to adopt the Bill. After all, this money was for one purpose, the building of labourers' cottages. If it was not wanted for that in one county it should go to a county where it was wanted. He was addressing a House in which there were now some representatives of English constituencies, and might he not submit that it was rather a strong order to ask the House to vote additional money from the taxpayers at large and to give additional credit facilities for this purpose, when money allocated for that purpose was not being used? In the future, when our credit was in a better state, some other purpose in Ireland might deserve to be considered by this House, and let each be judged on its own merits, but do not ask the Government to vote further sums of money for labourers' cottages when there were sums of money now available for that purpose. No Chancellor of the Exchequer would listen to such a proposal. He did not know whether he had made any impression on his hon. friends by that argument. There was no county which would build more than 500 cottages. [An HON. MEMBER on the IRISH Benches: 3,500.] But if 500 were built in each year there would be 3,500 built in six or seven years. If the constituents of his hon. friends did not wish to have the cottages why should the money be indefinitely hung up for other purposes? That was the only result that would or could be effected.

SIR JAMES HASLETT (Belfast, N.) said that suppose a county had £8,000 of unused money and began now to build cottages to any considerable extent, and was entitled to £1,000, £2,000, or £3,000, would that county have to work up the balance of the unused money before it could overtake the Parliamentary grant year by year.

MR. WYNDHAM said that his answer to that was no. The balance was there to spend on whatever purpose the county chose—say on roads. He thought that was a fair arrangement.

He now came to the main charge against the Bill. The real gravamen of the criticism that afternoon was, he thought, to be found in the complaint that the finance of the Bill was inadequate and that, in respect of title, nothing had been done. Was it possible to place the Labourers Acts of Ireland on the same financial basis as the Land Acts? Under the Land Acts a new stock was created at 2¾ per cent. It was even now at a premium, giving 3 per cent. to those who advanced the money. Three per cent. was the interest on local loan stock. How was the balance rectified? By a charge in respect of flotation, which fell on the Development Grant, and that was an Irish resource. Therefore, if a similar financial operation was applied in respect of the Labourers Acts they would have to put another charge on the Development Grant or come to the House and ask for a grant to make up for the difference between the face valued and the actual value of the stock. That was not all. The Land Acts provided a bonus, which had to be added to bridge the gap between what the tenant would give and what the landlord would accept. And the gap in respect of labourers' cottages was even a bigger gap. Cottages could not be built on an economic basis. The labourers' rent could not repay the loan borrowed by the local authority, and therefore to finance the Labourers Acts on the same basis as the Land Acts they would require an unknown sum to make up the difference between the rent the labourer paid and the interest and sinking fund on the loan obtained by the local authority. A suspicion had been expressed that the Government had been in the past or was now making money out of local loan stock. That was wrong. He could assure the House that an issue of local loan stock some months ago was very unsuccessful, and it was quite impossible in future that that stock could be floated with advantageous results. The Labourers Acts were not by any means the only operations which were financed out of local loan stock. Many other Acts in operation in Ireland, Scotland, and England were all based on this local loan stock. That, surely, had an important bearing on this question. In Ireland last year £861,708 was advanced for various purposes—all based on the local loan stock. The total advanced in Ireland was £59,000,000. In England last year £5,000,000 was advanced and the total amount reached £91,000,000. In England, Scotland, and the Colonies the sum advanced last year was £6,647,000 and the total advances amounted to £176,976,000. Was it likely he would be successful if he asked in respect of one operation based on this stock that exceptional terms should be given when the condition of the market did not warrant it? Therefore it was no use to develop arguments at the present moment in favour of giving a wider and more favourable basis to the Labourers Acts.

MR. CLANCY: Would the right hon. Gentleman say what is the rate of interest?

MR. WYNDHAM said that the money was got out of the public by promising them 3 per cent. for every £100 they advanced. All loans which were advanced by the Board of Works had to be paid for by the issue of 3 per cent. Local Loan Stock.

Mr. CLANCY: The right hon. Gentleman must be aware that the annuity of the sinking fund and the interest amounts to 41·2 per cent.

Mr. WYNDHAM said that the amount of the annuity varied in accordance with the terms and the period of repayment, and these terms were arranged with different persons and corporations in England, Scotland, Ireland, and the Colonies. In Scotland the loans were advanced for thirty different objects, and in Ireland for sixty-eight different objects, so that Ireland was getting a good deal of credit under the Local Loans Act. England and Wales had outstanding balances in respect of loans to the amount of £41,000,000, Scotland to the amount of £1,400,000, and Ireland £17,000,000. It was due to the House thus to explain why the Bill was and must be of a disappointing character in respect of its financial basis. Not only was it impossible in existing circumstances to get a better financial basis, but relatively he doubted whether it would be right to give exceptionally favourable treatment to the labourers as compared with other classes in Ireland.

An HON. MEMBER on the Irish Benches: They are the poorest.

Mr. WYNDHAM said there was another class equally poor, the Irish in the towns. The outstanding debt in the rural districts was equal to 3s. 11d. per head, while it was in the urban districts 21s. 3d. per head. If that was the case it was beyond the bounds of possibility to advance money in the rural districts on better terms for labourers' cottages.

Complaint was made that the Bill did nothing in respect to title. That was a very thorny subject, as had been admitted by several speakers. If one acre of land was bought for a labourer's cottage the title must be proved at perhaps as much cost as if a whole property of 15,000 acres was being bought. But if a man's property was being taken by compulsion he could not be expected to pay the bill. The locality must pay, and this would lead to a heavy charge. He was prepared, before going into Committee, to consider whether some alleviation of this difficulty could be found; but any large attempt to deal with title would be importing into the Labourers Acts a reform of land transfer, and that was outside the bounds of possibility. He denied, however, that the Bill was a useless Bill. If it passed into law, the Irish Executive were ready at once to carry out reforms of an administrative character on which they had already made up their minds, and throughout Ireland at once to institute some kind of inspection to see what the real needs of the districts were, and where these needs were great and no effort had been made in the locality to meet them, Clause 12, empowering the Local Government Board to appoint officers on default of district councils, would come into operation. By Clause 18 the Local Government Board might make general rules for carrying the Labourers Acts into effect and those rules might, among other things, fix the amount of any fees, and might provide for the taxation and payment of any costs to be received, allowed, or paid in relation to the confirmation of improvement schemes. Under the wide administrative powers embodied in those two clauses they would be able to do a good deal towards solving this great problem in Ireland. The normal condition of things in Ireland was that the local bodies desired to build labourers' cottages. Where this was the case the Bill would reduce the expenditure enormously and accelerate their operations, and where there was obstruction Clause 12 would be applied. And there were provisions in Clauses 4 and 5 which would deal with any case where the rights of any individual were likely to be invaded.

Some exception had been taken to making use of the county councils, but this House had by a unanimous Resolution in 1894 invited the Government to legislate on the lines followed in this Bill. In England where the county councils acted they had done the work very well without putting any great strain upon the members of these councils. Under this Bill the Irish county councils could act through a standing committee, or by commissioners who would visit particular districts, or by delegating inquiry to the members who happened to live in the district. If any wrong should be done to any individual, there was an appeal to the Local Government Board, which, however, he did not think would be frequently exercised.

Let him ask the House to reflect that whereas in the past an appeal was general, the appeal in this Bill was on the one narrow issue that somebody's amenities or rights had been injuriously affected. He did not think there would be many such appeals. The county councils would not, through negligence—he would not suggest that they would through animosity—allow any person to be divested of private rights. The county councils would see fair play between different districts, and there would be an appeal to the Local Government Board on the administrative aspects of the scheme.

MR. SHEEHAN asked if the right hon. Gentleman would explain the reason for including Clause 15.

MR. WYNDHAM said that that was a Committee point, but he believed that the clause was only carrying out the law which applied to the United Kingdom generally. He was quite prepared to discuss the matter in Committee, although he did not wish to be taken as giving any undertaking to withdraw the clause. He did not wish to sail under false colours in the matter. He rose mainly to make a few business-like observations upon the reasons why they could not expect to have a better financial basis to the Bill. He hoped they might be able to cheapen expenditure in respect of title, and he had shown that, on the whole, the proposed redistribution of the money was fair, and if it was unfair at all it was against some of the western counties, and certainly not as against counties in Ulster.

MR. JOHN REDMOND said that his only object in rising was to make perfectly plain what was the attitude of the Irish Party on this question. They shared to the full the disappointment which had been expressed so forcibly on the other side of the House with reference to the provisions in this Bill. Last year they were promised in the most specific manner that if they allowed the consideration of the labourers' question to be dropped out of the Land Bill the question would be dealt with in a comprehensive and sympathatic way this year, and they got a further promise; because the right hon. Gentleman, in answer to a Question addressed to him from the Irish Benches, said that not only would he introduce a Bill dealing with agricultural labourers this session, but that he would also introduce a Bill dealing with artisans and labourers in towns. That was a specific pledge, but that pledge had been thrown absolutely to the winds. The right hon. Gentleman had not introduced any such Bill and did not propose to do so. The Bill which he had introduced, relating to agricultural labourers, was one which not one of them considered was a fulfilment of the pledges he gave. They shared to the full in the criticism which they had heard from the other side on the value of the Bill as it stood. They had to consider what their duty was with reference to the labourers and with reference to this Bill. He noticed with some interest that although two hon. Gentlemen on the other side most valiantly put down on the Paper notices of opposition to the Bill neither of them had moved his Motion for rejection.

MR. WILLIAM MOORE said he intended to do so.

MR. JOHN REDMOND said that if the hon. Gentleman was going to move, that brought the matter to a point, and if he did move his Motion the Irish Party would vote against it, not that they were satisfied with the Bill, but that they would not take the risk or the responsibility of destroying the possibility of amending the Bill in Committee and of turning it into a measure which would be of use to Ireland. When the Bill had passed through Committee it was quite possible that it might be of such a shape that none of them would take the responsibility of supporting or voting for it. Possibly they might be forced to vote against it, but they would not at this stage take the responsibility of destroying the hope of effectively amending it in Committee. Therefore, on this ground, if the hon. Gentleman did move his Motion, the Irish Party, dissatisfied though they were with the Bill as it stood, would vote against the hon. Member and in favour of the Second Reading of the Bill.

Mr. GORDON (Londonderry, S.) expressed his disappointment with the Bill. He found that it would not be for the benefit of the Irish labourer. What was wanted was simpler and more expeditious machinery and also a provision by which money could be got at a cheaper rate. The Bill met neither of these requirements. It seemed to substitute one set of cumbrous machinery for another. They might use different names, but there would be the same delays and quite as great an aggregate expenditure. As to petitioning the Local Government Board, it was proposed that after everything had been done by the district councils and county councils there should be the exact inquiry they had at present, with all its delays and expense, so that they would be no better off than they were at present. There was no simplification of procedure which made it worth while to introduce the measure. There was not the smallest chance of getting a scheme through more expeditiously than there was at present. There was an utter absence of any provision to get money at a cheaper rate. The rates at which money was lent for thirty-five or forty years for these building schemes was something like £4 16s. and the result was that a cottage which cost £150 took something like £7 a year to pay for it, and the rent that could be collected from it was £2 10s. or £2 12s. Why could not the money be granted on the same terms as those of the Land Act of 1903? If the period of repayment was extended the payments could be made £3 12s. 6d. instead of £4 16s. It would make a serious difference in working out an Act of this kind. The clause dealing with the power of the Local Government Board was enacted already under the Act of 1891. As to Clause 18, relating to model schemes, if an Act of Parliament was to be brought in to enable someone to draw up a model scheme, the time of the House would be very badly spent in considering such a trifle. Surely the Local Government Board could do that without the aid of an Act of Parliament.

The Chief Secretary had tried to explain Clause 13. That clause meant that the eleven counties of the thirty-two which had funds to their credit and were not spending what they were entitled to, would have those funds divided in proportion to the cottages built. His view was that this clause should be modified so as to apply to cottages to be built in the future. He wanted to see something put in the Bill which would help district and rural councils to do something in the future. At present the clause would work very unfairly to certain counties in the North of Ireland. Seven of the eleven counties were in the North of Ireland. If the right hon. Gentleman would assure them that the distribution would be as from the 1st January next in proportion of the new cottages built and not those that already existed, he for one would be content. He did not think the arguments of the Chief Secretary in this matter were convincing. If the clause was allowed to go through as it stood, the chief loss would fall upon the counties represented by Unionist Members. What the right hon. Gentleman should do was to consider what could be done in the way of giving money for longer periods at more reasonable rates. The right hon. Gentleman had probably not considered it from that point of view, or he would have probably made some concessions on the point. It would be a very great matter if money could be provided in some cheaper and easier form and a cheaper and more inexpensive mode devised of dealing with all these applications. He would like to see something done, also, to simplify the procedure prescribed by the Act, so that these matters might be got through more rapidly. On the question of time, which had not been raised in this Bill at all, he did not think any great hardship would accrue to any person if, in a case of a tenant of twelve years, they dealt with the tenant in possession unless, of course, there were deposits. He hoped, if the Second Reading passed, something very different from the Bill with which they had been dealing would emerge from the Committee. If it did not, it would be no satisfaction to Irishmen to say they had discussed the Bill and it would be of very little use to Irish labourers.

MR. HEMPHILL (Tyrone, N.): said if this Bill passed into law in its present shape it would be perfectly useless to the labourers of Ireland, for it did not meet any of the difficulties and objections that arose in connection with the existing law. Most prominent among the objections was the expense attending the erection of these cottages, and the absurdly extravagant proportion that costs bore to the total expenditure. It would hardly be believed by persons who had not seen the figures what the proportion was that the ratepayer bore. In one particular case the cost of working out a simple scheme came to £58 for each cottage. The Attorney-General had taken the trouble to point out how the expenses would be diminished under this Bill, but he had been driven to the conclusion that it involved exactly the same expense. Though the appeal tribunal was to be changed, he saw no prospect of the proceedings being less costly. He was inclined to think that there should be no appeal from the decision of a tribunal commanding public confidence. Another great objection to the existing system was the delay that occurred, extending to four or five years after the approval of a scheme, and meanwhile honest labourers lived in hovels only fit for animals. Much of this delay he attributed to the lethargy of the Local Government Board, and the Bill, which was only a sop to stop the mouths of the labourers, would not remove it. Clause 13 would require careful scrutiny in Committee; it was difficult to say whether as it stood it would have retrospective action on accumulated funds or apply only from year to year. It would not do in this matter to take the word of the hon. and learned Gentleman opposite as to what was intended, because they had had a great object lesson of that on the bonus question in the Land Bill, where the intentions of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary were altogether defeated when cases came to be tried in the Courts at Dublin. Whilst he would not take upon himself the responsibility of voting against the Second Reading, he reserved to himself the fullest possible right to criticise every clause in the Bill, line by line, if necessary, in Committee. He hoped it would now receive a Second Reading, and so make it possible to remedy its miserable condition in Committee.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.) said that in one sense this had been a remarkable discussion. The Bill had been brought in to fulfil a pledge given by the Government, and yet not a single Member on either side of the House had expressed anything like approval of it. The Chief Secretary would not take this as reflecting upon him, but they were getting perilously near the end of the session, and it seemed to him of very little use to read the Bill a second time if they were going into Committee with a contested measure at this time of year. There had been a strong attack upon Clause 13. As far as he understood that clause, it was defensible, but he was not sure that he understood it. Indeed, he was not sure that anybody in the House understood it. But he thought there was one thing quite clear about it; that the accumulated funds now standing to the credit of the different councils in Ireland were not to be affected, and that the counties which built the most cottages would get the biggest grants. He could not conceive anything more reasonable or fair. He might be wrong, but this seemed to him the only fair way of dealing with the question. That, however, was a matter which would have to be settled in Committee. He did not look at this as an Ulster question, but he thought the Ulster people were to blame for having allowed accumulations. In his own county the accumulations were *nil*. He reserved to himself the fullest freedom of criticism when the matter came into Committee. He had entered upon the consideration of this Bill with very little hope. He did not think that much could be done for the labourers unless the Bill was wider. The local authority could not provide labourers' cottages if the charges were prohibitive as regarded the proving of the title to the land. The Chief Secretary had removed the difficulty somewhat in his speech, but the remedy was not yet in the Bill. As to the question of loans, they could not avoid comparisons being made between tenant farmers and labourers. The tenant farmer got his money at 2¾ per cent., while the labourer had to pay 3½. They would never convince the Irish labourer that he had not the right to get money as cheaply as the Irish farmer. If the money could be given to the farmer without loss there was no reason why it should not be given to rural districts, where the security was equally good. The cost of proving title must be cheapened and the rate of interest must be lessened.

Very little had been said about the Amendment on the Paper as to conveying the fee simple of his cottage to the labourer. He had thought a great deal about that and at first he was captivated by the idea. But it was a matter that required thinking out. So far as the agricultural labourer, whose cottage was on the land of the tenant farmer, was concerned, it was an impossibility. A farmer might have to dismiss a labourer, and if that labourer had bought his cottage he could not be dispossessed and the farmer would have to provide a new cottage for his new labourer. The other class of labourers who were not wholly employed in agriculture were differently placed. He was far from saying that it would not be possible with the consent of the rural authority to allow deserving men with a fixed occupation to acquire the fee simple of their cottages. It had its dangers, and they must bear in mind that the mobility of labour was worth a great deal to the labourer. The labourer was not a snail who could carry his house on his back. Instead of benefiting the labourer by allowing him to buy his cottage they might be putting a burden upon his shoulders which would retard his progress. He should like to see an experiment made in this direction. At the present time a cottage was built and an acre of land given as an allotment. Friends of his on the other side would like to see the labourer have three, five, seven, and even ten acres. He was wholly opposed to turning the Irish labourer into the holder of an uneconomic holding, or into a farmer without capital or knowledge. He did not say what exact quantity of land the labourer should have but to attempt to turn him into a farmer would not be good for him. With regard to the proposal of the Chief Secretary to provide model rules under Clause 18 he considered that it would save enormous cost, and he was glad that that was to be taken up. As regarded the Amendments on the Paper, what were the official

Unionist Party going to do? Did they mean business? Or was it a mere demonstration? If they were going to a division they must take the responsibility. For himself he said plainly, although the Bill was a very poor thing at the best, and no realisation of the hope that had been cherished by the Irish labourers and people, he was not prepared to oppose the Second Reading. He wanted an opportunity to put down Amendments in Committee, but he reserved full right of criticism and even of opposing the Bill at a later stage if necessary.

MR. O'SHEE (Waterford, W.) said Members from all parts of Ireland were unanimous in their views on this Bill with the exception of the ominously numbered Clause 13. It was quite clear that the clause did provide that so far as the annual Exchequer contributions were concerned that they should be divided among the various local districts in Ireland in proportion to the loans outstanding for building cottages. That, in his opinion, was a fair arrangement. If the suggestions of hon. Members opposite were adopted the effect would be that places like Newcastle West, county Limerick, where they had taxed themselves to the extent of 1s. in the £, would get no portion of those grants. With reference to the remarks of the hon. Member for South Tyrone as to the size of the allotments which were to be given to the labourers, it was really that question which necessitated this Bill. The discussion on the Land Bill raised this question and gave rise to the suggestion by the Chief Secretary that he should introduce this Bill. When the question of the distribution of the land of Ireland was being discussed it was urged that the labourers of Ireland had a claim to a share. As a result of that discussion the Chief Secretary stated he would introduce a special Bill to deal with the labourers. He was glad to hear the speech of the hon. Member for North Antrim, with most of whose criticisms he entirely agreed. He agreed that the introduction of the county council in carrying out the Labourers Acts would, instead of facilitating the operation or shortening the procedure, rather tend to complicate matters and make the operation of these Acts more tedious than in the past. On that subject an Amendment would be proposed by the Party to which he belonged to the effect that the functions proposed to be handed over to the county councils should not be handed over to them but to a central board elected through the county councils. No appeal to a Judge of assize should be allowed, but there should be a final appeal to the Local Government Board. By this means all interests would be safeguarded and no new element would be introduced. The labourers of Ireland looked forward with the hope that the Chief Secretary would see his way to enable them to come in with reference to loans on the same terms as had been granted in connection with the transfer of land to the tenants of Ireland. He himself could not see why, when public opinion in this country was agreed that £100,000,000 of money might be devoted to carrying through sales from the landlords to the tenants of Ireland, some of that fund should not be regarded and used as ready money for the purpose of enabling the Labourers Acts to be effectively carried out. The chief blot in this Bill was the introduction of the county councils into the operations of the Labourers Acts. He hoped steps would be taken to make it simpler to take land under the Labourers Acts for labourers' cottages.

COLONEL SAUNDERSON, with the permission of the House, asked the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary whether he would be willing to reconsider Clause 13 in Committee.

MR. WYNDHAM assented.

* MR. CHARLES CRAIG (Antrim, S.) said he could not see how the Bill could possibly be of the slightest use to labourers in Ireland. The Chief Secretary had said there would be a sweeping inquiry by the Local Government Board if the Bill was allowed to pass into all matters of detail which were in dispute. But the right hon. Gentleman had no need of a Bill to do that, because there were already powers to carry that out. It was stated last year, when the labourers' clauses in the Land Act were being discussed, that the labourers' question would be dealt with in a thorough way, and that the Chief Secretary would devote his time during the autumn to an exhaustive Labourers Bill. But it was almost in the nature of an insult to produce a Bill like this as a settlement of the question. He unhesitatingly said he should vote against it. Last year they laid many points before the Chief Secretary, which they understood he would deal with, but he had dealt with none of them. There was no possibility of the Bill before them becoming of the slightest use. As to Section 13 he knew that the sums now standing to the credit of Ulster counties would not be disturbed if the Bill were passed, but for years to come they would have practically no share in the Exchequer Grant, for, owing to misunderstandings, and a certain unfortunate hostility between the rural district councils and the labouring classes, the Acts had not been administered in Ulster as it was intended they should be. If by this Bill the labourer were deprived of his fair share it would be grossly unfair, and if the rest of the Bill were accepted he should object to it because of Section 13. He had a Motion on the Paper regretting that the Bill did nothing to facilitate or cheapen the transfer of land for the purposes of the Labourers (Ireland) Acts and that no measure would be satisfactory that did not place at the command of a labourer the same facilities for acquiring the ultimate ownership of a house and allotment as had already been afforded to tenant farmers under the Land Purchase Acts. To show the sincerity of his Motion he proposed to move it.

MR. WYNDHAM rose in his place, and claimed to move, "That the Question be now put."

Question put, "That the Question be now put."

The House divided:—Ayes, 316; Noes, 27. (Division List No. 174.)

AYES.

Abraham, William (Cork,N.E.)
Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
Aird, Sir John
Ambrose, Robert
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arnold-Forster,Rt.Hn.Hugh O
Arrol, Sir William
Asher, Alexander
Atherley-Jones, L.
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Aubrey-Fletcher,Rt. Hn. Sir H.
Austin, Sir John
Bailey, James (Walworth)
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour, Rt. Hn. A. J. (Manch'r
Balfour,RtHnGerald W.(Leeds
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Barry, E. (Cork, S.)
Barry,Sir Francis T.(Windsor)
Bartley, Sir George C. T.
Beach,Rt.Hn.Sir MichaelHicks
Beaumont, Wentworth C. B.
Beckett, Ernest William

Bell, Richard
Benn, John Williams
Bentinck, Lord Henry C.
Bignold, Arthur
Bigwood, James
Blake, Edward
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Boland, John
Bolton, Thomas Dolling
Boscawen, Arthur Griffith
Bowles,Lt.-ColH.F.(Middlesex
Brassey, Albert
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Brown, Sir Alex. H. (Shropsh.)
Brunner, Sir John Tomlinson
Bull, William James
Burdett-Coutts, W.
Burke, E. Haviland
Burt, Thomas
Butcher, John George
Caldwell, James
Campbell,Rt.Hn.J.A.(Glasgow
Campbell,J.H.M.(Dublin Univ.
Campbell, John (Armagh, S.)
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Causton, Richard Knight
Cautley, Henry Strother
Cavendish,V.C.W. (Derbyshire
Cayzer, Sir Charles William
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Cecil, Lord Hugh (Greenwich)
Chamberlain,RtHn.J.A.(Worc.
Chaplin, Rt. Hon. Henry
Chapman, Edward
Charrington, Spencer
Churchill, Winston Spencer
Clancy, John Joseph
Clive, Captain Percy A.
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H.A.E.
Cogan, Denis J.
Cohen, Benjamin Louis
Collings, Rt, Hon. Jesse
Colston, Chas. Edw. H. Athole
Compton, Lord Alwyne
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Cook, Sir Frederick Lucas
Crean, Eugene
Cripps, Charles Alfred
Cross, Alexander (Glasgow)
Cross, Herb. Shepherd (Bolton)
Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Cullinan, J.
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Davenport, William Bromley
Delany, William
Devlin,CharlesRamsay(Galway
Devlin, Joseph (Kilkenny, N.)
Dickson, Charles Scott
Dickson-Poynder, Sir John P.
Digby, John K. D. Wingfield-
Donelan, Captain A.
Doogan, P. C.
Dorington,Rt.Hon.Sir John E.
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers
Doxford, Sir William Theodore
Duke, Henry Edward
Durning-Lawrence, Sir Edwin
Dyke,Rt.Hon.Sir William Hart
Edwards, Frank
Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
Esmonde, Sir Thomas
Farquharson, Dr. Robert
Farrell, James Patrick

Fenwick, Charles
Fergusson,Rt.Hn.Sir J.(Manc'r
Ffrench, Peter
Field, William
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
Fison, Frederick William
FitzGerald, Sir Robert Penrose
Fitzroy,Hon. Edward Algernon
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Flower, Sir Ernest
Flynn, James Christopher
Forster, Henry William
Foster,Philip S. (Warwick,S.W
Foster, Sir Walter (Derby Co.)
Gardner, Ernest
Gibbs, Hon. A. G. H.
Gilhooly, James
Gordon,Hn J.E.(Elgin & Nairn
Gore,Hn G.R. C Ormsby-(Salop
Goschen, Hon. George Joachim
Graham, Henry Robert
Greene,SirEW(B'rySt.Edm'nds
Greene,HenryD.(Shrewsbury)
Greene, W. Raymond (Cambs.)
Grenfell, William Henry
Groves, James Grimble
Guest, Hon. Ivor Churchill
Gunter, Sir Robert
Hall, Edward Marshall
Hammond, John
Hardy,Laurence(Kent,Ashford
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Harris, Dr. Fredk. R. (Dulwich)
Haslam, Sir Alfred S.
Haslett, Sir James Horner
Hatch, Ernest Frederick Geo.
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Hayden, John Patrick
Heath,James (Staffords. N.W.
Helder, Augustus
Hermon-Hodge, Sir Robert T.
Hickman, Sir Alfred
Hobhouse,RtHnH (Somers't,E
Hogg, Lindsay
Hope,J.F.(Sheffield,Brightside)
Hornby, Sir William Henry
Horner, Frederick William
Houston, Robert Paterson
Howard,John(Kent,Faversham
Howard, J. (Midd.Tottenham)
Hozier,Hon. James Henry Cecil
Hudson, George Bickersteth
Hunt, Rowland
Hutchinson, Dr. Charles Fredk.
Jeffreys,Rt. Hon. Arthur Fred
Jessel, Captain Herbert Merton
Johnson, John (Gateshead)
Johnstone, Heywood (Sussex)
Jones,DavidBrynmor(Swansea
Jordan, Jeremiah
Joyce, Michael
Kennaway,Rt.Hon.Sir John H.
Kennedy,Vincent P.(Cavan,W.
Kenyon, Hn. Geo. T. (Denbigh)
Kenyon-Slaney, Col. W.(Salop
Kilbride, Denis
Kimber, Henry
Knowles, Sir Lees
Lambton,Hon. Frederick Wm.
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
Law, Hugh Alex.(Donegal,W.)

Lawrence, Wm. F. (Liverpool)
Lawson,John Grant (YorksN.R
Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cornwall)
Leamy, Edmund
Lee,ArthurH.(Hants,Fareham
Lees, Sir Elliott (Birkenhead)
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Leigh, Sir Joseph
Levy, Maurice
Lloyd-George, David
Lockwood, Lieut.-Col. A. R.
Long, Rt. Hn. Walter (Bristol,S
Lowe, Francis William
Lowther, C. (Cumb., Eskdale)
Lucas,Col. Francis (Lowestoft)
Lundon, W.
Lyell, Charles Henry
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
M'Fadden, Edward
M'Hugh, Patrick A.
M'Iver,Sir Lewis(Edinburgh W.
M'Kean, John
M'Killop,James (Stirlingshire
M'Killop, W. (Sligo, North)
Majendie, James A. H.
Manners, Lord Cecil
Mappin, Sir Frederick Thorpe
Martin, Richard Biddulph
Meysey-Thompson, Sir H. M.
Milner, Rt Hn. Sir Frederick G.
Mitchell, Edw. (Fermanagh,N.)
Mitchell, William (Burnley)
Molesworth, Sir Lewis
Montagu, G. (Huntingdon)
Moon, Edward Robert Pacy
Mooney, John J.
Morrison, James Archibald
Morton, Arthur H. Alymer
Mowbray, Sir Robert Gray C.
Murphy, John
Murray,RtHn.A.Graham(Bute
Murray, Charles J. (Coventry)
Murray, Col. Wyndham (Bath)
Nannetti, Joseph P.
Nicholson, William Graham
Nolan,Col.John P.(Galway,N.)
Nolan, Joseph (Louth. South)
O'Brien, James F. X. (Cork)
O'Brien, Kendal (Tipperary, M
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Brien, P. J. (Tipperary, N.)
O'Connor,James (Wicklow,W.)
O'Connor, T. P. (Liverpool)
O'Doherty, William
O'Donnell, John (Mayo, S.)
O'Donnell, T. (Kerry, W.)
O'Dowd, John
O'Kelly,James (Roscommon,N
O'Malley, William
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
O'Shee, James John
Palmer, Walter (Salisbury)
Parker, Sir Gilbert
Parrott, William
Percy, Earl
Pierpoint, Robert
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Power, Patrick Joseph
Pretyman, Ernest George
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Rasch, Sir Frederick Carne

Reddy, M.
Redmond, JohnE. (Waterford)
Reid, James (Greenock)
Reid, Sir R. Threshie (Dumfries
Remnant, James Farquharson
Richards, Henry Charles
Ridley,S. Forde (Bethnal Green
Ritchie,Rt. Hn. Chas. Thomson
Roberts, Samuel (Sheffield)
Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
Roche, John
Roe, Sir Thomas
Rollit, Sir Albert Kaye
Ropner, Colonel Sir Robert
Rothschild, Hon. Lionel Walter
Round, Rt. Hon. James
Royds, Clement Molyneux
Russell, T. W.
Rutherford, John (Lancashire)
Sadler, Col. Samuel Alexander
Samuel,Sir Harry S (Limehouse
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Sandys, Lieut.-Col. Thos.Myles
Schwann, Charles E.
Shackleton, David James
Shaw, Thomas (Hawick B.
Sheehan, Daniel Daniel
Sheehy, David
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Sinclair, Louis (Romford)
Skewes-Cox, Thomas
Smith,James Parker(Lanarks.)
Spear, John Ward
Stanley,Hon.Arthur(Ormskirk
Stanley,Rt. Hn. Lord (Lancs.)
Stewart,Sir Mark J.M'Taggart
Stone, Sir Benjamin
Stroyan, John
Strutt, Hon. Charles Hedley
Sullivan, Donal
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Talbot,Rt.Hn.J.G.(Oxf'dUniv
Thomas,David Alfred (Merthyr
Thomson, F. W. (York, W. R.)
Thorburn, Sir Walter
Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
Tritton, Charles Ernest
Tuff, Charles
Tufnell, Lieut.-Col. Edward
Ure, Alexander
Valentia, Viscount
Walrond,Rt.Hn.Sir WilliamH.
Warde, Colonel C. E.
Welby,Lt.-Col A.C.E.(Taunton
Wharton, Rt. Hon. John Lloyd
White, Luke (York, E. R.)
Whiteley,H.(Ashton und.Lyne
Whitmore, Charles Algernon
Whittaker, Thomas Palmer
Williams, Colonel R. (Dorset)
Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
Wills, Sir Frederick
Wilson,Fred.W.(Norfolk, Mid.)
Wilson, John (Glasgow)
Wilson-Todd,SirW.H. (Yorks.
Wodehouse, Rt Hn.E.R. (Bath
Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B. Stuart
Wrightson, Sir Thomas
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George
Wyndham-Quin, Col. W. H.
Young, Samuel

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Sir Alexander Acland-Hood and Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes.

NOES.

Barlow, John Emmott
Black, Alexander William
Craig, Charles Curtis(AntrimS.
Cremer, William Randal
Crombie, John William
Gordon, J. (Londonderry, S.)
Greville, Hon. Ronald
Griffith, Ellis J.
Hemphill, Rt. Hon. Charles H.
Lambert, George
M'Arthur, Charles (Liverpool)
M'Crae, George
Morgan,J. Lloyd (Carmarthen)
Moss, Samuel
Nussey, Thomas Willans
O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
Reckitt, Harold James
Saunderson,Rt. Hn. Col Edw J.
Shaw, Charles Edw, (Stafford)
Sloan, Thomas Henry
Spencer,Sir E.(W.Bromwich)
Taylor, Austin (East Toxteth)
Taylor, Theodore C. (Radcliffe)
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Whiteley, George (York,W.R.)
Wolff, Gustav Wilhelm
Yoxall, James Henry

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Mr. Lonsdale and Mr. William Moore.

Question put accordingly, and agreed to.

Bill read a second time, and committed for Monday next.

REGISTRATION OF NURSES.

Ordered, That a Select Committee be appointed to consider the expediency of providing for the Registration of Nurses.

The Committee was accordingly nominated of, Dr. Robert Ambrose, Major Bagot, Sir Michael Foster, Mr. Arthur Henderson, Mr. Lyell, Mr. Malcolm, Viscount Morpeth, Mr. Pierpoint, Sir John Stirling-Maxwell, Mr. Tennant, and Sir John Tuke.

Ordered, That the Committee have power to send for persons, papers, and records.

Ordered, That Five be the quorum.—(*Sir A. Acland-Hood.*)

SELECTION (STANDING COMMITTEES).

Mr. HALSEY reported from the Committee of Selection; That they had discharged the following Members from the Standing Committee on Law, and Courts of Justice, and Legal Procedure:—Mr. Dillon and Mr. Swift MacNeill; and had appointed in substitution:—Mr. Joyce and Mr. Law.

Report to lie upon the Table.

Adjourned at eleven minutes before Six o'clock till Monday next.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Monday, 27th June, 1904.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

The Lord Chancellor acquainted the House, That the Clerk of the Parliaments had laid upon the Table the Certificate from the Examiners that the further Standing Orders applicable to the following Bill have been complied with:—City of London (Central Criminal Court House).

The same was ordered to lie on the Table.

Plymouth Corporation Bill. Reported, with Amendments.

Bridlington Corporation Bill [H.L.]. The King's consent signified; and Bill reported, with Amendments.

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 4) Bill [H.L.]—(Kingswood Order opposed) Tramways Orders Confirmation (No. 1) Bill [H.L.]; Water Orders Confirmation Bill [H.L.]; Gas and Water Orders Confirmation Bill [H.L.]; Thames River Steamboat Service Bill; London United Tramways Bill; Strabane, Raphoe, and Convoy Railway Bill. Report from the Committee of Selection, That the Lord Willoughby de Broke be proposed to the House as a member of the Select Committee on the said Bills in the place of the Lord Clements (*E. Leitrim*); read, and agreed to.

Oakengates and Dawley Joint Water Board Bill [H.L.]; Manchester Corporation Tramways Bill [H.L.]. Read 3^{a}, and passed, and sent to the Commons.

Humber Commercial Railway and Dock Bill. Read 3^{a}, with the Amendments; further Amendments made; Bill passed, and returned to the Commons.

London and North-Western Railway Bill. Read 3^{a}, with the Amendments, and passed, and returned to the Commons.

Scotch Education Department Provisional Order Confirmation (Edinburgh) Bill [H.L.]. Committed to a Committee of the Whole House To-morrow.

Commons Regulation (Merrow) Provisional Order Bill; Commons Regulation (Oxshott) Provisional Order Bill; Land Drainage Provisional Order Bill. House in Committee (according to order). Bills reported without Amendment; Standing Committee negatived; and Bills to be read 3^{a} To-morrow.

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 5) Bill [H.L.]. Read 3^{a} (according to order), and passed, and sent to the Commons.

Tramways Orders Confirmation (No. 2) Bill [H.L.]. House in Committee (according to order). The Amendments proposed by the Select Committee made. Standing Committee negatived. The Report of Amendments to be received To-morrow.

Leith Corporation Tramways Order Confirmation Bill. Commons Message of Friday last considered (according to order). Then it was moved that a Committee of three Lords be appointed to join with a Committee of the House of Commons to consider the said Bill as mentioned in the said Message; and that the said Committee be named by the Committee of Selection (The Lord Balfour); agreed to. Ordered, That such Committee have power to agree with the Committee of the House of Commons in the appointment of a chairman. Then a Message was ordered to be sent to the House of Commons to inform them of the appointment of the said Committee by this House.

Drainage and Improvement of Lands (Ireland) Provisional Order Bill (No. 119); Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 1) Bill (No. 120); Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 2) Bill (No. 121); Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 3) Bill (No. 122); Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 4) Bill (No. 123). Brought from the Commons; read 1^{a}; to be printed; and referred to the Examiners.

Leith Corporation Tramways Order Confirmation Bill. Report from the Committee of Selection, That the following

An Asterisk (*) at the commencement of a Speech indicates revision by the Member.

Lords be proposed to the House to form the Select Committee to join with the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the said Bill; (viz.), E. Craven, E. Camperdown, L. Strathspey (*E. Seafield*). The said Report considered, and agreed to.

PETITIONS.

Supply of Electricity Bill [H.L.] Petition to be heard by Counsel against; of Metropolitan Borough of Bermondsey; read, and ordered to lie on the Table.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

TRADE REPORTS (ANNUAL SERIES).

No. 3194. Russia (Moscow).
No. 3195. Spain (Cadiz).
No. 3196. Germany (Grand Duchy of Baden).
No. 3197. China (Ichang).

Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie on the Table.

FACTORY AND WORKSHOP (SPECIAL EXCEPTION: MEAL HOURS, IRON AND STEEL FOUNDRIES).

Order, dated 23rd June, 1904, made by the Secretary of State for the Home Department, in pursuance of Section 40 (4) of the Factory and Workshop Act, 1901, extending the special exceptions as to meal hours to male young persons employed in iron and steel foundries, and repealing the Order of the 14th July, 1903.

PUBLIC RECORDS (WAR DEPARTMENT).

Sixth Schedule containing a list and particulars of classes of documents pertaining to the Department of His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for War, and deposited in the Public Record Office, but which are not considered of sufficient public value to justify their preservation therein.

ELECTRIC LIGHTING ACTS, 1882 to 1902 (PROCEEDINGS).

Report by the Board of Trade respecting the applications to and Proceedings of the Board of Trade under the Electric Lighting Acts 1882 to 1902, during the past year.

Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table.

UNIVERSITIES (SCOTLAND) ACT, 1889.

University Court Ordinance, No. 10 (Aberdeen, No. 2); regulations for the degree of Doctor of Science in Agriculture, D.Sc. (Agr.). Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and to be printed. (No. 118.)

THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON THE MILITIA AND VOLUNTEERS.

*LORD NEWTON rose to call attention to the Report of the Royal Commission on the Militia and Volunteers. He said: My Lords, from some observations which fell the other day from the Under-Secretary of State for War, I rather gather that he would consider a discussion upon this subject inopportune, if not premature. I am quite unable to accept this view myself, because the Government have already made it perfectly clear that they have no intention of accepting the main recommendation of this Commission, and that is quite sufficient for my purpose. I do not think that anyone, of however complacent a disposition he may be, can read the Report of this Commission without feelings of uneasiness. It shows that the Militia and Volunteers are in an unsatisfactory condition; it shows that that august and mysterious body, of which we hear so much and know so little, namely, the Defence Committee, had at all events some months ago no clear idea as to the purpose for which the Militia and Volunteers were intended, although I have no doubt this has been rectified since the accession to that Committee of Sir George Clarke; and, in addition to that, it shows that the naval and military authorities were in a pronounced disagreement with regard to the extremely important question whether an invasion of this country was a feasible operation or not. Heaven forbid that I should step in and say which of these authorities was in the right, but I cannot help making this remark, that if the Admiralty views are correct, if the people who, I believe, call themselves the "blue water school" are correct in their conclusions, then it is perfectly obvious to me, at all events, that the Militia and Volunteers are purely unnecessary bodies, and the sooner we get rid of them the better. And it appears to me that the "blue water school" have a distinct grievance at this moment against the Japanese. Japan, after all, is an island Power, like ourselves, and yet, in defiance of the notions of the "blue water school," they presume to maintain a large Army and actually to use that large Army for the purpose of defending their own country.

With regard to the Commission itself, I think it will be admitted that the Commissioners did not meet with much encouragement when they started upon their labours. The Commissioners, with a laudable desire to go to the root of the matter, began by asking for certain definite information from the War Office. This information was supplied by the War Office, but it did not turn out to be of a very valuable nature, because the Commissioners were subsequently informed that the information which had been given them was all wrong. They then proceeded to ask for information from the Admiralty, and they met with a flat refusal from the Admiralty to give any information whatever. They then applied to that august and mysterious body to which I have just alluded, the Defence Committee, and were told in polite language to mind their own business and not to inquire into things which they did not understand.

With regard to the refusal of the Admiralty to supply information, there are two explanations which occur to me. One is that the Admiralty thought that it would be inconsistent with, and prejudicial to, the public interest that any information should be given. I can hardly believe myself that this was the real explanation, because, as I have maintained before in this House, official secrets practically do not exist, and if any Government, say that of Germany or France, had decided upon an invasion of this country, it is highly improbable that they would make their preparations in consequence of some admissions which were extracted from witnesses before a Royal Commission. Therefore, I think we may at once dismiss this explanation, more especially as I will give the Admiralty credit for knowing everything that goes on in foreign countries, just as foreign countries know all about our military and naval preparations. The other explanation, which appears to me to be the only possible one, is that the Admiralty, and apparently the Defence Committee, perceived that the Commissioners were endeavouring to obtain information which went beyond their terms of reference. We have heard a good deal in the criticisms upon this Report with regard to the iniquity of the Commissioners in having exceeded the terms of reference; and, bearing in mind these various criticisms, I do not think it is altogether uncharitable to assume that this excessive regard for the terms of reference was due to the perhaps not unnatural hope that the Commissioners would not recommend any very drastic remedies; and I cannot help feeling that if, instead of proposing the drastic remedy which they have suggested, the Commissioners had reported that upon the whole the Militia and Volunteers were in an admirable condition and only required a little more sympathy and consideration, they would have been warmly thanked for their laborious and patriotic labours. To my mind the most satisfactory result of the Commission is that these Commissioners were not, if I may use the expression, "choked off" in this way, but proceeded to go to the root of the matter, and they made a drastic, and, possibly, to some persons, a startling proposal. Well, what is their reward? The Report of the Commissioners is received with a universal chorus of shrieks and howls on the part of almost every representative person in the country, and the first person to give a good resounding kick to the Commissioners was no less a personage than the Prime Minister himself. The Prime Minister in the other House, anxious to be the first to deal the Commissioners a blow, announced, in reply to a Question—

> "Of course, we do not accept the recommendation of the Commission."

Pray, why "of course?" What grounds are there for sweeping at once out of sight the recommendations of these men, who, I have every reason to believe, embarked upon their labours in a perfectly independent and impartial spirit, and arrived at their conclusion solely as the result of the evidence which was given before them? I am not going to discuss the personality of the Commission. At the same time I am not going to admit that Sir Ralph H. Knox and the two recalcitrant Volunteer colonels were the sole embodiment of military wisdom on that Commission. Let us put the personality of the Commissioners out of sight altogether. Let us assume, if you like, that persons like Lord Grenfell and Sir Coleridge Grove, and other persons who took part in the South African War, are persons altogether unworthy of attention. Let us put them out of sight altogether, and merely consider the evidence. I do not know whether many people have taken the trouble to read the evidence, but I have read it myself, and I am bound to say that I should have thought it would have been very difficult for the Commissioners to make any sort of recommendation which was opposed to the one they have made.

It is a delusion, an impression at all events, that the persons who look upon compulsory service in this country as a necessity are merely a few military men and a few imbeciles like myself. Well, if anyone will take the trouble to read the evidence, he will see that not only have the highest military authorities in the land, such persons as Lord Wolseley, General Sir T. Kelly-Kenny, and others expressed these opinions, but the same opinions were expressed by any number of other persons, who represent practically most classes of society—persons who are employers of labour, Volunteer colonels, Militia colonels, Members of Parliament, and one noble Lord who recently occupied an official position in this House, Lord Raglan, who only a short time ago was Under-Secretary of State for War, whose views I submit cannot altogether be ignored, and who, I hope, will give us the benefit of them this afternoon.

You cannot, I maintain, at once sweep away this recommendation by saying that it is un-English, or that it was not included in the terms of reference. Possibly not. Suppose, for instance, that your house is in bad repair, and you call in an architect, and the architect says, "By an expenditure of a considerable sum of money I can put your house in order, but if you will take my advice you will pull it down and build a new one in its place"—that is practically what the recommendation of the noble Duke and his colleagues amounts to. The fact is, the evidence before this Commission has only confirmed opinions which have been held by many people for some time past, namely, that the so-called voluntary system has practically broken down. This may sound a strong expression to use, but I think I can give a few instances in recent years upon which it would be difficult to deny that the voluntary system has broken down. The first instance that occurs to me—I have some hesitation in alluding to it, because it always makes my noble friend the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs so angry when I do so—was the statement which the noble Marquess made in my hearing in this House, that there were 92,000 men in the British Army incapable of taking the field. Shortly after that the Government and the country realised that owing to the whole of our Regular Forces being absorbed by the war this country was left in such a defenceless position that they were obliged to obtain the services of time-expired men by paying them extravagant bounties, in order to give the country some vague sense of security. Another instance is that after some months of warfare we were obliged to ask the Colonies to come to our assistance. A further instance was the case that we were eventually obliged to offer five shillings a day to men who, to put it mildly, were imperfectly trained; and I think another instance—an irrefutable instance—is that it is found practically impossible at the present day to get Volunteers to go into camp for one week in the course of two years.

I should have thought the fact of the voluntary system having broken down must have forced itself upon my noble friend, the Lord Privy Seal (the Marquess of Salisbury), who is a colonel of a Militia regiment, because I read in a newspaper the other day that he was offering half-a-crown a head to people who would bring him recruits, as if they were plovers' eggs or something to eat. I think the cases I have quoted are sufficient to establish the fact that it would be a very bold man who would assert that the voluntary system has not very nearly broken down. It always strikes me that we add very much to our difficulties by refusing to call things by their proper names. We are always casting up the whites of our eyes and thanking Providence that we are not like poor benighted foreigners who compel their citizens to render military service to the State. I may be an extremely peculiar person, but, personally, I cannot see anything whatever to admire in the voluntary system at all. What is the voluntary system, as a matter of fact, but an elaborate system of substitution. The Chinese, if I am not mistaken, have a habit, when they are condemned to death, of finding persons who are ready to undergo that penalty in their place. This may have practical merits, but it is not generally looked upon as a patriotic proceeding. I maintain that the term "voluntary" Army and "voluntary" Navy is a misleading term. Our Army is not really a voluntary Army, neither is our Navy a voluntary Navy. Our Army is a professional Army and our Navy a professional Navy, and we are obliged to have a professional Army and a professional Navy, because it is clearly not only a matter of convenience, but a matter of necessity. Nobody proposes that men should be compulsorily taken in this country for the purposes of garrisoning colonies and out-of-the-way places.

I admit at once that it is a necessity that our Regular Army and Navy should be built upon what I will call, if you like, the voluntary system, but when you come to the question of home defence, why on earth should there be any option in the matter at all? It is a duty which, as I say, is enforced by every civilised country. Hitherto the impression has prevailed that the defence of this country can be, and should be, entrusted to a limited class, and I admit that until a serious emergency has arisen this system has served its purpose more or less. But I observe a slight change of opinion with regard to this matter. I observe, for instance, that the Prime Minister, not long ago, expressed the opinion that the defence of this country was the duty of the community at large, and we see other evidence of this view. Inspecting officers, when they inspect Militia and Volunteers, dwell sometimes in rather trembling accents on the desirability of every man learning in some form or other to defend his country. Members of Parliament and other public men go occasionally about the country and say that every man ought to have a rifle and slouch hat. I observe they often lay great stress on the slouch hat; and I have heard the noble Earl, Lord Rosebery, in this House say that we ought to imitate the example of Switzerland.

I have no doubt we shall hear before this debate is concluded, perhaps from noble Lords opposite, that all the Auxiliary Forces require is more sympathy and consideration. Well, I should like to ask your Lordships, as practical men, what is the use of this moral suasion? You might just as well suppose that if you had got a system of voluntary taxation, you would induce the community to undertake their part of the expense. I submit that this Government, and every other Government, have done nothing else but appeal to the patriotic impulses of individuals; they have appealed to their patriotism and they have appealed to their pockets. And what is the result? I do not think I am exaggerating when I say that there is not more than one able-bodied man in nine who discharges any kind of military duty in defence of his country. The patriotism of many citizens of this country consists of singing songs about being absent-minded beggars, or being soldiers or sailors of the King—the thing which they have the very least idea of becoming themselves.

Look at the arguments which are addressed to the limited class which at present takes the whole burden of defence upon its shoulders. When it is clearly shown that the system is not what it ought to be, those who undertake the duty are addressed in this sort of way. The Government says to them: "You have been kind enough to undertake this duty; it is very good of you, but we intend to make you do a great deal more; and mark the terrible thing which will happen if you decline to receive our advances—other people, who at present do nothing, will be obliged to do their share of the duty." It is very much as if a man had ten horses in his stable, and only made use of one, and when the work continued to increase, he still continued to use only one horse, and was rather surprised that it did not come up to his requirements. After all, what is a Volunteer? A Volunteer is a citizen like anybody else; neither better off, nor stronger, nor richer. He does not get any advantages from being a Volunteer except the right to wear a uniform, which is possibly not always becoming. If he is an employer he is penalised; if he is an employee he loses his wages; and I do not think I can bring the absurdity of the position more clearly to your Lordships than by quoting a case which I came across in a paper not long ago. It is the case of a man who was a Volunteer, and his commanding officer asked for his committal to gaol. It was said that the man was ordered to pay 35s., which the regiment had forfeited through his non-attendance at drill and inefficiency, and that, though a single man and in work, he had failed to pay anything. An order for his imprisonment for twenty-eight days was made. Therefore, whereas you penalise yourself directly and indirectly, you also run the risk of being sent to gaol because you do work which other people refuse to do, and if ever the so-called voluntary system is reformed, I trust the case of this martyr will be borne in mind.

I could multiply instances of a similar character, but out of respect to your patience I will not do so. But I do not think that anybody can read this Report without seeing that at all events the Volunteer force has broken down under what is known as the intolerable strain, the intolerable strain being partly represented by the one week's camp which they are expected to do in the course of two years. I think it is clear from the Report and from what was said in this House the other day that a good many Volunteers will have to go. If they have got to go, they will have to be, I presume, replaced somewhere, and after the Report of the noble Duke and his colleagues I do not see, however much you may fight against the idea now, how compulsion can ultimately be avoided. I know perfectly well what my noble friend the Under-Secretary will say to me in his reply. I have not the least doubt he will begin by saying it is un-English. Then he will make out that he does not want men and would not know what to do with them if he had them, and he will say that the voluntary system must be given another chance, and that, until disaster convinces it, the public will never accede to anything so unpopular.

Well, with regard to this question of unpopularity, I am rather doubtful myself as to whether the idea of its excessive unpopularity is really well-founded. Nobody yet in a responsible position has ever asked the country its opinion on the subject. I have always thought it was one of the blots on a great career that at a time when this country was prepared to make some sacrifices in order to secure military efficiency, Lord Salisbury stated that he understood that numbers of men were flocking from this country to foreign countries in order to avoid having to do a few months Militia service. All I can say is that if there are such persons in this country we should be very well rid of them; but still, if they were liable to duty of that kind and returned without fulfilling it, they are persons I should like to deal severely with. I can supply one argument which may convince His Majesty's Government that this proposal is not so absolutely unpopular as they imagine. I presume that if this Government or any Government had the courage to enforce, or to suggest the enforcement of this principle, at all events it would not be made retrospective. Well, what does that mean? It means that the people who would be subject to compulsory training would be young people who had not attained the age of twenty-one, and who had not yet got votes. Therefore, there is less cause for alarm than appears to be imagined. If you were to take the ordinary voter who has a son and say to him that when his son reached the age of twenty-one years he was to be compelled to do some military service, I think most fathers would be glad to hear it.

Although I have spoken at some length, I have merely touched the fringe of the subject. I hope this is by no means the last occasion on which it will be debated in your Lordships' House. I have not pointed out the advantages, whether direct or indirect, of universal personal service. I have not pointed out, as I might have done, that the adoption of this principle would free our Regular Army and Navy for their proper task. I have not urged, as I might have done with even more force, that if this principle were adopted it would lay finally and once for all that spectre of invasion upon which experts have been divided. I have not urged that the precise form recommended by the Commissioners should be adopted. I have only endeavoured to show—imperfectly, I am afraid—that this principle must not be at once set aside as impracticable, and that it really does deserve the serious consideration of the country. I cannot conclude without expressing the view that those people who consider the position of this country and our ever-increasing responsibilities and liabilities, which seem to increase steadily year by year, must occasionally, at all events, feel some doubt as to whether our hand-to-mouth methods are sufficient for our present requirements.

It is the fashion to speak of Mr. Cobden as a discredited prophet, but to my mind he was not far wrong when he prophesied that if this country continued to carry on what is now called an Imperial policy, Englishmen would have to submit to the sacrifices which are imposed upon other civilised nations. I am aware that those persons who believe in the system of "muddling through," which, after all, is only a rude way of describing the voluntary system, will always console themselves or will be consoled with the reflection that there are twenty-five miles of sea separating this from any other country. That is the argument which is always brought to bear when we make these suggestions, but personally I do not believe that the sea has anything to do with it. I believe that the reason why we refuse to adopt the precautions adopted by other countries is to be explained by the simple fact that for a hundred years this country has not been engaged in a life-and-death struggle. No one can maintain that the Crimean War was a war of this character. Neither will anyone say that that description applies to the Indian Mutiny; and, great as were our sacrifices during the late war, it hardly came within the category of a life-and-death struggle. When I consider the airy indifference with which we treat the lessons of history and our stubborn determination not to look facts in the face, I confess I have doubts whether we are not paving the way for some irreparable disaster.

*LORD RAGLAN: My Lords, before making any remarks on this subject, I will read, as a text, a few extracts from the Report of the Duke of Norfolk's Commission. Referring to the present condition of the Militia, the Commissioners say, in Paragraph 29—

> "The evidence which we have received satisfies us that the drill and training at present undergone by this force is insufficient to fit its units at short notice to oppose trained troops in the field."

And in Paragraph 33 they say—

> "We are forced to the conclusion that the Militia, in its existing condition, is unfit to take the field for the defence of this country. We think, however, that its defects arise from causes beyond the control of its officers and men."

So much for the opinion of the Commissioners on the efficiency of the Militia. With regard to the Volunteers, the opinion they give is very much the same. They say—

> "Taking the force as a whole, neither the musketry nor tactical training of the rank and file would enable it to face with prospect of success the troops of a Continental army."

And in Paragraph 49 the Commissioners say—

> "We are agreed in the conclusion that the Volunteer Force, in view of the unequal military education of the officers, the limited training of the men, and the defects of equipment and organisation, is not qualified to take the field against a Regular army."

I venture to think those words are about the most serious that have ever been given to a country. We have for the very first time within our memory had a Commission which has gone into the question of the fitness of the Auxiliary Forces for the task for which nominally we keep them, and that Commission has made this Report.

The Report divides itself practically into two parts, the Report on the condition of the Militia and the Report on the condition of the Volunteers; and with your Lordships' permission I will, in as few words as possible, give my own opinion with regard to the condition of those forces. According to the Report, the Militia are short of officers, non-commissioned officers and men, and neither officers, non-commissioned officers, nor men are properly trained. That is a very serious thing, but it is no more than every one of us who have had any interior acquaintance with the force have been saying for many years. I will take, first of all, the question of providing officers. We are told constantly that the upper classes do not do their duty by coming forward to officer the Auxiliary Forces. I should like to point out that we have most successfully in this country legislated out of existence the class which used to officer the Auxiliary Forces. You cannot spend fifty years doing your best to obliterate agriculture and then turn round to the country gentleman and say, "Why do you not officer the Auxiliary Forces?"

I now come to the question of the non-commissioned officers. We know what the permanent staff is. It is few in numbers, somewhat aged, and in many cases the men are by no means the picked representatives of the Regular regiments from which they come. With regard to non-commissioned officers not on the permanent staff, everybody connected with the Militia knows that from causes entirely beyond their control they are useless. They have to work with the men during the non-training period. They very often work during that period under a private in their own company; their position is an exceedingly difficult one, and nothing that you can do will alter the fact that they have to earn their living in civilian life alongside the men in their own company. Now I come to the men in the Militia. We all know that the men are very short, that the greater part of them are either little boys or somewhat elderly men, and that the men who were the backbone of the Militia in times past—men between the ages of twenty and thirty years—have almost altogether disappeared from the force. There, again, you cannot successfully reduce your agricultural population, as we have done, without losing the men who provided your agricultural regiments with recruits.

It is easy to say that more pay will get you more men. Within reason no doubt that is so, but I would like to ask, with regard to pay, is the country prepared to give such pay as will honestly compete with the pay for skilled labour in civil life? I will take the case of the regiment which I have the honour to command. In that regiment I should think there are very few men who earn less than 5s. a day, and some who earn as much as £5 a week. No pay that the taxpayer of this country is prepared to give will compete with that class of labour. A certain number of those men will come out because they like soldiering and because they have the *esprit militaire* in them, but those are only a small proportion of the total population of this country. Suppose again, we say we are prepared to pay these men sufficient to compete with the labour market. In the first place, are you going to give them 5s. a day during the training? I do not think it is good that men should have 5s. a day during training. Many of these men are very young, and a lad of the working classes of seventeen or eighteen years of age is no more to be trusted with unlimited pocket money than one of your Lordships' sons. I think it would be disastrous if the pay were raised to any great extent during the training. If you are to give the men bounties which will make it worth their while to join the Militia, you will have to give them enough to live on during the non-training period, and you will thereby create a class of loafer who would be most undesirable to the country. The most important thing for a working man is continuity of employment. If he is serving in the Militia he must lose that continuity of employment, and the difficulty you will always have to encounter is that there is only a certain number of men who are therefore prepared to join the Militia.

I will now turn for a moment to the proposals which have been put forward by the Royal Commission for the improvement of the Militia force. They propose nothing which will give us more officers, nothing which will give us more non-commissioned officers or better non-commissioned officers, and nothing which will give us more men. The only proposal they make is for an increased training which will give us more efficiency. I do not see that those proposals, although they may benefit the few Militiamen who may remain, are likely to add at all largely to the numbers or eventually to the efficiency of the force. Now I come to the Volunteers. The same thing happens in the Volunteers. We have very few officers and very few non-commissioned officers, and neither the officers nor the non-commissioned officers are trained. Many of the regiments are short of men.

I was very much struck, when reading the most interesting but somewhat voluminous Blue-book containing the evidence, by one fact, that everybody agrees that the discipline of the Volunteers is excellent. I do not wonder at general officers who inspect them saying their discipline is excellent. The moment you are being inspected on parade by a general officer is not the moment when you show bad discipline. The officers commanding the regiments are in many cases old soldiers, and there, again, men do not as a rule select a commanding officer as the person to whom they will show any ebullition of feeling. I think everybody who looks at things impartially will say that it is impossible to have discipline, as I understand discipline, in a force raised and trained as the Volunteer Force is. I do not wish to be misunderstood in this matter, but I do not believe any Volunteer Force has any discipline at all in the way I understand military discipline. Good feeling is very excellent so far as it goes. In every one of your Lordships' households there is discipline, but that discipline is the result of good feeling. If your Lordships were to serve, we will say, cold meat and pickles for several nights in succession in the steward's room, that discipline would disappear and your staff would leave. That is how I look at the Volunteers. As long as they are asked to do what pleases them they do it, but when you ask them to do what they do not want to do, they absolutely decline.

I would refer your Lordships in support of that statement to what occurred in the year 1900, when this country was entirely denuded of Regular troops and a very large proportion of the Militia had been sent abroad. There was very considerable uneasiness in the country at that time, and the Volunteer Force was asked to come out and train for a month. They said they could not, but that a proportion of them would come out and train for a fortnight. A certain number did, receiving pay, separation allowances, and everything just as a Regular soldier would. I spent several months of that year on Salisbury Plain. A Volunteer brigade came down in purple and gold, consisting of 3,000 or 4,000 men, to train for a fortnight. They had four or five wet days, and 90 per cent. of the men went home. That is an absolute fact. I am obliged to think, however much I may respect the patriotism of the officers and the patriotism of very many of the men, that a force raised as the Volunteer Force is, and trained as that force is, is not one that we ought to reply upon for any offensive or defensive action. The Commission reports that the Volunteer Force is in that indifferent condition, and it says that practically we are not able to ask any more from the Volunteers; that they do as much as ever they can now, and if anything more is asked from them it will merely result in the force being disbanded.

I should like just to say one word with regard to the Commission itself. Like my noble friend below me, Lord Newton, I do not propose to go into the question of the composition of the Committee, but I will say this, that to the very best of my belief not one single gentleman on that Commission had ever pinned himself to any form of compulsory service. I believe they all approached the question with a perfectly open mind, and that they were convinced solely and only on the evidence. I venture to think that anyone who reads the evidence carefully will be similarly convinced. My noble friend below me has already alluded to what will be the reply of the noble Earl the Under-Secretary of State for War, and has said that he will assure us that it is un-English, and that is usually supposed to wipe away all argument in its favour. If there is one thing more than another in this world which is English it is this, for this was the one country in the world which invented compulsory service. In every other country the one object was to keep arms away from the people, but in this country the one effort of Parliament was to put arms into the hands of the people. Parliament has been for many hundreds of years legislating on this subject. It not only interfered with the business of individuals, but it interfered very largely with their pleasures. As I have said, this is the country which invented compulsory service, and no one has ever contended that it is not in the right of the Sovereign to claim the services of every able-bodied man in this country for the purpose of defence.

I believe our Regular Army was the first national army founded. Every other army was a mercenary army, largely composed of foreigners. Up to the end of the 18th century you practically had conscription, but it was confined to the pauper and criminal classes. Therefore, to say that compulsion for military service is un-English is to say what is not the fact. If the noble Earl the First Lord of the Admiralty was in his place to-day, he would, I am sure, readily admit that the Admiralty are never prepared to surrender their right of pressing men for the Fleet. In fact, I think I have heard that statement made in this House, and men were pressed for the Navy within the memory of persons still living. The elder Sir Colin Campbell, who was a general officer during the Peninsular War, was taken by the press-gang as he was coming out of Sadler's Wells Theatre; but, being a Scotsman, and an intelligent man, he had his commission in his pocket, and on producing it was released.

It is said that the country would not stand compulsory service. I believe that the working men of this country, certainly the middle-aged working men, would be strongly in favour of it. The middle-aged working man has always been pushed out of his employment by the younger man, and I think he would be exceedingly glad if those younger men were taken away and made to do a certain amount of soldiering. I think if I was going to fight a working-class constituency as a candidate for Parliament, I should carry the constituency by putting that point to the working men in a forcible manner. It seems to me that the lessons of the late war have been utterly forgotten. All sorts of legends and traditions have grown up in connection with that war. There is one extraordinary tradition which is placed in the forefront of all discussion on this subject, namely, that such is the immense patriotism of the British people that when there is a cry for soldiers they flock to arms at once.

Well, my Lords, is that the case? I do not find that there was such an amazing rush of people anxious and willing to die for their country in South Africa as is commonly stated. We sent a large number of troops to the front; some 450,000 men actually served in the South African War. Of that number 50,000 were raised in South Africa, so I will exclude them. Of the remaining 400,000, 265,000 were Regular troops, 60,000 were Militiamen, about 20,000 were Volunteers, and about 2,000 or 3,000 were Yeomen. The number of civilians who joined was infinitesimal. Some 8,000 civilians went out with the first lot of Yeomanry, many of them, I believe, old soldiers and ex-Volunteers and Militiamen; therefore, except the 5s. a day men, there was no great rush of gallant, patriotic souls to take up the burden. All that happened was this, that those who had done much before did more in the war, and that Militiamen and Volunteers, who had taken on their shoulders all the burden of home defence, volunteered also for foreign service. That was what happened in the late war, and I think the lesson is one which the Press of this country certainly has never seen fit to take any notice of whatever.

ome considerable amount of ridicule has been heaped upon the Royal Commission because they say invasion is either possible or impossible. It seems to me that that is the crux of the whole question. Invasion is either possible or it is impossible. If it is impossible, with my noble friend I say disband your Yeomanry, your Militia, and your Volunteers to-morrow; but if invasion is possible, then we have the very clearest evidence laid before us by an impartial Commission which went very carefully into the whole question, that the Auxiliary Forces we rely upon to repulse that invasion are absolutely unable to perform the work expected of them.

EARL BATHURST: My Lords, I have listened with considerable interest to the two speeches which have just been delivered, and as I have the honour to command a battalion of Militia, and have held that position for some seven years, you may imagine that I have the welfare of the old constitutional force deeply at heart, all the more so, because I feel that if unhappily this country should be involved in war with one or more foreign Powers, the defence of these shores would in a large measure depend on our Auxiliary Forces. The remarks made by my noble friend Lord Newton with reference to universal service are remarks in which I am afraid I cannot concur. I do not think the country is ready for universal service. It has been sprung upon us with more suddenness than even the great fiscal policy propounded last year, and I cannot believe that the electors will put themselves under the obligation to serve for two or three years, or whatever it is, at great inconvenience to themselves, or that they will stand such an upheaval of our everyday life.

I have read the Report of the Commission with some care, especially those paragraphs which have reference to the Militia Force, and on the whole I agree most distinctly with the recommendations which the Commission put forward in Clause 4 (a), and in Schedule A on page 17. I consider those are the first steps which the War Office should take in putting the Militia on a proper footing. I believe this would increase its efficiency and strength and improve it in every way. Lord Raglan has pointed out that the numbers of the Militia have very greatly decreased in the last few years. The reason for that is that the force has been for many years alternately despised, robbed of its best men, and, finally, reduced almost to a shadow. Your Lordships will remember in former years how the term Militiaman was almost a term of rebuke, and even at the present day, as stated by a colonel who gave evidence before the Commission—

"Young men who join the Militia are looked down upon when they go to the depot, and are called half soldiers, with the result that they go straight through to the Line."

When I say the Militia has been robbed of its best men I again refer your Lordships to evidence of the Commission, when another Colonel stated—

"The great idea of everybody at the depôt is get the Militiamen to enlist in the Line, and very often they give them a very hot time, although lots of people deny it."

The evidence of another colonel was to the effect that—

"The object of the Army is to get recruits out of the Militia."

Besides this every Militia officer knows that at the end of every training a recruiting sergeant is sent down, and he invariably carries off the best of that year's recruits. Another reason is that during the war Militia regiments were asked to make up the drafts which were sent out to the Line regiments. This they did, and when the time came for the Militia regiments to themselves go out they were in this position, that some of their best men had been already taken out of their ranks.

When I say that the Militia has been reduced to a shadow, I mean by that that some regiments are taken year after year to Salisbury Plain and to Aldershot, very often at a time of the year which does not suit the particular locality from which they come. I am glad this has been recognised now by the War Office, and it is also recommended by the Duke of Norfolk's Commission that battalions should not train away from their own area more than once in every three years. In spite of all these difficulties I think it will be acknowledged on all hands that the Militia came through the late war with a certain amount of credit, and can claim some part of the glory of our victorious Army.

I should like to draw attention to a subject which has been alluded to in the recommendations of the Commission—I refer to the Militia depots. I should like to see every battalion of Militia have its own depôt apart from the district depôt. I should like to see it under the command either of the colonel of the battalion or possibly a field officer. It should have its permanent staff to itself, and a captain and possibly a subaltern as well. It should train its recruits for six months, the period recommended in the Report of the Commission, and the men should be trained all the year round. I think this would be a distinct advantage, and during the winter months many men would avail themselves of the opportunity of training at the depots in their own particular area instead of at the regimental depots. The Militia depot would still be under the command of the officer commanding that district. I think the expense of this would be comparatively small, and it would be a means of increasing the efficiency and popularity of battalions in their own recruiting areas.

There are many rumours afloat as to what is to be the fate of the Militia according to the new programme of the War Office. There is a rumour that many regiments are to be abolished, that some are to be amalgamated, and there is another, a rumour that the War Office is going to increase the strength of the battalions and also increase the number of Militia regiments. There is a further rumour that brigades are going to be formed. If the last two rumours are correct, I only hope the increase in Militia regiments will be in the direction of increasing the field artillery and engineers. If the noble Earl, the Under-Secretary for War could enlighten us on that point, it would ease the minds of many now serving in Militia regiments. I rejoice in the fact that the Royal Commission has brought forward so many of our grievances, the chief among them being the recruiting question, the time and place of training, and the depletion of our ranks. I trust the labours of the Royal Commission will not be lost, but that His Majesty's Government will adopt the proposals embodied in Clause 4 and Schedule A of this Report.

THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON: My Lords, as one of those who are firmly convinced of the necessity of compulsory service in some form or other for the safety of the country, I hope I may be allowed to offer a few remarks on this subject. I associate myself most fully with what fell from the noble Lord who opened this discussion, and also with the views expressed by the noble Lord who followed him. There is one point, however, which Lord Newton mentioned which I think deserves a little more attention, and that is, that by the adoption of compulsory service the Navy would be put in a better position to carry out its proper functions. The noble Lord pointed out that in the year 1900 this country was almost totally denuded of Regular troops, a great portion of the Militia, and a considerable number of Volunteers. We were at that time engaged with an enemy who, fortunately for ourselves, was confined absolutely to its own country. But supposing we had been fighting a country which was also a sea Power, the danger then would have been very much increased, and it is very doubtful whether great pressure would not then have been put on the Navy to be used more in the nature of a coast defence than in the performance of its proper duties as an attacking force to attack the enemy's Navy. That, my Lords, I believe to be the principal reason why compulsory service is necessary for this country—namely, in order that the Navy may be absolutely free to perform its proper functions.

There is no doubt a very strong feeling against compulsory service in the country at the present moment. This is the only country in Europe where it does not exist. In most other countries it exists in a very severe form, and no doubt there is very great objection to it. On the other hand, there is one country which has a form of Militia service which is not objected to in any way. I refer to Switzerland. There every man has to go through a training in the Militia. It is not looked upon as any grievance whatever. They were able during the war in 1870 to maintain their frontier, and, in consequence of the excellent system which they have, they have never been in any danger of having their territory invaded even by their much stronger neighbours. I hope I may be allowed to congratulate the noble Duke at the head of the Commission on having the courage to put forward a proposition which at present, whatever it may be later on, is looked upon with great disfavour by the country.

*THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (The Earl of DONOUGHMORE): My Lords, the noble Lord who initiated this discussion and the noble Lord who followed him have given your Lordships what I might call a detailed outline of the speech I am supposed to be about to deliver, and were they happily possessed of the gift of prophecy, and were I about to use the term un-English and the various other phrases they have prescribed for me, it might be unnecessary for me to address your Lordships at the present moment; but as, unfortunately, my noble friends have not been as accurate in their prophecies as to what I propose to say as I should have wished, I find it necessary to address your Lordships for a short while. And perhaps I may be allowed to say that it would be most unfortunate for their case if the noble Lords' prophecies as to the future of the Volunteer Force were as empty as their prophecies with regard to my speech.

The speech of Lord Bathurst will have reminded your Lordships that there are, after all, two parts to this Report, two very distinct and very important parts. The noble Lord who started this discussion excluded the first part altogether and confined his remarks to the second part of the Report, which he characterised as the main recommendation of the Commission. It seems to me that the Commission regarded the two parts of the Report as being of equal importance. They did not say so in so many words, but both parts of the Report refer to different sides of the subject. The detailed recommendations with which my noble friend Lord Bathurst has already dealt, were calculated, in the opinion of the Commissioners, to bring the Militia and the Volunteers up to the necessary standard should it be intended to use Regular troops in association with them for the purpose of home defence, and the last part of the Report was solely put forward as an alternative should it be intended to denude the country of regular troops. It is not a fair description of the last part of the Report to say that it consists of the main recommendation of the Commission.

My noble friend, Lord Bathurst, has dealt with the first, and, if one calculates the number of pages comprised in it, the larger part of the Report, and has touched upon certain rumours which appear to have been afloat of late. I am not at all inclined to trust rumours, particularly about the War Office, and I hope my noble friend is of the same frame of mind. Your Lordships, I am sure, will remember that these recommendations have only been published three weeks. They were what we particularly wanted from the Commission. We have already gone into them in very great detail, and I do not mind going so far as to announce to your Lordships that we have ascertained that they would involve a considerable increase in the Estimates. It would, however, obviously be unreasonable that three weeks after the publication of this Report I should make a detailed statement as to how much of it we cannot carry out. It must be remembered that, whatever may be the future of the Auxiliary Forces, they must be regarded not as separate units, but as part of one homogeneous whole—namely, as part of the military forces of the Crown.

Coming to the second part of the Report, the first point in order which was touched upon by my noble friend. Lord Newton, was a point which he has already elaborated in the course of a correspondence in the public Press. He expressed the opinion that on the evidence it was impossible for the Commission to recommend anything but compulsory service for this country. I think I have some right to complain of the attitude that the noble Lord has taken up in this matter. He has already started a campaign in favour of this in the country, and I have here a copy of a letter which he sent to *The Times*, in which he states at far greater length than he did this afternoon the reasons that support him in the opinion he has given us, and he quotes no less than twenty-one witnesses who gave evidence before the Royal Commission as having been in favour of compulsory service.

LORD NEWTON: I could have quoted a great many more if necessary.

*THE EARL OF DONOUGHMORE: I am going to try to show that the noble Lord quoted too many as it was. I have analysed the evidence of the witnesses he quoted, and I find that of the twenty-one witnesses referred to, thirteen declared themselves in favour of compulsion, two wanted either compulsory service or the ballot, and six were in favour of the ballot. Compulsion and the ballot are almost contradictory proposals, and I say that on the authority of the greatest advocate there is in favour of the ballot, the noble Earl on the Cross Benches, the Earl of Wemyss; for I find in the evidence he gave before the Commission that he said—

> "The Militia ballot is quite distinct from conscription."

After all, the two things involve totally different principles. Under compulsion all are compelled to carry out a certain service. The ballot has been described by Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman as a combination of the pressgang and the roulette table. I do not know that I accept that as an entirely comprehensive definition; but, at any rate, the ballot compels certain people to perform obligations that it does not compel others to perform. It is not, therefore, quite fair to maintain that those who are in favour of the one system are thereby in favour of the other. One of the witnesses mentioned by the noble Lord in his letter to *The Times* expressly said that. My noble friend quotes Lord Methuen as being an advocate of compulsory service, but I find in his evidence that the noble and gallant Lord is all in favour of the ballot, and declared against compulsory service because he is of opinion that the people of this country do not want it and will not stand it. I have not, of course, had the opportunity of reading every word of the evidence, but I see that my friend Colonel O'Callaghan-Westropp, who was a member of the Commission and heard every word of the evidence, gives us a comprehensive testimony on this point. In his Report he states—

> "Scarcely any of our witnesses suggested that the entire male population ought to be swept into the ranks of the home defence Army."

I think that comment from a member of the Commission who was present at all the sittings considerably weakens the crusade my noble friend has already started in favour of compulsory service.

The Earl of Donoughmore.

LORD NEWTON: He signed the Majority Report.

*THE EARL OF DONOUGHMORE: But he presented a Minority Report, and the statement I have just quoted was taken from it. The next point touched upon by the noble Lord was as to whether conscription would be popular. My noble friend admits it would not be popular, and I think he rather glories in the fact. Undoubtedly, in his evidence before the Commission the noble Earl on the Cross Benches, Lord Wemyss, did glory in the fact that conscription would not be popular. He almost suggested that the people with whom it was not popular did not know what was good for them. The noble Lord who initiated this discussion is in a very strong position. He is here as an independent Member of your Lordships' House, having no constituents to bother him, and being totally irresponsible to everybody. That naturally places the noble Lord in a very strong position as regards popular feeling in this country. But the Government are not in that position. The Government have to consider popular opinion, and I find, on looking into the details of the noble Lord's private life, that he at one time recognised that fact. I have had some very interesting reading lately. I have been perusing the election addresses that the noble Lord issued while he was a candidate for a seat in the other House, and I find absolutely no mention of conscription for which the noble Lord is now so extremely keen.

LORD NEWTON: I was not prepared for so much interest in my past career, but as the noble Lord evinces so much interest in it I should like to point out that I ceased to be a Member of Parliament long before the Boer War; and before the Boer War I never heard of anybody outside a lunatic asylum who said that compulsion was necessary.

*THE EARL OF DONOUGHMORE: The noble Lord in the course of his speech said that during the last hundred years we have not been engaged in a life and death struggle, and, therefore, I really do not see how the occurrence of the Boer War can possibly have stimulated the noble Lord's opinion in the direction of the possibility of invasion. The noble Lord will recognise that the Government have to pay some attention to popular opinion in this matter; but, of course, that is not such an important point as the point whether conscription is necessary for home defence. The noble Lord mentioned a body of opinion that he called the "blue water school." I was unable from the noble Lord's description to recognise the opinions of any school that I have ever heard of up to the present. I would ask your Lordships to consider what are the main principles of our defence problem as it is at present. Think, my Lords, what our military problem is. The most important thing we have to think of is sending an Army across the sea to defend our outlying frontiers to reinforce India; and I was glad that my noble friend admitted it was impossible to contemplate doing that by a conscript Army. To carry out the duties which the existence of the Empire lays upon us we are at the present moment keeping up an extremely large standing Army. I do not think it is always realised that at the present moment, including the Indian Army, we have 450,000 men under arms, whereas France and Germany have each, I believe, only some 600,000 men under arms.

THE MARQUESS OF RIPON: Does that include the native Indian Army?

*THE EARL OF DONOUGHMORE: Yes. The second thing from a purely military point of view that we have to consider is provision against raids, trusting to the Navy to secure us from serious overwhelming invasion. The noble Duke on the Cross Benches has stated that our whole national existence is based on what I think he called the maintenance of sea supremacy, and we heartily adhere to that view. I consider that that is the main keynote to our defence problem. I know that there are two stock replies to that theory. There is first the reply that the Fleet might be decoyed away. I think there is rather too much tendency in this matter to characterise the Fleet as if it were one solitary, single unit. It is quite true that the Channel Fleet might be decoyed away; but that does not empty the North Sea and the Channel of all British ships; there would still remain a number of coast defence ships and a very large number of cruisers and torpedo boat destroyers, and the experience of only the past few days has demonstrated the extreme havoc that a small squadron of daring cruisers can play amongst a body of transports crossing a narrow channel. Even assuming, however, that the Fleet is decoyed away, and a foreign Army landed on our shores, what would happen? There is the danger that at any minute a powerful Fleet may come back and cut its communications. Your Lordships all know the remark that has been attributed to Moltke, that he could see hundreds of ways of getting into England and not one single way of getting out. I think that was a wise remark, and the wisdom of it remains obvious up to this day. The second reply to this theory is that our Fleet might be sunk, and we might completely lose command of the sea. That eventuality, of course, is possible, but I venture to think that if that did happen the only thing we could possibly do would be to make peace, for our food supply would be gone. There is a stock reply to that argument also: it is that food is not contraband of war. But my answer to that is that a few weeks ago the Russian Government declared food to be contraband of war during war with an island Power, and I cannot believe that any Power that had been so fortunate as to sink our Fleet would refrain from declaring food contraband of war.

Assuming, therefore, that we retain the supremacy of the sea, we have to provide against sudden raids. What is the real state of affairs as regards the Auxiliary Forces at this moment? We have two difficulties. First there is the difficulty of getting men, but there is also the far greater difficulty of making these men efficient when you have got them. After all, that can be read between the lines of almost every page of the Blue-books that have been published on the subject. I believe that a remedy for that state of affairs can be found, but I do not believe that it lies in conscription. There are two things that I think the advocates of conscription for home defence should remember. First of all, it must not be forgotten that we need an Army to go abroad—a voluntary Army; and before we finally make up our minds to have conscription we must absolutely assure ourselves that it will not interfere with our getting recruits for that voluntary Army. There is another thing which must not be forgotten, and it is this. The idea seems to be prevalent that if we adopted conscription for home defence to-morrow the Army Estimates would be reduced by about half. I believe that to be an entire fallacy. Not only would the Estimates not come down a half, but they would not be reduced at all. Your Lordships must not forget that you would have to pay your conscripts. I do not myself think that the country, if it stood conscription at all, would allow you for five minutes to force men to serve for nothing.

But there is this other question that arises. You would have to provide machinery for training the men that you would get by compulsory service. The officers employed could not be casual men who just came out for a few weeks for the purpose. They must be the most highly skilled and highly paid officers you can get, and encouraged to make their profession thoroughly scientific. You would have to provide, in addition to your Regular Army, officers to adequately train 380,000 recruits, which is the number that it is estimated would be forthcoming as part of your new home-service Army every year. The noble Duke who has just spoken is the chairman of a League known as the National Service League, and I was reading the other day a *précis* of the evidence they gave before the Royal Commission. They assume that there will be a saving of £3,000,000 on the present Army Estimates if the scheme they advocate is adopted. They assume that the adoption of their scheme would lead to a reduction of 30,000 in the Regular Army, and they put the reduction in the Estimates at £100 a man, which they call a very low estimate. At the present moment a private in the infantry costs the country £50 14s. 3d. per annum, or, if he is drawing service pay, £58 6s. 4d. I merely mention that to show how easy it is to make mistakes on this head.

What is it that is really responsible for a great deal of the force at the back of the arguments in favour of compulsory service? This is what Colonel O'Callaghan-Westropp in his Report says—

> "The question of compulsory military training has been before us *de die in diem.* Apart from its undoubted military advantages, the strongest recommendations which were urged were its moral, physical, and educational advantages to the nation at large."

I go further, my Lords, and say that I believe that three-fourths of the evidence in favour of conscription is given under a desire to see an improvement in the physical state of our people. Public opinion has been moved recently in regard to that question in various ways. Your Lordships will remember the Report of the Commission on Physical Education in Scotland. Not only has public opinion in this country been moved; public opinion on the Continent also has been roused to a consideration of the deterioration of the national physique owing to the growing habit of living more and more in towns. Sweden, as your Lordships are well aware, has a very highly developed system of physical education, and France, during the last six years, has made enormous progress in that direction. I can assure your Lordships that His Majesty's Government are every bit as earnest in favour of reforms in this direction as the Governments to which I have referred.

I had the opportunity only this afternoon of discussing this subject with the noble Marquess the President of the Board of Education. Lord Londonderry informed me that a Committee is at this moment considering the whole subject, and that he anticipates receiving their Report in a very short time. The noble Marquess himself is most eager to see improvements in this branch of the subject, which is under his charge. He is most eager to further it in every possible way, but he is as convinced as other members of the Government are that this desire for physical exercises should be encouraged from the educational standpoint and not from the military standpoint. We are already getting very great advantages from the progress made of late years in this direction, and we anticipate even greater progress in the future. We hope to see these benefits conferred on all without having to urge the adoption of such principles as are advocated by the Royal Commission and by my noble friend Lord Newton, principles the adoption of which we believe to be entirely unnecessary and not called for by the necessities of the case.

*THE EARL OF CREWE: My Lords, I think there will be a general agreement that the debate initiated by my noble friend opposite has been of an interesting and instructive character. Your Lordships' House always listens with pleasure to the noble Lord who called attention to this subject, particularly because, while complaining as he does that people will not call things by their proper names, he calls things of which he disapproves by names which, though they cannot be described as otherwise than proper, yet are in the highest degree pointed and trenchant. The noble Earl the Under-Secretary of State for War called attention to a singular omission in the speech of my noble friend, who devoted the whole of his observations to that part of the recommendation in the Report of the Royal Commission which deals with compulsory service, and made no allusion whatever to the other exceedingly important positive recommendations which the Report contains. Those recommendations have been dealt with in the speech of the noble Lord opposite (Earl Bathurst), and I need not describe them in any detail. But the noble Lord who initiated this discussion made merry over what he called exhibitions of sympathy which were in his opinion useless for improving the condition of the Auxiliary Forces. I would point out that those recommendations are not mere exhibitions of sympathy. They are of a highly technical and practical character, and before we look elsewhere we should certainly desire to feel certain that those recommendations had failed to achieve the object which they were intended to advance. In the two Schedules A and B of the main Report, dealing with the Militia and the Volunteers, there are in the first case no less than sixteen positive recommendations, and in the case of the Volunteers twenty-eight positive recommendations. In addition to these we have the separate Report, alluded to by the noble Lord opposite, of Colonel O'Callaghan-Westropp. That Report seems to me to be of the most interesting and weighty character. This gentleman, who has had a long and important experience as commanding officer of Militia, not merely knows what he wants, but is able to express his wishes in the most admirable English, and it is from no disrespect to the Commission as a whole that I confess that to me, as a civilian reading this Report, no part exceeded in interest those special recommendations made by Colonel O'Callaghan-Westropp.

Lord Newton was followed by the noble Lord, Lord Raglan, who, I hope, will allow me to express the pleasure we all feel at seeing him once more in renewed health and addressing the House with no less vigour than that which he employed when sitting on the Front Bench not so very long ago. I trust he will allow me to congratulate him on having made an excellent speech, which did deal with the facts of the case, although there were points in it to which I think exception might be taken. It seemed to me he was in error in concluding from what he considered a want of national enthusiasm among those who might have been expected to volunteer for service in South Africa—which I confess I did not know myself existed—that there might be a similar lukewarmness in case of invasion. The two things are incompatible for the purposes of comparison. You might as well attempt to compare the resistance that was offered by the French when their country was invaded in 1870–1871 by the Germans to the unwillingness with which they volunteered for service in Tonquin.

There was one comparison of interest made by the Duke of Wellington. He alluded to the practice in Switzerland, and seemed, I think, to indicate that those are the lines on which we might proceed, although that is not the view of those who drew up the Report. I would remind the noble Duke that the conditions existing in Switzerland differ very largely from those in this country.

If we had no Army for foreign service I think it is very possible that, in our insular position, we might do well enough with a citizen Army of the Swiss type, but I do not believe it would be possible to combine an Army of that type with our regular foreign-service Army of a purely professional character. When my noble friend, Lord Newton, drew, as he did, a distinction between a voluntary and a professional Army, I confess I did not know what meaning to attach to his words.

I pass to the remarks which were made by the noble Earl the Under-Secretary of State for War, and I feel that the House is not entitled to complain that he did not let us a little more freely into the secrets of the War Office. We should have been glad, no doubt, to hear what are the general propositions of the Secretary of State for War with regard to the reorganisation of the Army and the defence of the country, but we frankly admit we did not expect to hear them from the mouth of the Under-Secretary on this occasion. But, in stating this, I make this reservation, that our contentment with this state of things depends upon the hope, which I trust will not prove an illusory one, that sooner or later during the progress of the present session we shall have that statement from the highest authority, because there has been, as we all know, no considerable degree of delay and postponement in this matter. If we could get an assurance from the noble Marquess, the Leader of the House, that that statement will be made before the close of the session, it would be certainly a matter of great satisfaction to us all.

I say without hesitation that we on this side of the House listened with the utmost satisfaction to the noble Earl's very clear statement of the problem of defence as presented to this country. The problem of defence presents itself to my noble friend Lord Newton in an entirely different light from that which I venture to think it does to the bulk of his fellow-countrymen, because he regards the fact that we are in an insular position as unimportant and irrelevant to the situation. The noble Lord never makes a speech without saying something original, but that, I venture to think, is nearly the most original observation I have heard, not only from him, but from anyone. The noble Earl, the Under-Secretary, dealt so fully and fairly with the naval problem that I do not propose to say anything about it. It is, of course, the fact that if we definitely lost command of the sea our 350,000 one-year trained men would not be very much use against the 500,000 or 600,000 two or three-year trained men who could be poured into this country by some great European Power. As the noble Earl very truly said, if we definitely lose command of the sea, make terms we must on any conditions our enemy is willing to grant.

The Earl of Crewe.

But that is not the way in which the problem presents itself to us. I entirely agree that the problem which the Defence Committee has to meet represents the possibility of a raid during the temporary absence of some part of the Fleet, and with that subject the noble Earl dealt, as I think, with great fulness. In conclusion he made an interesting statement, to which I personally attach great importance, as to the possibility of meeting the undoubted demand in this country for improved physical training by methods which, though they may be somewhat military in character, should be rather educational than military in spirit. I listened with great interest to what the noble Earl said as to his conversation with the President of the Board of Education on this subject, and I hope the time will not be very long before we have some definite assurance that something is being seriously done in the matter.

THE DUKE OF NORFOLK: My Lords, I was anxious not to intervene in this debate, because I and those who sat with me on the Commission devoted considerable time to this very difficult problem, and we felt that whereas it was very natural that the noble Lord should bring this matter before your Lordships' House, it was hardly for us to come down here and go over the ground again, and try by speeches to force our opinions upon the House. But I rise to explain one point referred to by the noble Earl the Under-Secretary. The noble Earl suggested that the right way to look at the

Report of the Commission was in its putting forward of two alternatives. One alternative dealt with certain practical suggestions to be adopted at once, and which, if adopted, would make the Auxiliary Forces able to undertake duty in the case of invasion, provided always that they had a large body of Regular troops with them. Another alternative referred to the method which could only be achieved by compulsion, but which would not be needed unless the Regular Forces were away from the country at that period. If I were to allow that statement to pass unchallenged it might be thought that the Commissioners regarded the Report as presenting two alternatives. That was not what we intended to convey.

The task committed to the Commission was to report to the Crown what changes were required to make the Auxiliary Forces adequate for their work, and we found that we were confronted with two difficulties. The first was what would make the forces adequate, and the second what it was possible to achieve, looking at the present organisation of the Auxiliary Forces. What we reported on in what the noble Earl called the first part of the Report was as to the utmost we thought it possible to extract from the Militia and the Volunteers on their present organisation and in their surrounding circumstances. Having done that, we were bound, in justice to the questions put to us, to state that even if the suggestions were carried out those forces would still not be adequate. We did state that if supported by Regular troops, we believed that they would be efficient and valuable auxiliaries; but even then it was not certain that they would be competent to do the work they had to do in the absence of the Regular Forces. Within the limits imposed upon these forces by their organisation nothing could be done which would bring them up to the level of efficiency required.

This was an important consideration, which weighed strongly with us from two points of view. In the first place the Committee of Defence had told us, in answer to an inquiry, that we must bear in mind the fact that probably the Auxiliary Forces, if called upon, would be called upon to serve when the Regular Forces were out of the country. Though that statement was given to the Commissioners, we had a much more practical reason in our minds for believing this to be the case than any statement that could be made. This was the remembrance of how quite recently during the Boer War the country had been denuded of its Regular Army. That was the very serious problem before us; and bearing in mind the statements of Ministers of the Crown in both Houses of Parliament, and receiving that reiterated assertion from the Committee of Defence, that the adequacy on which we had to report was an adequacy not of auxiliaries, but of troops to defend the country when the Regular troops were away, we felt bound to state the conclusion to which we came very reluctantly, but with a very firm conviction, that it would not be possible, on the present organisation, to bring the Militia and the Volunteers to the point adequately to defend the country, and we could suggest no means unless compulsion were brought to bear for its solution. All the members of the Commission were unanimous on the point that some form of compulsion was necessary. No question of the physique of the rising generation entered into our consideration. I cannot help expressing my conviction, my Lords, that if you trust to the present military organisation for home defence you will be leaning on a prop which will fail when the day of trial comes.

*THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (The Marquess of LANSDOWNE): My Lords, we have been asked whether we might hope, by an early date, to present the proposals of the Secretary of State for War for dealing with this problem. I am unable to tell your Lordships when those proposals will be forthcoming, but we have every hope that they may be in the hands of the public before long, and then, of course, they will be subject to be dealt with in your Lordships' House in any manner your Lordships may think fit. I am anxious to make it as clear as I can to the House, that if it be the case that we have been unable to agree with the Royal

Commission in all its conclusions, we are very far indeed from treating their Report with anything but that respect to which it is entitled, and still further from casting upon it, as was suggested, something like contempt or ridicule. But, my Lords, we do think we have a right to ask Parliament to give us time to consider those most important proposals. I am almost inclined to remind your Lordships of our experience during the last two or three years and of the necessity in which we have found ourselves to reconsider some military proposals which were, I believe, unanimously demanded at the time by the country, which we could not abstain from making, but which, on more mature examinations, we were obliged to modify in many important respects.

The Report of this Commission has been only a few weeks in our hands. It certainly cannot be represented as a unanimous Report. I think there are half-a-dozen different documents in the Blue-book, and many of the proposals—some at any rate—seem to us of a very doubtful character.

THE DUKE OF NORFOLK: I did not say the Report was unanimous. What I said was that all the members of the Commission were unanimous on the point that some form of compulsion was necessary.

*THE MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE: I can assure the noble Duke that my observation was not directed at him, but I wished to establish the fact that we had before us a considerable number of Reports which, from the mere fact of their being separate Reports, obviously disclosed a certain divergence of opinion. With regard to the suggestion, supported by a majority of the Commission, that compulsory service should be introduced, I do not think we have misapprehended what the Commission in its main Report, has recommended to us, and I think my noble friend beside me correctly represented to your Lordships the real purport of their recommendations. They are summarised in the 67th paragraph of the Report, which is to this effect, that if the Militia and the Volunteer Forces are to continue to be, as they have hitherto been, Auxiliary Forces, for the purpose of resisting, in conjunction with the Regular Army, the forces of an invader, the changes set forth in Section IV. of this Report will prepare them for that duty. With regard to the further recommendation that compulsion in some form or another should be resorted to, we must bear in mind that that recommendation was made upon a two-fold hypothesis—in the first place, on the assumption that the country was denuded of Regular troops, and, in the next place, that the Government had come to the conclusion that invasion, as distinguished from a mere raid, was within the bounds of possibility. Those are two very extensive hypotheses, and they are not the class of problem which in our estimation had been referred to the Commission. If the reference to the Commission was obscure we greatly regret it, but we certainly understood that they were invited to report rather on the question of the measures which were necessary in order to maintain the popularity and the efficiency of the Auxiliary Forces than upon those much deeper and more complicated problems which have been touched upon during the debate and in parts of the Report.

I am bound to say, reading the Report, that it does seem to me that there was something almost pathetic in the way the Commission endeavoured to obtain enlightenment. They appealed first to the War Office for certain information, and they were afterwards told that that information was not to be accepted as wholly authoritative; they then appealed piteously to the Admiralty, and still failing to obtain what they required, they turned in despair to the Committee presided over by the noble Duke on the Cross Benches, and were gently informed—I have no doubt with absolute propriety—that the Royal Commission was poaching on the domain of the Committee of Imperial Defence, and that they must be content to make their recommendations upon certain more or less bald assumptions which were afforded to it for its information.

THE DUKE OF NORFOLK: Had we understood that the word "adequacy" meant "popularity" we should not have prosecuted our inquiry.

*THE MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE: To my mind the reasonable interpretation was that the conditions of service should be such as to attract a sufficient number of men to the colours. Whilst I regret that there has been any misunderstanding in that respect, I associate myself with noble Lords who have expressed their high appreciation of the manner in which the Commission dealt with a number of other points—those, namely, which relate to the efficiency and popularity of the Auxiliary Forces. Those recommendations are under the examination of the Secretary of State; and I am able to say that, far from desiring to sweep them on one side or treat them with anything but respect, they are regarded as proposals of a very practical and valuable character, and that they will be accepted, at any rate, as the basis for consideration. But the fifty-four specific recommendations cover an immense extent of ground, and there is scarcely one of them which does not between the lines spell expenditure. I need not say it is impossible for us to accept *en bloc* and without a great deal more examination than we have been able to give them a series of proposals of such a kind.

Your Lordships may, however, safely assume that the Report of the noble Duke's Commission will do a great deal to secure for the Auxiliary Forces an amount of consideration which we have certainly of late desired to give them, but which I am bound to confess it seems to me they have not sufficiently received for many years past. Reference has been made to the events of the South African War. To my mind one of the most valuable lessons which this country has learnt from that war is that we must take our Auxiliary Forces much more seriously than we have been in the habit of doing. They have been in past years admitted to our table, but they have been admitted below the salt. I am tempted in support of what I have said to quote a somewhat interesting statement which is referred to in the body of the Report, and which was made by Colonel Le Roy Lewis, a gallant officer who has had considerable experience in the War Office on the military side. He told the Commission that—

> "In the Adjutant-General's department for the last ten years there has never been a proposal for fresh expenditure included in his schedule to be made on behalf of the Auxiliary Forces except, I may say, some of the most trifling nature, and those were invariably in order to help the organisation of the Regular Forces. . . . The official head, the soldier who really controls these things and who ought to initiate them, will never do so if he has got to consider both Regular and Auxiliary problems together."

That not incorrectly represents a condition of things which prevailed not very long ago. But I believe that that state of things has entirely passed away, and that we may look forward to seeing these Auxiliary Forces to which we have owed so much given the place in our military system to which they are entitled. Our policy is to treat them as an integral part of the Army, relying on them largely for purposes of home defence, to spare no pains to increase their efficiency, and, if it be necessary, to diminish those portions of them only which can be clearly shown to be redundant and incompetent. That is our policy, and it is that which we believe to be best calculated to advance the interests of the Auxiliary Forces.

THE MARQUESS OF RIPON: My Lords, I do not rise to prolong this debate for more than a few minutes. When I came down to the House I had it in contemplation to make some observations on compulsory service, but the able statement of the noble Earl the Under-Secretary so completely represented my views upon that subject that, being a somewhat old Parliamentary hand, I know that nothing would be more foolish than that I should attempt to repeat with less force and certainly with less authority that which he has said so well. Neither do I desire to make any complaint against the Government because they have not gone into the details of Militia and Volunteer organisation at the present moment. Of course, they could not have done so. It would not have been advantageous to the public or to the House, and certainly it would have been unfair to the Secretary of State for War, to have anticipated the statement he is to make. But it is with regard to the date of that statement that I want a little more information. My noble friend is always cautious; he was rather more cautious than usual in what he said upon that point. I do not ask or expect him to say that the statement is to be made upon a particular day next week or the week after. What I think we have a right to know is whether a full statement will be made during the present session. That gives plenty of time for the consideration of the matter. The question is one which ought not to be hung up for another six months. There can be no legitimate reason why the statement should not be made before Parliament separates, and my noble friend and His Majesty's Government must not think that the Opposition or the public will be satisfied unless a full statement is made at no distant date.

House adjourned at ten minutes before Seven o'clock, till To-morrow, half-past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Monday, 27th June, 1904.

The House met at Two of the Clock.

UNOPPOSED PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

South Western and Isle of Wight Junction Railway (Extension of Time) Bill. Lords Amendment considered, and agreed to.

Bexhill Water and Gas Bill; Harrow Road and Paddington Tramways Bill; London, Tilbury, and Southend Railway Bill. Lords Amendments considered, and agreed to.

Leicestershire and Warwickshire Electric Power Bill [Lords]. Read the third time, and passed, with Amendments.

London County Council (General Powers) Bill. As amended, to be considered To-morrow.

Matlock and District Gas Bill [Lords]. As amended, considered; to be read the third time.

King's College Hospital Bill [Lords]; Manchester Ship Canal Bill [Lords]; Trafford Park Bill [Lords]. Read a second time, and committed.

Drainage and Improvement of Lands (Ireland) Provisional Order Bill; Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 4) Bill. Read the third time, and passed.

Education Board Provisional Order (Cardiff) Bill; Education Board Provisional Order Confirmation (London) Bill [Lords]. As amended, considered; to be read the third time To-morrow.

Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 1) Bill; Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 2) Bill; Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 3) Bill. As amended, considered; read the third time, and passed.

Glasgow Corporation (Police) Order Confirmation. Bill to confirm a Provisional Order, under The Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899, relating to the Glasgow Corporation (Police), ordered to be brought in by The Lord Advocate and Mr. A. Graham Murray.

Glasgow Corporation (Police) Order Confirmation Bill. "To confirm a Provisional Order, under The Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899, relating to the Glasgow Corporation (Police)," presented accordingly, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Tuesday, 5th July, and to be printed. [Bill 240.]

Milwr and District Mines Drainage Bill [Lords]. Reported, with Amendments; Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed.

County of Suffolk Bill. Ordered, That the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills do examine the County of Suffolk Bill with respect to compliance with the Standing Orders relative to Private Bills.—(*Sir Cuthbert Quilter.*)

MESSAGE FROM THE LORDS.

That they have agreed to—Education Board Provisional Order (Swansea) Bill; Local Government Provisional Orders

(No. 5) Bill; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 6) Bill; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 7) Bill; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 8) Bill; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 12) Bill; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 14) Bill; Local Government Provisional Order (No. 15) Bill; Local Government Provisional Orders (Gas) Bill; Donegal Railway Bill; Mullingar, Kells, and Drogheda Railway Bill, without Amendment.

Great Northern Railway Bill, with Amendments.

That they have passed a Bill, intituled, "An Act to amend The Married Women's Property Act, 1882." [Married Women's Property Act (1882) Amendment Bill [Lords.]

Also, a Bill, intituled, "An Act to regulate and restrict the wearing of Naval and Military Medals and Decorations." [Naval and Military Medals Bill [Lords.]

Also, a Bill, intituled, "An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Gas and Water Works Facilities Act, 1870, relating to Grays Gas, Hedon Gas, Northampton Gas, Rochford Gas, and Romford Gas." [Gas Orders Confirmation (No. 2) Bill [Lords.]

Also, a Bill, intituled, "An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under The Gas and Water Works Facilities Act, 1870, relating to St. Margaret's Gas, Stirling Gas, Waltham Abbey and Cheshunt Gas, Worsbroughdale and Worsbrough Gas, and Worthing Gas." [Gas Orders Confirmation (No. 3) Bill [Lords.]

Also, a Bill, intituled, "An Act to authorise the Barry Railway Company to provide and work Steam Vessels and to subscribe to the funds of any Steamship Company; to raise additional capital; and for other purposes." [Barry Railway (Steam Vessels) Bill [Lords.]

Also, a Bill, intituled, "An Act to constitute and incorporate a joint water board consisting of representatives of the Oakengates and Dawley Urban District Councils in the county of Salop; and for other purposes." [Oakengates and Dawley Joint Water Board Bill [Lords.]

And, also, a Bill, intituled, "An Act to authorise the Corporation of Manchester to construct tramways and street widenings within and beyond the city; to confer further powers upon the Corporation and neighbouring authorities with respect to the exercise of powers relating to tramways works and electricity within and beyond the city; and for other purposes." [Manchester Corporation Tramways Bill [Lords.]

Leith Corporation Tramways Order Confirmation Bill. That they have appointed a Committee consisting of Three Members to join with a Committee of the Commons to consider the Leith Corporation Tramways Order Confirmation Bill, pursuant to Message of this House.

Barry Railway (Steam Vessels) Bill [Lords]; Oakengates and Dawley Joint Water Board Bill [Lords]; Manchester Corporation Tramways Bill [Lords]. Read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

Gas Orders Confirmation (No. 2) Bill [Lords]. Read the first time; referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, and to be printed. [Bill 241.]

Gas Orders Confirmation (No. 3) Bill [Lords]. Read the first time; referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, and to be printed. [Bill 242.]

PETITIONS.

BOROUGH COUNCIL ELECTIONS (HOURS OF POLLING).

Petition from Battersea, for legislation; to lie upon the Table.

LICENSING BILL.

Petitions against; from Abberfraw; Ainstable; Anglesey; Battersea; Bedminster; Billesdon; Birmingham; Bishop's Froome; Bishopthorpe; Bolenowe; Bollington; Bolton (two); Braithwaite; Brampton (two); Bridgend; Bridlington; Broad Chalk; Brough; Bury St. Edmunds; Camborne; Clapham Common; Chorley; Clayton West; Cockermouth; Croglin; Danby; Darcy

Lever; Downham Market; Dowlais; Earlsfield; Feltwell; Glasgow; Gorton; Greenock; Guisborough; Hessle; High Barnet; Hornsey; Hull; Hyde Park (sixteen); Illogan; Illogan Downs; Kehelland; Kingsland; Kilwinning; Kirkoswald; Lancaster; Llandensant; Llanelly; Llanfachreth; Low Row; Luston; Merthyr Tydfil; Merton; Monkseaton; Morecambe; Mountain Ash; Newcastle-on-Tyne; Newcastle Town Moor; Nine Elms; Northwold; Openshaw; Pengegon; Penponds; Penzance; Peterborough; Perranarworthal; Plymouth; Pontypool; Pool; Poppleton; Rathmell; Renwick; Rhondda Fawr (two); Risbury; Rochdale (two); Runcorn; Sancred; Scaling; Shobdon; Skerton; Southampton (eleven); South Molton; South Wales Temperance Union; South-West London; Springville; Sutton Bonnington; Swansea; Tuckingmill; Troon; Walkden (two); Whittlebrook; Winchester; Winkleigh; Wix; Woodford Green (two); Wrington; and Yarpole; to lie upon the Table.

LICENSING BILL.

Petitions for alteration; from London (two); Rochester; Shrewsbury; and Wells; to lie upon the Table.

LOCAL AUTHORITIES (TAXATION AND PURCHASE OF LAND) BILL.

Petition from Battersea, in favour; to lie upon the Table.

RE-VACCINATION BILL.

Petition from Cardigan, against; to lie upon the Table.

VALUATION BILL.

Petitions against; from Rochdale; and Thirsk; to lie upon the Table.

VALUATION BILL.

Petition from North Wales, for alteration; to lie upon the Table.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

TRUSTEE SAVINGS BANKS.

Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 21st June; *Mr. Mount*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 224.]

REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE (ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, AND IRELAND).

Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 12th April; *Mr. Lough*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 225.]

FACTORY AND WORKSHOP ACTS (SPECIAL EXCEPTIONS—MEAL HOURS IN IRON AND STEEL FOUNDRIES).

Copy presented, of Order, dated 23rd June, 1904, made by the Secretary of State for the Home Department in pursuance of Section 40 (4) of The Factory and Workshop Act, 1901, extending the Special Exceptions as to Meal Hours to male young persons employed in Iron and Steel Foundries, and repealing the Order of the 14th July, 1903 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

UNIVERSITIES (SCOTLAND) ACT, 1889 (ORDINANCE).

Copy presented, of University Court Ordinance No. X. (Aberdeen No. 2) (Regulations for the Degree of Doctor of Science in Agriculture, D. Sc. (Agr.) [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 226.]

ELECTRIC LIGHTING ACTS, 1882 TO 1902 (PROCEEDINGS).

Copy presented, of Report by the Board of Trade respecting the Applications to and Proceedings of the Board of Trade under the Electric Lighting Acts, 1882 to 1902, during the past year [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 227.]

TRADE REPORTS (ANNUAL SERIES).

Copies presented, of Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Annual Series, Nos. 3194 to 3197 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

PAPERS LAID UPON THE TABLE BY THE CLERK OF THE HOUSE.

1. Inquiry into Charities (County of Lancaster). Further Return relative thereto [ordered 3rd August, 1898; *Mr. Grant Lawson*]; to be printed. [No. 228.]

2. Public Records (War Office). Copy of Sixth Schedule containing a List and Particulars of Classes of Documents pertaining to the office of His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the War Department, and deposited in the Public Record Office, but which are not considered of sufficient public value to justify their preservation therein [by Act].

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

Floggings by Police—Weight of Birch.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL (Donegal, S.): To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department what is the weight of the birch used by the police in the infliction of floggings.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Akers-Douglas.*) It does not rest with me to prescribe a standard of weight for birches to be used by police under the direction of magistrates, and my information as to the practice in the matter is confined to the Metropolitan Police District, where I understand the weight of the birches used (for boys under fourteen years of age) does not exceed six ounces.

Schull Mail Service.

MR. GILHOOLY (Cork County, W.): To ask the Postmaster-General whether he is aware that the mails for Schull, county Cork, arriving at Skibbereen at 2.15 p.m., are not delivered at Schull until the next morning, though a train leaves Skibbereen at 6.30 p.m. by which they could be conveyed; and, if so, whether, in view of the importance of Schull as a fishing station, he will arrange for an evening postal delivery there.

(*Answered by Lord Stanley.*) I am aware that there is no day mail service to Schull. When the question of improving the service was last considered it was found that additional expense for the purpose would not be warranted, but I will have fresh inquiry made with a view of ascertaining whether there has been any change in the circumstances, and I will acquaint the hon. Member with the result.

South African War Contribution.

MR. WHITLEY (Halifax): To ask the First Lord of the Treasury if His Majesty's Government still adheres to the statement of the Member for West Birmingham on 6th May, 1903, that the arrangements made by him with regard to the thirty millions War Contribution were connected with and conditional upon the thirty-five millions Guaranteed Loan, and that the whole arrangement was to be treated together; and, if so, what action is proposed to be taken.

(*Answered by Mr. A. J. Balfour.*) His Majesty's Government does adhere to the statement referred to, and when the time appears to be opportune for the fulfilment of the conditions under which the arrangement was made such steps for giving effect to it as may be expedient will be taken.

Length of Speeches.

SIR CARNE RASCH (Essex, Chelmsford): To ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether he is aware that two speeches occupied three hours of Parliamentary time on Friday, 17th June, leaving two hours only for the remaining 677 Members; and whether he will propose such Amendments to the Standing Orders as will insure a more equitable distribution of the time on days on which non-Government Bills or Notices of Motion have precedence.

(*Answered by Mr. A. J. Balfour.*) I am aware that on the Committee stage of various Bills, speeches of considerable length have recently been delivered. They have not been on all occasions in conformity with the spirit of Committee discussion but, as my hon. friend knows, though, admitting the evil of which he complains, I have never been able to satisfy myself as to the remedy which should be applied.

The Finance Bill and Trade in Tobacco Strips.

MR. MUNRO FERGUSON (Leith, Burghs): To ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether he is aware that the trade in tobacco strips in the United Kingdom is entirely suspended in view of the Budget proposals, and that merchants are thereby involved in loss; and whether, in view of the necessity for concluding transactions which are now arrested, he will fix an early day for continuing the consideration of the Finance Bill.

(*Answered by Mr. A. J. Balfour.*) I am quite aware that great inconvenience has been caused to the trade by the prolongation of the Debates on the Finance

Bill. I had fully hoped that a decision would have been reached on Wednesday last; but, unfortunately, that was postponed, and I may remind the hon. Gentleman that the postponement took place at his own suggestion.

Right of British-Indian Subjects to Trade in the Transvaal.

Mr. HERBERT ROBERTS (Denbighshire, W.): To ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether, in view of the decision of the Chief Justice in the Transvaal Supreme Court with reference to the right of British-Indian subjects to trade in any part of the Transvaal, he is now in a position to state what steps will be taken to give effect to this decision by the removal of existing restrictions upon their trade.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Lyttelton.*) I am in telegraphic communication with Lord Milner on the subject, but I cannot at present add anything to the Answer which I gave on Thursday last to the hon. Member for Bethnal Green.†

Outbreak of Beri-Beri amongst Chinese Coolies in South Africa.

Mr. JOHNSON (Gateshead): To ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he is yet able to give any information as to the extent and the cause of the outbreak of beri-beri among the Chinese coolies engaged for the Rand mines.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Lyttelton.*) I desire to answer at the same time a Question of which I have received private notice from the hon. Member for West Newington. I have not yet received the information for which I telegraphed to Lord Milner, and I regret, therefore, that I am unable to answer the hon. Member's inquiries. I telegraphed again on Saturday. The first telegram was written on the 22nd, but owing to an accident did not leave the office until the 23rd.

Treatment of Chinese Labourers at Durban.

Major SEELY (Isle of Wight): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies by whose authority and under what Act the Chinese labourers recently imported into South Africa have been confined in compounds guarded by special police at Durban in the colony of Natal.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Lyttelton.*) The action has no doubt been taken under the authority of the Natal Government, and under Natal Legislation. I have inquired of the Officer Administering the Government as to the Act under which action has been taken.

Chinese Labour in South Africa—Local Protest.

Major SEELY: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether his attention has been called to the fact that at a congress held in Pretoria on 23rd of May, attended by about 150 delegates, representing a large proportion of the white inhabitants of the Transvaal, a resolution protesting against the importation of Chinese labour into the Transvaal was passed without a single dissentient speech or vote; and, if so, whether, in view of these circumstances, he will now direct that a vote of the white inhabitants be taken in order to decide the matter.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Lyttelton.*) My attention has been drawn to the proceedings of the congress and to the resolution referred to, which approves the message from the Boer leaders printed at page 21 of Cd. 1899. I am not prepared to take the action suggested, for the reasons given in my reply to the message which is printed at page 22.

Stornaway and Mallaig Mail Delays.

Mr. WEIR (Ross and Cromarty): I beg to ask the Postmaster-General if he will state on how many occasions during the present year the Stornaway mail steamer has been late in her arrival at Stornaway and Mallaig, respectively; and will he say how often the delay exceeded half an hour.

(*Answered by Lord Stanley.*) During the period from the 1st January last to the 16th instant the mail steamer from Kyle was late in arrival at Stornaway on 120 occasions, although in some cases the delay was only a very few minutes. The lateness exceeded half an hour on twenty-three occasions. With regard to the inward voyage the contract service ends at Kyle, and during the period in question the steamer was late in arrival at that place on four occasions, on each of which the lateness exceeded half an hour. I have no control whatever over the voyage south of Kyle.

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† See page 987

Book-Post Rates to Canada.

SIR JOHN LENG (Dundee): I beg to ask the Postmaster-General whether it has been brought to his notice that the postage of printed matter from New Orleans to Alaska costs only one cent per pound, while the charge from London to Montreal is eight cents per pound; if so, whether, seeing that the difference in postage is such as practically to double the price of British publications in Canada as against similiar American publications and so lead to a much larger circulation of the latter, and in view of the desire of the Canadian people to receive British and American publications on equal terms, he will consider the expediency of equalising British with American postage.

(*Answered by Lord Stanley.*) I am aware that certain kinds of printed matter, posted under specified conditions by publishers or newsagents in the United States of America, are subject to a postage of one cent per pound. Papers sent from New Orleans to Alaska would, like papers sent between other parts of the United States, and also from those States to Canada, have the advantage of this inland rate. Printed matter sent from London to Montreal is subject to the rate (½d. per two ounces) which applies not only to printed papers, other than registered newspapers, sent from one part of the United Kingdom to another, but to those sent to any other part of the world. Any reduction of this rate would necessarily have to be of a general character; and I am not prepared to recommend it in view of the serious loss of revenue which would be involved.

Postal Servants and Trade Unions.

MR. BELL (Derby): To ask the Postmaster-General whether, in view of the repeated assurances made to postal telegraphists that they have perfect freedom with reference to joining trade unions, and that officials of the Postal Telegraph Clerks' Association are not treated differently to others, he will direct that an investigation be made into the administration of the telegraph service at Hanley with a view to preventing the treatment meted out to members of the Postal Telegraph Clerks' Association.

(*Answered by Lord Stanley.*) I have had special inquiry made on the subject, and I am satisfied that, in the treatment of the officers of the telegraph staff at Hanley, no difference whatever is made between those who are members of the Postal Telegraph Clerks' Association and those who are not.

American Mail Routes.

MR. TANKERVILLE CHAMBERLAYNE (Southampton): To ask the Postmaster-General whether, in view of the fact that the German mails have frequently been carried, as from Southampton to New York, more expeditiously than the English mails viâ Queenstown, he will consider the advisability of sending a regular weekly mail by the Southampton route.

(*Answered by Lord Stanley.*) It is already the practice to send mails to New York by the weekly German and American packets from Southampton, there being always cases in which the senders indicate their wishes to that effect on the covers. It is not proposed to depart from this practice nor to divert unsuperscribed letters, etc., from the Queenstown route unless, in individual cases, there are good reasons for doing so.

Inverness Mails.

MR. HARMSWORTH (Caithness-shire): To ask the Postmaster-General whether any fresh arrangements have been made with the West Coast Railways with the object of ensuring that the down night mails from London to Scotland shall be delivered at Inverness at schedule time.

(*Answered by Lord Stanley.*) I am at present in communication not only with the West Coast Railway Companies, but also with the Highland Railway Company with regard to the working of the night mail train from London to the North of

Scotland. I will inform the hon. Member of the result.

Post Office Savings Bank Deposits.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES (Lynn Regis): To ask the Postmaster-General has there been any considerable falling off in the amounts deposited in the Post Office Savings Banks in recent months; and will he state the total amounts of deposits therein made respectively in 1903 and in 1904 for each of the months from January to May, both inclusive.

(*Answered by Lord Stanley.*) There has been a slight decline in the amount deposited in the Post Office Savings Banks in the last five months as compared with the amount deposited in the corresponding months of last year. The number and total amount of the deposits during each of the months in question are given in the attached table; to which have been added, for convenience of reference, the number and total amount of the withdrawals in each month:—

Month.	1903.				1904.			
	Deposits.		Withdrawals.		Deposits.		Withdrawals.	
	Number.	Amount.	Number.	Amount.	Number.	Amount.	Number.	Amount.
		£		£		£		£
January -	1,690,707	4,602,950	487,076	3,527,301	1,637,815	4,313,873	469,250	3,419,157
February -	1,401,120	3,200,257	415,346	3,116,501	1,457,189	3,261,178	426,029	3,138,875
March - -	1,387,607	3,249,884	480,194	3,728,337	1,307,408	3,154,827	553,551	3,880,426
April - -	1,116,944	3,048,193	526,339	3,344,554	1,183,957	3,054,219	500,035	3,119,904
May - -	1,151,742	2,968,837	565,673	3,519,362	1,083,948	2,824,123	544,474	3,366,863
Totals -	6,748,120	17,070,121	2,474,628	17,236,055	6,670,317	16,608,220	2,493,339	16,925,225

Mail Trains calling at Greystones Station.

MR. COGAN (Wicklow, E.): To ask the Postmaster-General whether the Dublin, Wicklow, and Wexford Railway Company were requested by the Post Office to cease stopping the down and up mail trains, morning and evening, at Greystones Station; and whether he would have any objection to the railway company starting the morning mail train five minutes earlier from Westland Row and allowing the company to put back by five minutes the arrival of the evening mail train at Westland Row in order to admit of each train stopping at Greystones Station as hitherto.

(*Answered by Lord Stanley.*) I will have inquiry made as to the mail trains on the Dublin, Wicklow, and Wexford Railway stopping at Greystones Station, and I will communicate the result to the hon. Member.

Sub-Post Offices Changing Hands.

MR. BROTHERTON (Wakefield): To ask the Postmaster-General how many sub-post offices have changed hands since the introduction of the new series of postal orders; and whether there are any offices now vacant.

(*Answered by Lord Stanley.*) Since the 1st July, 1903, when the new series of Postal Orders was introduced, 1,573 sub-post offices have changed hands. 346 sub-post offices are at present vacant, or about to become so on the expiration of the customary three months notice, and the usual steps are being taken for filling the vacancies. These numbers are not, I believe, in any way exceptional.

NOTE.—It is believed that these numbers are in no way exceptional. No increase in the number of resignations has been observed, but the cause of resignation is not usually stated.

Pay of Sub-Postmasters.

MR. BROTHERTON: To ask the Postmaster-General what additions or increases in the scale of payment of sub-postmasters have been made during the past twenty years.

(*Answered by Lord Stanley.*) To answer the hon. Member's Question fully and accurately it will be necessary to examine the records carefully. This is being done, and I will let the hon. Member know the result as soon as possible.

Promotion of Senior Postman to Overseers Class at General Post Office.

CAPTAIN NORTON (Newington, W.): To ask the Postmaster-General if he will state the date in which the last vacancy occurred in the overseers class at the Eastern Central Section of the General Post Office, which has been filled by the appointment of a senior postman and lobby officer, and also the date of the Controller's recommendation for that officer's promotion.

(*Answered by Lord Stanley.*) The last vacancy on the class of overseers in the London postal service which was filled by the promotion of a senior postman and lobby officer was created by the promotion of an overseer on the 13th instant and was filled on the same day. The Controller's report recommending the officer promoted was made on the 8th instant in anticipation of the vacancy.

Pension of Mr. Papworth, Letter Sorter.

CAPTAIN NORTON: To ask the Postmaster General if he is aware that a letter sorter named Papworth, employed at the General Post Office, has been on sick leave, due to an accident on duty, without any pay, pending pension settlement, since 25th February last; and, if so, whether, in view of Mr. Papworth's circumstances, he will take steps to have his pension settled at once.

(*Answered by Lord Stanley.*) After an accident on duty in December, 1902, Mr. Papworth was granted sick pay during sick absence for the full period allowed by the regulations, and the authority of the Treasury has been obtained for the grant of further sick pay at the rate he would have received if he were pensioned. The medical officer to my Department has expressed the opinion that Mr. Papworth cannot at present be certified to be permanently incapacitated for further duty, and this opinion is shared by Dr. Lionel Beale, the Treasury medical referee, who also examined him. In these circumstances Mr. Papworth's superannuation cannot be proceeded with at present. The sick pay will date from 25th of February last. I may say that in November last Mr. Papworth obtained £830 damages from the South Eastern and Chatham Railway, in respect of the injuries he received in December, 1902.

Accidents on the Glasgow Corporation Tramways.

MR. WEIR: To ask the President of the Board of Trade if he will state the number of accidents which have occurred on the Glasgow Corporation Electric Tramway system during the year ending the 1st June last, distinguishing fatal accidents to persons from injuries to persons not resulting in death; and will he quote the number of accidents causing damage to goods, vehicles, animals, and other property.

(*Answered by Mr. Gerald Balfour.*) The Glasgow Corporation have informed me that the number of accidents causing injuries to persons on their tramway system in the year ended the 31st ultimo was 100, of which nineteen were fatal. During the same period there were twenty-eight accidents causing material injury to property. The corporation add that in the year in question their cars ran 16,291,082 miles, and carried 188,962,610 passengers.

Exhibition of Automatic Couplings and Either-side Brakes.

MR. BELL: To ask the President of the Board of Trade whether he is aware that an exhibition of models of automatic couplings and either-side brakes is to be held at the Agricultural Hall, Islington, from the 25th inst. to 2nd July; and if he will arrange for some of his inspecting officers to visit it and report on the models as to their practicability for adoption on the railways of this country.

(*Answered by Mr. Gerald Balfour.*) The assistant inspecting officers have been asked to visit the exhibition to which the hon. Member refers. An inspection of models would not be sufficient to enable an opinion to be formed whether the adoption of any particular invention would be practicable.

Diplomatic and Consular Trade Reports.

MR. FENWICK (Northumberland, Wansbeck): To ask the President of the

Board of Trade whether it is intended to publish this year extracts from the Reports of His Majesty's Diplomatic and Consular Officers abroad, relating to particular trades and industries received during the year 1903, if so, can he state when the extracts will appear in relation to coal, in continuation of Parliamentary Paper [Cd. 1409], 1903.

(*Answered by Mr. Gerald Balfour.*) Extracts from Reports of His Majesty's Diplomatic and Consular Officers on matters of special interest to British traders are published on receipt in the weekly Board of Trade Journal. The information contained in these Reports with regard to particular trades and industries is also collated for convenient reference in the Commercial Intelligence Branch, and if the hon. Member will move for the publication of a collection of such extracts as refer to coal in the Reports received for the year 1903, I shall be prepared to grant the Return. The question of publishing annual summaries of these extracts for all important groups of trade is receiving consideration, but it is feared that the length of time that must necessarily elapse before such summaries could be completed and issued would tend to diminish their practical value.

Sunday Trading.

MR. YOXALL (Nottingham, W.): To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department if any reports or statistics are in his possession which show that an increase in the amount of trading on Sundays has taken place in England and Wales; and, if so, whether he will lay them on the Table.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Akers-Douglas.*) I have no information which would show whether there has been an increase in Sunday trading in England and Wales. Figures as to prosecutions for Sunday trading appear in the annual volumes of Criminal Statistics; but, of course, they do not afford any means of judging the amount of Sunday trading which actually takes place.

Explosion at Rosemount Police Barracks, Londonderry—Report of Inspector.

MR. O'DOHERTY (Donegal, N.): To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department if he will state upon whose information the Inspector of Explosives states in his Twenty-eight Annual Report, at page 63 thereof, that the explosion at Rosemount Police Barracks, Londonderry, on 17th March, 1903, was an impudent method of celebrating the national festival; and whether, seeing that the explosion was caused by a local Orangeman well known to the police, who was afterwards prosecuted therefor, and that this explosion has never been attributed by the authorities to the celebrants of St. Patrick's Day, he will take care that in future similar reports are truthfully given by His Majesty's Inspector of Explosives.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Akers-Douglas.*) The man who was arrested on the charge of having caused this explosion, to whom I presume the hon. Member refers, was, as a fact, discharged by the magistrates, as the boy who was the only witness against him swore that the deposition which he had himself made was false. That incident does not, therefore, afford any ground for doubting the accuracy of the Inspector's Report, which merely stated what appeared on a review of all the circumstances, and in the opinion, as I am informed, of the local police, to be the probable origin of the explosion.

Municipal Trading—Standard Form of Accounts.

SIR WILLIAM HOULDSWORTH (Manchester, N.W.): To ask the President of the Local Government Board whether any steps have been taken for the summoning of a conference of the Institute of Chartered Accountants and other societies, referred to in Section 9 of the Report of the Joint Select Committee on Municipal Trading; and whether he can undertake that such a conference shall be held at an early date, in accordance with the recommendation of the Committee.

(*Answered by Mr. Walter Long.*) As I stated last week in reply to a Question by my hon. friend the Member for Gravesend,† I have received communications from some of these societies offering to co-operate in the consideration of the subject referred to by the Committee. No conference has taken place, but I have been giving attention to the practicability of a standard form of accounts of local authorities being prescribed, and I am disposed to think that the best course will be to appoint a Departmental Committee to inquire into the system upon which the accounts should be kept.

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† See page 997.

Fees of Public Vaccinators.

MR. RUNCIMAN (Dewsbury): To ask the President of the Local Government Board whether he has received any protests against the amount of the minimum fees payable to public vaccinators under the Vaccination Order of the Local Government Board of 1898; whether he is aware that in the Gateshead Union there were, during the four years previous to the passing of the Act, 6,378 primary and 230 re-vaccinations by public vaccinators, in respect to which fees were paid amounting to £753 12s. 6d., and during the four years since the passing of the Act there have been 10,574 primary vaccinations and 1,048 re-vaccinations by public vaccinators, fees paid to them amounting to £3,637 5s. 6d.; whether a Departmental Committee, which was appointed to inquire into and report on the subject of the costs and expenses borne by Poor Law guardians in connection with vaccination, has yet completed its inquiry; and, if so, whether any suggestion has been made likely to abate the burden imposed on boards of guardians by the existing fees.

(*Answered by Mr. Walter Long.*) I have received representations on the subject of the fees payable to public vaccinators, and I am aware of the fees paid in the case of the Gateshead Union. It was in consequence of the representations made to me that I appointed the Departmental Committee referred to in the Question. The Committee have now made their Report and their recommendations are receiving my consideration.

Constitution of the Consular Service—Recommendations of Committee.

MR. MOON (St. Pancras, N.): To ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether he can state what steps have now been taken to effectuate the recommendations, as modified by the Secretary of State, of the Report presented last July of the Committee appointed to inquire into the constitution of the Consular Service.

(*Answered by Earl Percy.*) Regulations have been framed, subject to slight modifications by the Secretary of State, on the lines of the recommendations of the Committee, and it is intended to introduce them at once.

Government Concessions of Land or Rights to Explore for Gold.

MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton): To ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether he will lay upon the Table of the House the text of all concessions of land or rights to explore for gold granted respectively to individuals or to syndicates, or to other limited liability companies, together with, in the case of each of the two latter, a list of their shareholders and a statement of their nominal capital, the number of their shares which have been paid for in cash, and the number that have been issued without cash payment to individuals, together with the names of such individuals.

(*Answered by Earl Percy.*) It will be impossible to lay the text of all the numerous contracts for the sale and lease of land in East Africa and Uganda. So far as I am aware no concessions for mining are in existence. The permits to prospect for minerals which were issued in 1902 and 1903 under the Mining Regulations have not resulted in applications for mining rights. The details asked for as to limited companies registered in this country can be seen at Somerset House.

Fitzgerald Estate, County Mayo.

DR. AMBROSE (Mayo, W.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland how far the negotiations have proceeded with regard to the sale of the Fitzgerald Estate, situate at Turlough, county Mayo; and whether any portions of it have been sold to graziers.

(*Answered by Mr. Wyndham.*) No originating application has yet been received in respect of the sale of this estate.

Applications from Evicted Tenants on the White Estate, County Cork.

Mr. GILHOOLY: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he will state the number of applications that have been received from evicted tenants on the White Estate, county Cork, by the Estates Commissioners, and whether their cases will be dealt with before the agreements are signed by the tenants in occupation; and what provision is to be made for these evicted tenants.

(*Answered by Mr. Wyndham.*) Ten such applications have been received in respect of the estate of R. H. White, and one application in respect to the estate of Elizabeth White. These applications will be duly considered by the Commissioners before sanctioning advances.

Expenditure upon Brennan Torpedoes.

Sir JOHN COLOMB (Great Yarmouth): To ask the Secretary of State for War whether he can state the total capital expenditure upon Brennan torpedoes, including provision of stations and necessary appliances, since their adoption; what is the number of these stations; and what proportion of the £507,000, shown in Return No. 238, Session 1903, as expended on provision for aquatic and submarine service out of Army Estimates, 1903–4, was for Brennan torpedo establishments.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Arnold-Forster.*) The total expenditure upon Brennan torpedoes since their adoption, including provision of stations and necessary appliances, has been £483,000. This includes the sum paid for the invention and all expenditure in the factory. The number of stations is confidential and cannot be stated. Of the sum of £507,000 mentioned, £32,000 was for Brennan establishments.

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE.

Gun Sights of H.M.S. "Prince of Wales."

Mr. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether the gun sights of H.M.S. "Prince of Wales" at her gunnery trials were pronounced unsatisfactory; whether, since going into commission, the ship's artificers have been engaged under the gunnery lieutenant, with such material as exists on board, in altering the sights of the 6-inch guns; and whether the captain has decided that the 12-inch guns must remain as they are, it being impossible to make them efficient with the means at his disposal.

*The SECRETARY to the ADMIRALTY (Mr. Pretyman, Suffolk, Woodbridge): As to the first part of the Question, I must refer the hon. Member to the reply that I gave to the hon. Member for Caithness on this subject on 26th February.† As to the latter part of the Question, no such report has been received from the captain of the "Prince of Wales"; but the sight fittings of the ship are not exactly what would now be supplied, and the alterations that the artificers are said to be carrying out are no doubt cross connecting them, and probably fitting large range discs. It has some months ago been decided to do this for the whole service, and trial sets of sights are now being distributed to different ships for report. If favourably reported on, all ships will be supplied. Many ships already have temporary fittings for cross connecting.

Mr. GIBSON BOWLES (Lynn Regis): Then is it proposed to alter the whole of the sights?

*Mr. PRETYMAN: It is not a question of sights. It is a question of fittings. Improvements are being constantly made which involve small alterations. We are now considering the whole matter in the light of a Report from a Committee.

Ventilation of Pressing Room at the Army Clothing Factory — Case of Alice Wright.

Sir CHARLES DILKE (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean): I beg to ask the Financial Secretary to the War Office whether he is now aware that a private deputation from the employees of the Army Clothing Department, introduced to the then Secretary of State and

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† See (4) *Debates*, cxxx., 1154.

Financial Secretary by the Member for the Forest of Dean, brought to the knowledge of those officials and of the head of the Army Clothing Department eleven months ago, the subject of the ventilation of the pressing rooms at the Army Clothing Factory; whether a promise was then given that the ventilation should be attended to; whether since that time the matter has been again brought to the knowledge of himself by letters enclosing complaints as to the ventilation of at least two of the pressing rooms, and further assurances have been given to the effect that, while the matter has unfortunately not yet been dealt with, it is to be dealt with shortly.

The following Questions bearing on the same subject also appeared on the Paper:—

MR. THEODORE TAYLOR (Lancashire, Radcliffe): To ask the Secretary of State for War whether his attention has been called to the death of Alice Wright, a tailoress, lately employed at the Army Clothing Factory at Pimlico, and to the evidence given at the inquest regarding the arrangements made in the pressing room affecting the health of the workers; and whether he will take early steps to secure that the condition of the workshop in question shall be made quite sanitary.

CAPTAIN NORTON (Newington, W.): To ask the Secretary of State for War whether, in view of the recent sudden death of a tailoress after working in the pressing room of the Army Clothing Factory, coupled with the failure of the Government to carry out in the said department the improved ventilation promised during the debate on the Army Clothing Vote last year, which promise was renewed at a private deputation subsequently received by the Secretary of State for War and the Financial Secretary, he will give the House an early opportunity of discussing the Army Clothing Vote.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER, Belfast, W.): Perhaps I may be allowed to say a few words in explanation of an answer given in the name of my hon. friend the Financial Secretary on Thursday last, and which the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the Forest of Dean has complained of as being incorrect and misleading. The fault, if there be one, lies with me. The Question, which was an unstarred one, was brought down to me at the House late on Thursday afternoon, and under the impression that the answer had been seen by the Financial Secretary, I passed it to the printers. My hon. friend informed me immediately he saw the answer that it was incorrect in one particular, that personal correspondence and interviews had taken place between himself and the right hon. Gentleman, of which I was quite unaware, hence I was led to convey an erroneous impression to the House, which I greatly regret. With regard to the subject matter of the right hon. Gentleman's Question, and of other Questions on the Paper to-day, I should like to say that I regard the matter as a very serious one, and well worthy of attention. Prior to the right hon. Gentleman's Question, I had already arranged to visit the Pimlico factory, and under the best guidance I could obtain to investigate the condition of things myself. I am not fully satisfied that the arrangements for improving the ventilation and accommodation have been carried out with sufficient rapidity, though I do not desire to form a definite opinion on this point until I have made full inquiry. I will reply at the same time to the Questions put by the hon. Members for West Newington and Lancashire, Radcliffe. My hon. friend is aware that a private deputation from the employees of the Army Clothing Department was introduced to the Secretary of State and Financial Secretary by the right hon. Gentleman on the 7th August, 1903, but it does not appear from the record of that deputation made at the War Office, or in the Journal called *The Government Workers Advocate*, which also had an account of the proceedings, that a complaint was made by the deputation with regard to ventilation, and no promise appears to have been asked for or given with regard to this matter. As a matter of fact, however, there were defects in the ventilation, though not in the rooms particularly referred to. The Department concerned, acting on its own initiative, took measures some time ago with the object of remedying these defects, and electric fans were ordered, for which money was provided in the current year's Estimates. The installation is not yet complete, but it is hoped that it may be finished by the end of this month. The fans are to be placed in one of the top galleries. My hon. friend has recently received the letters from the right hon. Gentleman in which he refers to the question of ventilation, and he was informed in reply that the work was in progress, as I have already stated. There are about 600 girls working on the ground floor where Alice Wright herself worked, but the pressing room is a small room attached to the main building, and the girls only go there occasionally to press the garments. Many of the windows are made to open. I have not yet had time to examine the report of the evidence which reached the Office this morning, but I shall be happy to answer a further Question with respect to it, if necessary. I may repeat that I am very sensible of the importance of taking proper precautions for the health of those working in this and other Government factories, but I can assure the right hon. Gentleman that the matter has already been attended to, and that the officials of the Department are thoroughly alive to the necessity of doing all that is possible for the comfort of the workers.

*Sir CHARLES DILKE: It would not be in order for me to comment on the curious fact of the Answer having been given in the circumstances described; but by way of personal explanation may I be allowed to say, in reference to the right hon. Gentleman's statement that the note of the deputation does not show that the matter was specifically dealt with that in my own note it does appear that the matter was brought forward, and I think the noble Lord, now the Postmaster-General, but at that time Financial Secretary to the War Office, will remember that ventilation by fans was mentioned.

*Mr. ARNOLD-FORSTER: I quite accept the right hon. Baronet's explanation. I have examined the official record and the trade record and I do not find the statement, and that is probably a justification for the answer being drawn in the way it was.

Military Service in India.

Mr. RUNCIMAN (Dewsbury): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India how many men have been sent to India since 1902 who were enlisted for a period of three years only; how many of these men have extended their services; what has been the cost of returning those men who declined to extend their services; and whether the whole of this cost falls upon the Indian revenues.

Mr. ARNOLD-FORSTER: Perhaps I may be allowed to answer this. The numbers of men sent to India since 1902 who were enlisted for three years only cannot be obtained without reference to each unit. There were, however, on the 1st June 5,799 men (rank and file) in India whose original engagement was for three years, and of this number 2,325 men extended their service. It is not possible to calculate the extra cost involved by the return of those declining to extend, which will fall on British revenues.

Drafts for the Indian Army.

Captain NORTON: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War if he can state whether the Home Government has agreed to defray the entire cost of the passage to and from India of the 1,000 men now serving there, who, should they not extend their term of service, complete their three-year engagement prior to the close of the trooping season 1904–5; and, if so, what will be the cost to the British taxpayer; also, of the 11,300 men required by India next trooping season, how many upon embarkation will have not less than eight years to serve.

Mr. ARNOLD-FORSTER: As regards the cost of the passage the Army Estimates will only bear the excess charge that may be involved by the non-extension of the men referred to. It is at present impossible to calculate what that excess cost will be. As regards the drafts for next Indian trooping season it is not possible to give at this moment any calculation as to the length of service of the men at the time of embarkation.

Sir Charles Eliot's Resignation.

MR. CATHCART WASON (Orkney and Shetland): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs if he will lay upon the Table of the House the despatches from Sir Charles Eliot approving of an alien autonomous settlement in East Africa, and the despatches of Sir Charles Eliot disapproving of an alien autonomous settlement in East Africa. I will also ask the noble Earl at the same time whether the Government intend to appoint a Committee to investigate the charges which have been made in connection with the East Africa Company.

The following Question on the same subject also appeared on the Paper.

MR. TREVELYAN (Yorkshire, W.R. Elland): To ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether he will lay upon the Table the Papers and Correspondence relating to the resignation of Sir Charles Eliot.

THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Earl PERCY, Kensington, S.): The last Question of the hon. Member for Orkney, should, I think, be addressed to the Prime Minister. In reply to the Question on the Paper I have to say that in view of the interpretations which have been placed on Sir Charles Eliot's telegram to the Prime Minister and the misunderstanding to which it has already given rise, the Secretary of State has decided to publish the Papers. The Secretary of State would prefer not to lay Papers at the present stage of the negotiations with the Jewish Colonisation Trust, but the Correspondence will in any case be laid before a final decision is arrived at.

Cigar Smuggling in 1903.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE: I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer what was the number of persons summarily convicted for smuggling cigars in 1903.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN, Worcestershire, E.). The number of persons summarily dealt with by the Board of Customs or before magistrates in the year 1903 for smuggling cigars was 559, of whom 242 were concerned with cigars only and 317 with cigars and other goods.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE: Can the right hon. Gentleman give the number of cases of smuggling tobacco dealt with?

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: I have not the figures here, but if the right hon. Gentleman will put down a Question I will get them.

Authorisation of Public Expenditure.

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON (Dundee): I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether money voted on Supply can be placed at the disposal of the Departments concerned before the grants are made good by a Consolidated Fund Act.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: Resolutions in Supply authorise expenditure. The money technically called "ways and means" required for meeting the expenditure is granted by Consolidated Funds Act. Money so granted can be used to defray the expenditure authorised by any Vote in Supply in the same session for the same financial year. If at the time when a Vote is taken the whole of the money granted by a previous Consolidated Fund Act has not been issued, the balance of that money can be made available for the expenditure authorised by the Vote, and it is not, therefore, necessary to wait for the passing of a further Act.

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON: Then am I to understand that money voted in Supply since the last Consolidated Fund Act will not be available to the Departments until another Consolidated Fund Act has been passed?

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: The hon. Gentleman had better wait and see my Answer in print and then he may be able to understand it. It is rather difficult to explain these matters across the floor of the House.

Examining Officers of Customs—Compensation for Loss of Prospects.

MR. BRYNMOR JONES (Swansea District): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether, in considering the subject of compensation for loss of prospects to be paid to examining officers of Customs, the Board of Customs will inquire into the salary of the officers of less than twenty years service, with a view to placing these officers on an equal footing with the latest entrants to the service.

THE FINANCIAL SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY (Mr. VICTOR CAVENDISH, Derbyshire, W.): The whole question of the compensation to examining officers, 2nd class, is at present under consideration and, it is hoped, will be decided at an early date.

Commission to Sub-Postmasters on Postal Orders.

MR. SCHWANN (Manchester, N.): I beg to ask the Postmaster-General if, in view of the fact that the number of postal orders paid during the past year has decreased 2,420,000 and the amount of money paid for postal orders in the same period has increased £1,250,000, he is now prepared to increase the rate of the commission paid to sub-postmasters who deal with postal orders.

THE POSTMASTER-GENERAL (Lord STANLEY, Lancashire, Westhoughton): The new denominations of postal orders have not been issued sufficiently long to enable me to form an opinion as to the effect which they will probably have on the remuneration of sub-postmasters for this work. Experience may show that the increased demand for postal orders may make up for any loss, by way of commission, owing to one order now being issued where two or more were formerly required.

Telegraphists and Appointments on the Engineering Staff.

MR. SCHWANN: I beg to ask the Postmaster-General whether he is aware that, although successive Postmasters-General in dealing with the salaries of telegraphists have stated that telegraphists receive a number of appointments on the engineering staff and official witnesses made the same statement before the Wages Commission, the Civil Service Commission now state that for the position of a second-class engineer it is necessary that a candidate should have at least two years training, either in a suitable workshop attached to a college or University or under a firm of electrical or mechanical engineers of good standing; whether he can state the date upon which he was acquainted with this alteration; and whether, in view of the fact that no telegraphists can now secure these positions, he is prepared to consider some arrangements for compensating them for loss of these appointments promised to them by the Department.

LORD STANLEY: The hon. Member appears to be under a misapprehension. The recent decision to throw open a small proportion (at present one-fourth) of the appointments as second-class engineer to public competition does not exclude telegraphists from promotion to the class through the classes of junior clerks in the engineering department and sub-engineers as at present. I approved the scheme regulating the conditions of admission to the competition, after consultation with the Civil Service Commissioners on the 16th ultimo.

Roscrea Post Office.

MR. KENDAL O'BRIEN (Tipperary, Mid.): I beg to ask the Postmaster-General if he will state what was the amount expended by the late postmaster, Mr. H. A. Acres, in fitting up and furnishing the Roscrea, county Tipperary, Post Office, in the year 1893; whether a percentage, and how much, was annually paid him in respect of his outlay on such fittings and furniture; whether the percentage was apportioned in any manner; whether, on Mr. Acres being pensioned in 1902, was he compensated for his outlay; whether any portion of his outlay, on which the Department was paying him 5 per cent. per annum, has not been refunded to him, and permission refused to him to dispose of the fittings and furniture, which are at present in use in the post office; and, if so, whether, seeing that Mr. Acres complains of the non-payment for a portion of the fittings and furniture retained by the post office, an inquiry will be made into the case, with a view to the payment of his claim.

LORD STANLEY: Mr. Acres appears to have expended about £70 upon adapting and fitting up the post office at

Roscrea, in 1893. Of this amount £24 was for structural alterations and £46 for office fittings and furniture. He received 5 per cent. per annum in respect of the structural alterations and 10 per cent. in respect of the office fittings, according to the usual practice. In December, 1902, the office fittings were purchased from Mr. Acres at a price which had been agreed upon with him. He has, therefore, no claim to the fittings and furniture in use in the post office, and I do not understand that any such claim has been made. A claim has been made for the return of the amount expended on structural alterations, but such a claim could not be admitted.

The Post Office Wages Committee.

MR. NANNETTI (Dublin, College Green): I beg to ask the Postmaster-General if he can give any definite idea as to the date of the publication of the Report of the Bradford Wages Inquiry; if, in view of the fact that a conference of the members of the Irish service will be held on the 15th and 16th July, he will endeavour, if possible, to have the Report and the decision of the Treasury published before that time to enable the delegates at that conference to discuss the same.

LORD STANLEY: I hope that it will be possible to lay the Report of Sir Edward Bradford's Committee before the date named by the hon. Member; but I am unable to undertake that the decision of the Government as to the action to be taken upon it can be announced so soon.

Foreign Seamen on British Ships—Case of the "Southern Cross."

MR. NANNETTI: I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade if he is aware that Messrs. Houlder Brothers, shipowners, and owners of the s.s. "Southern Cross," have employed a man named Bethel at Antwerp to engage and supply thirty-five sailors and firemen for the steamer "Southern Cross," which is at present lying in the port of the Tyne; and, if so, whether he can state the nationality of those seamen, if they are able to speak the English language, and the wages these men are to receive per month, and whether, in view of the provisions of the Merchant Shipping Act with regard to the engagement and supply of crews to British ships by persons not licensed by the Board of Trade, he intends to take any action in the matter; and whether he is aware that there is a large number of sailors and firemen unemployed at the Tyne ports.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE (Mr. GERALD BALFOUR, Leeds, Central): I am having inquiry made into the matter to which the hon. Member refers, but I am not yet in possession of information which would enable me to reply on the various points raised in the Question. If the hon. Member will repeat his Question in a few days I shall be happy to answer it.

The Small Dwellings Act.

MR. JOSEPH DEVLIN (Kilkenny, N.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether his attention has been called to the fact that the number of applications received for advances under the Small Dwellings Act, 1899, has fallen short of what was anticipated in consequence of the lack of knowledge of the working classes of the provisions of the Act relating to the issue by the local authorities of loans up to four-fifths of the amount of the purchase money of a house, to the rate of interest on the sum advanced, and to the term of repayments; and, if so, whether he will consider the advisability of causing notices to be exhibited at the post offices throughout the country, setting forth the main provisions of the Act, for the benefit of the working classes generally and of Savings Bank depositors in particular.

THE SECRETARY TO THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. GRANT LAWSON, Yorkshire, N.R., Thirsk): Perhaps I may be allowed to answer this. My right hon. friend the President of the Local Government Board will carefully consider the suggestion made by the hon. Member, and will communicate with the Postmaster-General on the subject.

Sea Fisheries Bill.

SIR EDWARD SASSOON (Hythe): I beg to ask the hon. Member for North Huntingdonshire, as representing the Board of Agriculture, whether the President of the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries has considered the representations which have been made to him on behalf of the longshore fishermen in regard to the Fisheries Bill; and whether the Bill will be so amended as to make it clear that its provisions will not affect the coastwise fisheries of the British Islands.

MR. AILWYN FELLOWES (Huntingdonshire, Ramsey): In the opinion of my noble friend the fears entertained by the longshore fishermen that their interests will be prejudicially affected by the Sea Fisheries Bill are groundless, in that he has always undertaken that Orders passed by the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries under the Bill shall affect only steam trawlers, carriers, and such large sailing vessels as are able to go out as far as the nursery grounds on the eastern side of the North Sea, the locality of which is well known and can easily be defined. In view, however, of the apprehensions still expressed my noble friend at the recent annual conference of the sea fishery authorities stated that he was willing to accept an Amendment to the effect that no Order of the Board under the Bill should be applicable to any sailing vessel unless and until the Board is satisfied that such sailing vessel has been engaged in trawling on the eastern grounds as defined in a schedule to be added to the Bill.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES): Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that large meetings of fishermen at Aldeburgh and King's Lynn have resolved that the suggested Amendment would not remove the objections of fishermen to the Bill.

MR. AILWYN FELLOWES: I am afraid I have not heard that.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES: It is so.

Motor Traffic in the Mall.

MR. CATHCART WASON: I beg to ask the hon. Member for Chorley, as representing the First Commissioner of Works, if he is aware that motors are constantly being driven in the Mall at a furious pace, and if the police will now be instructed to prosecute offenders of any degree.

LORD BALCARRES (Lancashire, Chorley): Steps are being taken in conjunction with the police to prosecute any person infringing the rule which limits the speed to ten miles an hour.

Religious Instruction in Non-Provided Schools.

DR. MACNAMARA (Camberwell, N.): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Board of Education whether his Department has taken objection to the regulation of 20th April by the Radnorshire Education Committee providing for the fixing of religious instruction at the end of each morning school session in the non-provided schools of the county, and similar regulations adopted by the Education Committees for Breconshire and Glamorganshire respectively; and whether, having regard to the terms of Section 7, sub-section (2), of the Education Act of 1870, and of Section 7, Sub-section (1) (a), of the Education Act of 1902, he will issue a general circular to local education authorities stating what their powers are in respect of the fixing of the hours of religious instruction in the non-provided schools within their respective areas.

THE PARLIAMENTARY SECRETARY TO THE BOARD OF EDUCATION (Sir WILLIAM ANSON, Oxford University): The matter referred to in the first part of the hon. Member's Question has been the subject of communications from managers of individual schools; these are under consideration, and, as they may come before the Board under Section 7 (3) for judicial decision, it would not be desirable that I should make any statement on the subject at present. If only for this reason, the Board do not propose to issue any such circular as is suggested in the second part of the Question.

DR. MACNAMARA: Will the hon. Baronet lay the Papers when the correspondence is complete.

SIR WILLIAM ANSON: We must await its completion before we can decide whether we shall be justified in laying it.

Overton School Headmastership.

DR. MACNAMARA: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Board of Education whether his attention has been called to a printed list of vacancies for teachers issued by the Hampshire Education Committee, in which applicants are invited for the post of headmastership of the Overton non-provided school, with the word "organ" added to the remarks column; and, if so, will he say whether this is not an infringement of Article 15 (1) of the Education Code, which prohibits the imposition of extraneous tasks; and whether he proposes to communicate with the Hampshire Education Committee upon the matter.

SIR WILLIAM ANSON: I find that applicants for vacancies for teachers very frequently inquire if there are opportunities of increasing their income by such work as playing the organ in church. Information given on this point tends to increase the number of applicants, and so to enlarge the range of choice for the benefit of the managers. No condition as to the performance of extraneous duties is thereby imposed, otherwise the Board would at once intervene, and the local authority may be trusted to veto an appointment which is made on other than educational grounds. So long as the Board and the local authorities are satisfied that the conditions of the Code are being kept, the Board are reluctant to interfere with this supply of information by local authorities and managers.

School Accommodation at Barton-on-Humber.

MR. HAROLD RECKITT (Lincolnshire, Brigg): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Board of Education if he will explain why the Board of Education have decided that there is no sufficient evidence that a council school is required at Barton-on-Humber, in view of the report of the inspector who held the public inquiry that such a school was required in the interests of secular education, of economy of the rates, and to meet the wishes of the parents.

SIR WILLIAM ANSON: The hon. Member would appear to have been misinformed as to the findings of the Commissioner sent by the Board to conduct this inquiry. The local education authority, after careful inquiry, determined to accept the proposed voluntary school, and the Board, acting on the report of their Commissioner, saw no reason to differ from this conclusion.

Blocking Motions.

MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton): I beg to ask the hon. Member for Coventry when he proposes to bring on his Motion in regard to Chinese labour in the Transvaal; and whether he will consider the advisability of removing it from the Order-book of the House.

*MR. MURRAY (Coventry): I would ask the indulgence of the House in view of the fact that the Question contains an absolute misdescription of the Motion placed on the Paper. The Motion is not with regard to Chinese labour; it covers far more important matters, such as the mortality amongst Central African labourers in South Africa and also covers the question of the sufferings of Cape labourers, which has been a matter of investigation and report in the House, and, naturally, as it refers to other labourers working in these regions, it also covers those Chinese labourers who have arrived in South Africa. I would, therefore, appeal to the hon. Gentleman, whose benevolence is only exceeded by his experience, to give his assistance in securing from the Leader of the House an early date for the discussion of this matter. With regard to the second point of the Question, I think the hon. Member will appreciate the point I have raised, and will agree with me that the Motion is one which he himself would not think should be removed from the Order Paper.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES asked when the hon. Gentleman proposed to bring the Motion on?

*MR. MURRAY: Unfortunately, or fortunately, the conduct of the proceedings of this House is in the hands of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for East Manchester and not of the hon. Member for Coventry, but the hon. Member could perhaps assist by curtailing the discussion of the Licensing Bill in obtaining an early day for the discussion

MR. LABOUCHERE: I will address a Question to the Prime Minister on the subject.

Sale of Butter Bill.

Mr. FLYNN (Cork County, N.): I beg to ask the hon. Member for North Huntingdonshire, as representing the Board of Agriculture, whether his attention has been called to recent appeals at Ennis Quarter Sessions, before the County Court Judge, against convictions at petty sessions, at which two farmers were fined by the magistrates for selling butter containing excess of moisture, viz., 17·3 per cent. and 18 per cent. respectively; is he aware that the County Court Judge reversed the decisions of the magistrates, on the ground that the butter was genuine and not injurious to health; and whether, in view of the injury to the reputation of the bulk of Irish butter, which is caused by the sale of some Irish firkin butter containing an excess of moisture, he will take steps to deal with the question, either by expediting the passage of the Sale of Butter Bill now before the House or by amendment of the Order in Council.

The CHIEF SECRETARY for IRELAND (Mr. Wyndham, Dover): At my hon. friend's request, I will reply to this Question. The decisions of the magistrates were reversed on technical grounds. In one case the County Court Judge held that the summons was bad; and in the second case he decided that the order of the magistrates directing payment of the fine to the secretary of the county council was wrong.

Mr. FLYNN: Will the right hon. Gentleman amend the Order in Council?

Mr. WYNDHAM: I understand that my hon. friend hopes to pass the Bill.

Labourers' Cottages in the Clogher Union.

Mr. PATRICK O'BRIEN (Kilkenny): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that, two years since, representations signed by twelve of the highest ratepayers in the Clogher Union were made to the Clogher District Council to have labourers' cottages erected in that union; that the consideration of these representations came before the Clogher Council several times; that the council declined to put the Acts into force, basing their action on a report of a relieving officer; and that the Local Government Board has been requested to hold a public inquiry; and, if so, will he explain why the inquiry has not been held; and what steps the Local Government Board propose to take so as to make the Labourers Acts operative in the Clogher Union.

Mr. WYNDHAM: The facts generally are as stated, but no formal application for an inquiry in accordance with Section 4 of the Labourers (Ireland) Act, 1891, has been received by the Local Government Board. Apart, however, from this consideration, the Board deem it advisable, in view of pending legislation, to defer taking action in the matter. One of the clauses of the Labourers Bill now before Parliament, if passed, will enable the Board to deal more effectively with cases in which the local authorities refuse to put the Acts into operation.

Ballinasloe Asylum Medical Staff.

Mr. LONSDALE (Armagh, Mid.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that Dr. P. Kerley, who has been elected by the Ballinasloe Asylum Committee to the position of second assistant medical officer, is married; and whether, seeing that the rules of the Privy Council governing such appointments provide that the second assistant medical officer must be unmarried, he proposes to take any, and if any, what action in the matter.

Mr. WYNDHAM: Yes, Sir. The rule prohibiting a married man from being appointed to the position of assistant medical officer of a district lunatic asylum is of universal application throughout the United Kingdom. It is embodied in an Order of the Lord-Lieutenant in Council dated the 28th April, 1898. I am advised that it would be most undesirable in the interests of the public service to depart from the rule, and that the Lord-Lieutenant has no power to dispense with its observance.

Irish Assistant School Teachers.

Mr. THOMAS O'DONNELL (Kerry, W.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland when will the reduction in the average attendance required for the first assistant in Irish national schools from sixty to fifty come into operation; whether assistants whose salaries have been withdrawn during the past twelve months owing to the fall of the average below sixty will then be paid; whether the reduction in the first assistant will apply also to the second assistant.

MR. SLOAN (Belfast, S.): I beg also to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he can state when the reduction of the average attendance from sixty to fifty, qualifying an additional teacher in each school, will come into operation.

MR. WYNDHAM: The provision for effecting this reduction cannot take effect until funds have been placed at the disposal of the Commissioners. I have stated that the matter is one for consideration in connection with the Development Grant Estimate. The sum of £24,000, or any lesser sum, would cover the estimated cost, for one year only, of the additional number of assistants that might be appointed or continued in the service under an average of fifty. On the assumption that provision for this amount will be made in the Development Grant Estimate for the current year, I am inquiring whether it can take effect from the 1st April last. The question of reducing the average for more than one assistant has not been specially considered.

J. C. Blake's Galway Estate.

MR. CHARLES CRAIG (Antrim, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if his attention has been drawn to a poster posted in a number of places on or near the estate of J. C. Blake, in the county of Galway, for the sale of which to the Congested Districts Board negotiations are now in progress, stating that the winning of Irish independence and the land for the people was the object of the tenants on the estate, and threatening the lives of persons if the estate in question was allowed to pass into the hands of a grazier; and, if so, what steps he intends to take with reference to the matter.

MR. WYNDHAM: Yes, Sir. I have seen one of the notices referred to which were taken down by the police. The property, of which the grazing farm in question forms part, was recently purchased by the Congested Districts Board, who decided to let the farm for grazing until arrangements could be completed for enlarging the small holdings on the estate. It is true that the posting of the notices and the assembling of a crowd of persons frustrated the action of the Board's agent who attended on the 15th instant to receive offers for the grazing. If such offers are not locally forthcoming, the Board will stock the farm with its own cattle, and will indefinitely postpone its intention to enlarge the holdings on the estate. There is not sufficient evidence to sustain proceedings against the persons who assembled on the 15th instant. But the police are giving the matter their close attention. The notice is of a particularly gross character, containing, as it does, references to the years 1881 and 1882 in which outrages were prevalent. It is also quite irrational, since the Board purchased the land with the intention of enlarging all the holdings on the estate. Action of this unlawful and insensate character can only lead to a postponement of the work of relieving congestion; in the first place, because it encourages lawlessness; in the second, because the Congested Districts Board cannot buy untenanted land in order to enlarge small holdings if it is prevented from earning interest on capital sums borrowed for purchase, pending the allocation of such land. Those who framed and posted the notice are acting as the enemies of all who occupy uneconomic holdings.

Delay in Construction of Cork to Fermoy Railway.

MR. WILLIAM ABRAHAM (Cork County, N.E.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he has received a resolution from the Cork County Council calling attention to the failure of the Great Southern and Western Railway Company, jointly with the Fishguard and Rosslare Railways and Harbours Company, to carry out the engagements given by them at the passing of the Railway Amalgamation Act, 1900, to construct a direct line from Cork to Fermoy and also to construct a bridge connecting the railway lines south of the Lee with the

Great Southern and Western Railway Company's system; and whether the Government have taken, or will take, any action to secure the fulfilment of the conditions laid down by Parliament in this matter.

Mr. WYNDHAM: The engagement to construct the bridge was conditional upon the co-operation of the local authorities and the railway companies west of Cork. I am not aware that the Fishguard and Rosslare Company has made any efforts to obtain such co-operation. The obligation to construct the Cork and Fermoy line has not been carried out. Parliament was asked in 1902 to sanction the substitution of another scheme, but the Bill was not passed. No further steps have since been taken. The period for completion of the Cork to Fermoy line will expire on the 1st August next, when the Company's powers to build the railway must necessarily lapse. I will confer with my hon. friend the Financial Secretary to the Treasury on the subject.

Congestion in County Kerry.

Mr. THOMAS O'DONNELL: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland how many parishes in the county Kerry are scheduled as congested; how many parish committees are at work in the county; whether district councillors who are shopkeepers are objected to by the Board as members of those committees; and, if so, for what reason.

Mr. WYNDHAM: Fifteen parishes are entirely comprised in scheduled areas, and fourteen partially. Grants have been offered in respect to thirteen of these parishes during the current year. In nine committees have already been formed. Under one of the Board's rules no shopkeeper is eligible for membership. This rule was made by the Board in the interests of the impartial administration of the grants.

Mr. THOMAS O'DONNELL: Is the rule of general application?

Mr. WYNDHAM: I believe it applies throughout Ireland.

Mr. FLAVIN (Kerry, N.): Arising out of the Answer—

*Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order! The Question has been fully answered.

Mr. FLAVIN: Am I not entitled to ask a Question arising out of the Answer?

*Mr. SPEAKER: The Question having been fully answered notice must be given of further Questions.

Mr. FLAVIN: Then I will put one down.

Training of Teachers in the Irish Language.

Mr. THOMAS O'DONNELL: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the National Board has brought forward any scheme for the proper training of teachers in Irish to meet the present demand of managers and people throughout the country.

Mr. WYNDHAM: The Commissioners have brought forward no general scheme for the training of national teachers in Irish. Irish is taught to the teachers in some of the training colleges and the Commissioners hold annual examinations in Irish to enable dational teachers to obtain certificates of proficiency in Irish.

Irish Language in Courts of Justice.

Mr. THOMAS O'DONNELL: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland by what authority did Mr. James Gray, R.M., of Enniskillen, object to the evidence of Mr. Nethercott in a recent case because it was given in Irish.

Mr. WYNDHAM: The Irish statute of 11 George II., cap. 6, requires that the proceedings in a Court of Justice shall be conducted in English. The witness in this case admitted that he spoke English, and under the circumstances the resident magistrate was justified in requiring him to comply with the provisions of the statute. The resident magistrate states that as a matter of fact he rebuked the witness, not for his desire to give his evidence in Irish, but for the levity he displayed in the witness box.

Appointment of Analysts under the Fertilisers and Feeding Stuffs Act.

MR. POWER (Waterford, E.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutentant of Ireland whether he will take steps to give effect to the resolution of the County Waterford Committee of Agriculture and Technical Instruction asking that power should be given to county councils, in conjunction wth the Department of Agriculture in Ireland, to appoint independent analysts to carry out the duties under the Fertilisers and Feeding Stuffs Act instead of compelling the appointment of the analyst already performing the duties under the Food and Drugs Act.

MR. WYNDHAM: Legislation would be necessary to effect this object, and I cannot give any undertaking in the matter.

Labourers' Allotments in Waterford and Munster.

MR. O'SHEE (Waterford, W.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland what is the average cost in county Waterford and in Munster of providing an additional half-acre where a cottage and one half-acre had already been provided under the Labourers Acts; and how many additional half-acres have been provided in county Waterford and in Munster.

MR. WYNDHAM: There is no information available on the first part of the Question. The legal, engineering, and other incidental expenses are not separately allocated as between schemes for new cottages with half-acre or acre allotments, and those for additional half-acre allotments only. The number of additional half-acres authorised to be provided to Waterford and Munster are 264 and 1,824 respectively..

Congested Districts Board's Expenditure in Sligo.

MR. O'DOWD (Sligo, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland what was the total amount expended by the Congested Districts Board in the scheduled districts of the county Sligo during the past twelve months.

MR. WYNDHAM: The Board's expenditure in the past twelve months was £2,177. The Board also agreed, in the same period, to purchase two estates for £48,412.

Owenmore River Drainage.

MR. O'DOWD: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the report of the inspector in regard to the drainage of the Owenmore River, in the county Sligo, has yet been received; if so, what are the recommendations contained in it; and can he say what steps the Department of Agriculture contemplate taking in the matter.

MR. WYNDHAM: The Department of Agriculture caused an inspection of the district to be made. The inspector's report has been received and a copy of it will be communicated to the hon. Member. In 1886 the county surveyor estimated that the cost of draining the district would amount to about £17,000. No later estimate is available. The initiation of a scheme must rest with the persons locally interested under the Arterial Drainage Acts. The Department of Agriculture has no funds available for the purpose.

King-Harman Estate, Ballymote, Sligo.

MR. O'DOWD: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the sale of that portion of the King-Harman Estate, situate at Ballymote, county Sligo, has been sanctioned; whether a large farm on this estate, which the small tenants and labourers of the locality have been using as an accommodation farm for a number of years, has been sold to a stranger named Nuttall; and, if so, whether inquiries will be made by the Land Commission into the circumstances of this transaction.

MR. WYNDHAM: The sale has not yet been sanctioned. The inspectors are on the estate inspecting it; they will report on the circumstances of this and all other holdings.

Irish Society's Balance Sheets.

***MR. O'DOHERTY** (Donegal, N.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he has received a copy of a resolution passed by the Londonderry Corporation, as representing the citizens of Londonderry, requesting the Irish Government to grant a Return showing the receipts and disbursements of the Honourable the Irish Society for the past five years, in the administration of their trust; and if so, whether, seeing that similar Returns have been in the past granted by his predecessors in the office of Irish Secretary, he will state why he now objects, as all information on this point has been refused the corporation by the society.

Mr. WYNDHAM: Yes, Sir. I have again communicated with the Irish Society on the subject, and am assured that the preparation of a Return in the form suggested would impose an expenditure of time and labour which would be quite incommensurate with results. The society's accounts are published annually, and copies are sent every year to the Londonderry newspapers. I see no sufficient reason, therefore, for granting the Return. I may add that I am informed that a deputation from the society will shortly visit Londonderry, when an opportunity will be afforded the corporation to discuss with the society any matters they may desire to bring forward.

*Mr. O'DOHERTY: Have they not departed from the practice of publishing the balance sheet this year?

Mr. WYNDHAM: I am not aware of that.

Clogher School Dispute.

Mr. JOSEPH DEVLIN: I beg to sk the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether his attention has been called to a case in the High Court of Justice in Ireland, in which Mr. William Coote, J.P., of Clogher, county Tyrone, was the defendant, the charge being one of conspiracy to boycott a national school, and to intimidate the manager who had appointed a Roman Catholic mistress in manual instruction; whether on the case going to trial Coote compromised the action by paying the sum of £275 on account of the plaintiff's expenses, thus admitting his guilt, and signing a document agreeing not to repeat his conduct; and if the attention of the Lord Chancellor has been or will be called to his action.

Mr. WYNDHAM: I have seen a newspaper report of this case. Both parties to the action are Presbyterians, and the manager of the school belongs to the same religious persuasion. The case was settled on terms which counsel for the plaintiff stated would commend themselves to every right-thinking person. The parties mutually agreed that all controversy should cease and good will take its place, and the defendant paid a sum of £75 (not £275) in respect of the plaintiff's costs. This being so, no useful object would be served by referring the matter to the Lord Chancellor.

Vacancies on Board of National Education in Ireland.

Mr. LONSDALE (Armagh, Mid.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland when it is intended to fill the vacancies on the Board of National Education in Ireland, caused by the resignation of the Very Reverend the Dean of St. Patrick's and the Most Reverend Archbishop Walsh.

Mr. WYNDHAM: Sir, I shall not be able to give this matter the consideration it demands until the autumn.

Necessity for Findlater's Act at Edgeworthstown.

Mr. J. P. FARRELL (Longford, N.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether it is proposed to put Findlater's Act into operation in the Edgeworthstown police district, so as to prevent licensed traders being robbed by the collection of their bottles by unlicensed persons.

Mr. WYNDHAM: The Act is already operative throughout Ireland. If there are any general dealers in Edgeworthstown, who carry on business without being licensed, they will be proceeded against. But no applications for licences have been made, and no infringement of the provisions of the Act has yet come under the observation of the local police.

Edgeworthstown Loan Fund Society.

Mr. J. P. FARRELL: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland on what grounds the Loan Fund Board for Ireland refused to pay the dividend on shares in the Edgeworthstown Loan Fund Society held by William and Ellen McDermott, of Tinnyar, who hold two debentures in the society. I beg, also, to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that James Cullen, of Kilcoursey, and Michael Kerrigan, of Clonwhelan, invested their savings in the Edgeworthstown Loan Fund Society, and lost them on the breakdown of this society; and whether he can state the grounds upon which their application for a share of the assets realised by the receiver has not been attended to; and will he direct that same be now paid.

MR. WYNDHAM: The Board has not refused to pay; but as the title of the applicants is not free from doubt it has referred the claims to counsel for legal opinion.

King-Harman Estate, County Longford.

MR. J. P. FARRELL: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the sale of the King-Harman (Kenagh), county Longford, Estate, has yet come before the Estates Commissioners for approval; and whether the application of a planter tenant named William Jones, of Creagh, against whom the landlord is about proceeding for £250 dilapidation damages, is included in the number of sales on this estate for sanction.

MR. WYNDHAM: The estate is before the Commissioners. I have no information on the second part of the Question, but I am making inquiry.

The Post Office and the Irish Dual Workers' Association.

MR. NANNETTI: I beg to ask the Postmaster-General if he is aware that recently a request for a change of duty made for the purpose of enabling a sorting clerk and telegraphist in Dublin to attend to business in connection with the Dual Workers' Association, was forwarded to the Dublin Secretary for his approval; can he say why this departure from the usual custom was made; if he is aware that the Secretary refused the exchange on the ground that such a course would establish a dangerous precedent; and will he say whether this action of the Dublin Secretary has his sanction, in view of his own and his predecessor's statements that no hindrance would be placed in the way of sorting clerks and telegraphists performing the work of their various associations.

LORD STANLEY: I am not aware of the circumstances referred to by the hon. Member. The matter appears to be one entirely within the competence of the Secretary to the Post Office in Dublin.

Railway Development in Waterford.

MR. O'SHEE: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether he is aware that the Dungarvan Urban Council, the Dungarvan Board of Guardians, and other public bodies have passed resolutions strongly urging that the sum of £93,000 which the Treasury agreed to ask Parliament to vote for the construction of the Cork to Fermoy direct line, should be granted for the construction of a loop line from Cappagh to Clonmel, which would open up an agricultural country, and enable the fishing industry to be largely developed, by providing increased facilities of transit; and whether, having regard to the sacrifices made by the ratepayers of Dungarvan and the barony of Decies without Drum for railway development in the past and present, this project will receive the favourable consideration of the Treasury.

THE FINANCIAL SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY (MR. VICTOR CAVENDISH, Derbyshire, W.): As the hon. Member is doubtless aware, the Treasury is bound, in a certain event, to pay the £93,000 to the Fishguard and Rosslare Company under their Act of 1898 and the agreement scheduled thereto. Even if this were not the case, the money is not available, nor is there any power to apply it, for the purpose indicated in the Question.

MR. JOHN REDMOND (Waterford): Is it the case that the three years limit has not yet expired?

MR. VICTOR CAVENDISH: If the hon. and learned Member will consult me privately I may be able to explain the position of affairs.

Undersized Fish Bill.

Mr. GIBSON BOWLES: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether, in view of the alarm and hostility excited among the coast fishermen by the Undersized Fish Bill, he can undertake that this Bill shall not be further proceeded with during the present session.

The PRIME MINISTER and FIRST LORD of the TREASURY (Mr. A. J. Balfour, Manchester, E.): I understand from my hon. friend the Member for North Huntingdonshire that a compromise has been agreed to. I am not aware of its exact nature but I understand that the President of the Board of Agriculture is prepared to accept an Amendment that no Order of the Board under the Bill shall be applicable to any sailing vessel unless and until the Board is satisfied that such sailing vessel has been engaged in trawling on the eastern grounds as defined in a schedule to be added to the Bill.

Mr. GIBSON BOWLES: Yes, but that compromise has been rejected at large meetings of fishermen at Aldeburgh and at King's Lynn, where it has been resolved that no such Amendment would remove their objections to the Bill.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: Well, I can only say I hope it will prove satisfactory and that the Bill will be proceeded with without further delay.

Foreign Competition—Suggested Commercial Defence Committee.

Mr. EVELYN CECIL (Aston Manor): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether, referring to a reply which he gave on 24th March, 1903,† any further action has been taken towards establishing a small permanent Committee or Commercial Defence Committee, consisting of members of the Admiralty, Board of Trade, Colonial Office, and Post Office, and trade representatives, to watch the development of foreign competition, and consider from time to time what steps are required to meet it.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR I have great sympathy with the objects of my hon. friend; but I confess that at present, without giving a definite pledge on the subject, I am not able to convince myself that the machinery which he proposes would be effective for the object which he desires to carry out.

The Medical Profession and the Licensing Bill.

Sir JOHN LENG (Dundee): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether he has received a copy of the declaration of a number of eminent physicians, founders of settlements in the East End of London, heads of colleges in the Universities, and ladies deeply interested in social welfare, who are seriously concerned at the provisions of the Licensing Bill now before Parliament; whether their objections to the proposals of the Bill have modified the intentions of the Government, and whether those proposals will be withdrawn.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: I have seen the declaration to which the hon. Gentleman refers. I do not know how far the signatories to that declaration believe that a reduction in the number of licences would have any great effect upon the higher interests of temperance; but, if they do think it would have any such effect, I confess I am unable to understand their position.

Army Reorganisation Scheme.

Sir H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN (Stirling Burghs): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether the Government is now able to make the promised statement as to Army policy; and whether, in order to enable that statement to be made, Army Estimates will be taken on Thursday.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: I am afraid we cannot take this statement next Thursday because, unfortunately, it appears to be necessary for Treasury reasons to take the Reports of two Army and Navy Votes. I may add that I do not think next Thursday would be a very convenient day for discussing any large questions, because I am given to understand that most of the time in the second part of our sitting will be occupied with an important private Bill.

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† See (4) *Debates*, cxx., 64.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Can the right hon. Gentleman give us an idea, as definite as may be, when this statement will be made? The right hon. Gentleman must realise the fact that the Government set great store by their Army reorganisation policy, and they have not been questioned about it. They themselves, fixed the day for making that statement to the House, and they themselves, for some reason or other, postponed it. I think the right hon. Gentleman should see that it is hardly treating the House of Commons with due respect to adjourn a matter to which he himself has attributed such vital importance.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I agree with almost everything that has fallen from the right hon. Gentleman except the single statement that what we have done is in any sense treating the House of Commons with disrespect. I hope the statement will not be long delayed, but it cannot take place next Thursday.

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON: What are the Votes to which the right hon. Gentleman refers?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: They are the Reports of Army Vote No. 9 and Navy Vote No. 8, Sections 1 and 2, and the remaining Navy Votes which have passed the Committee. They will be put down as the first Order. The Civil Service Estimates, Class 1, will be put down as the second Order.

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON: What are the Treasury reasons?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Money is required to carry on the services of the country.

The Order of Questions.

At five minutes to Three, under the Rules of the House, Questions were stopped, although a considerable number remained unanswered.

DR. MACNAMARA asked the Speaker, as a point of order, whether any arrangement could be made whereby they could reach the Questions to the Colonial Secretary before five minutes to Three o'clock.

***MR. SPEAKER**: That is not a question of order.

DR. MACNAMARA asked whether the Speaker could direct him to the Standing Order under which the arrangement was made.

***MR. SPEAKER**: The hon. Member will find the only Standing Order under the head of Questions.

SIR HENRY FOWLER (Wolverhampton, E.): May I ask with whom rests the responsibility of appointing the time to the Questions. They are shifted about day by day. Sometimes the First Lord of the Treasury's Questions are very early, and sometimes very late.

***MR. SPEAKER**: They are not arranged by me. That is all I can say. I believe it is an arrangement made by Ministers, subject to requests from the other side.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The only request that has been made on the subject, so far as I know, has been in respect of my own Questions. The old practice was to put the Questions to the Leader of the House, whoever he might be, at the end of the other Questions. Under the new Question Rule it was found that when the Questions reached a certain number the House was prevented from asking me any Questions except those that referred under the Standing Order to matters of urgency or to the business of the House, and a request was made to me to try so to arrange that the starred Questions addressed to me should be answered before the conclusion of the Question hour. I came to the conclusion that if my Questions came on at number fifty I would always be safe. But hon. Gentlemen have become more inquisitive since that arrangement was made ["No, no!"] or the Answers have been longer, or more supplementary Questions have been put, and to-day we have only been fortunate enough to get to half of the starred Questions put to me. I will therefore request the clerks at the Table to put my Questions a little earlier; at number forty-five, which I hope will be safe. I shall be glad to make the arrangement of Questions as convenient to the House and to Ministers as can possibly be done, but up to the present I have only attempted to deal with my own Questions.

Mr. BLAKE (Longford, S.) asked whether, in view of the circumstances which debarred the House from other action in regard to foreign and Colonial affairs, it was not important that Ministers should suggest an arrangement which would ensure the Questions addressed to the Colonial Secretary and the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs being reached at a time when Answers could be given.

*Mr. SPEAKER: I can hardly take upon myself to dictate the order in which Questions shall appear on the Paper. I may say that the arrangement made by the First Lord of the Treasury was one which was submitted to me before it was adopted. Possibly after what has been said some better arrangement may be made; but at the same time I think hon. Members will see that the importance of a Question addressed to a particular Minister necessarily varies at different times.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—THE COLONIAL VOTE.

Dr. MACNAMARA: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury if he can state when it is proposed to take the Colonial Office Vote.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: I have made inquiries on this subject. My right hon. friend informs me that the financial Blue-book will be issued next Thursday, and the general Blue-book on the following Thursday. Therefore I do not suppose that the House will desire to take the Colonial Office Vote before Thursday, 14th July.

Mr. DALZIEL (Kirkcaldy Burghs): Can the right hon. Gentleman say when the Finance Bill will be resumed?

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: No, I cannot.

Sir H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: May I point out to the Prime Minister that Army Estimates must necessarily have two days. There will be the statement of the Secretary for War, and then there must be an interval before the discussion takes place. As to the Colonial Vote, the right hon. Gentleman knows that at least two great subjects will be largely discussed on it, and it appears to me extremely unlikely that one day will be sufficient for the discussion. The result would be that these two important branches of the Estimates will be relegated to what I may call the dog days, and may be so long delayed that there will be no opportunitity of discussing them at all.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: I do not think the gloomy consequences which the right hon. Gentleman has drawn from my Answer are really legitimate inferences from it. All I said was that next Thursday, for financial reasons, could not be devoted to anything but supplying the Treasury with the necessary funds for carrying on the day-to-day business of the country. I made no Answer as regarded later Thursdays, except to point out that, as the House will not have for a fortnight the Blue-books promised by my right hon. friend the Colonial Secretary, they will probably desire to put off the Colonial Vote until they have the Blue-books.

Sir H. CAMPBELL BANNERMAN: The cause of that is the undue and unexpected postponement of the Papers on the question.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: Not undue.

NAVAL AND MILITARY MEDALS BILL [Lords.]

Read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, and to be printed. [Bill 243.]

LICENSING BILL.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[Mr. J. W. Lowther (Cumberland, Penrith) in the Chair.]

Mr. LLOYD-GEORGE (Carnarvon Boroughs) rose to move to report Progress, having special regard to the circumstances in which the Bill was being taken that day. The Committee stage of the

Bill was begun about three weeks ago, and, being the great Bill of the session, it was generally expected that it would be proceeded with from day to day. But in the next week its progress was interrupted and the Scotch Education Bill was taken, nobody knew why—except it was to provide a counter-attraction to Ascot. Then, in the middle of Clause 31 of that Bill, the Government suddenly knocked it off, and took up the Finance Bill, assigning as a reason that they were bound to proceed with it because of the great inconvenience its delay was causing to the tea, tobacco, and other industries. After proceeding with it for three days, they suddenly broke off again in the middle of a debate on an Amendment, without even taking a division. And the next thing the House heard was that the Bill which was urgent in the interests of trade and industry had been put off until after the Licensing Bill. No one knew how long that would take—it depended on the comfort and satisfaction of hon. Members opposite. He did not believe the House had ever been treated in this way. It was absolutely without precedent, as the Government itself was without precedent. It was solely because of the exigencies of the Government, which could not get their supporters there. Everybody was sick of the Government. The country was sick of them, their own supporters were sick of them, they were sick of each other. It was very hard that the House of Commons should suffer in that way. He thought it was time they had a change for the benefit of their health. They were told that this chopping and changing was going on because of obstruction. Obstruction by whom, he should like to know? He heard an hon. Member opposite speaking the other day simply in order to occupy time. So pleased were the Government with him that the following morning he was a Privy Councillor. The Government themselves were responsible. They were absolutely encouraging obstruction. They had half-an-hour of the Member for Sheffield one night, half-an-hour of the Member for Peckham, and twenty minutes of the hon. Member for Partick, and yet the Government expected to have a House. If the curtain piece was to be kept going at the beginning of each sitting, the Government must improve the cast. He ventured to submit that this sort of thing was bringing discredit on the House of Commons. The Government really ought to have regard, he would not say for their self-respect, because it was too late to appeal to that, but to the respect due to the House of Commons. They ought to have respect for the institutions of the country. It was perfectly discreditable that the Government should use, he would not say their majority, but the position they had got in order to press through a Bill which the country had, by every means in its power, protested against. In order to invite an expression of opinion from the House of Commons as to the conduct of the Government in the transaction of their business, he moved that the Chairman do report Progress.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress; and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. Lloyd-George*).

THE PRIME MINISTER AND FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): I am not greatly surprised, seeing what has already occurred in the present session, that a Motion to report Progress should be made at the very beginning of business, at the time when, I think, the House is anxious to proceed with the matters before it. But, though I am not surprised at the Motion, I confess I am rather surprised at the speech with which the Motion was introduced. The hon. Gentleman's very characteristic remarks seemed to me more appropriate to a vote of censure on the Government for the manner in which they are conducting the business of the House than to the question of whether this Bill should or should not be gone on with this afternoon. The hon. Gentleman has discussed the impropriety of leaving off the Finance Bill in the middle, and he has quarrelled with the general arrangement of business. I think there was no reason for quarrelling with the general arrangement of business, and I think it was perfectly right that we should leave off the Finance Bill where we did. The Finance Bill is a Bill that must be passed, but it does not matter whether it be passed early or late in the session——

Mr. LLOYD-GEORGE: What about dislocating industry?

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: Early or late in the session, so far as the actual conduct of the business of the House of Lords is concerned, because the House of Lords have, as everybody knows, nothing whatever to do with the Budget. But, in my opinion, it would be extremely inconvenient if a measure like the Licensing Bill were sent up to the House of Lords at a time when that Assembly would be unable, through the lateness of the session, to give it adequate consideration. That alone would, I think, be sufficient justification for our not deferring until a later week the continuation of our discussion of the Committee stage. I do not deny that it was extremely unfortunate that the Budget Bill was not fortunate last week; I do not deny that it was unfortunate that, at all events, we could not get the assent of the House to all the proposals of my right hon. friend. But I do entirely deny that those misfortunes, which I do not profess to minimise, were in any sense due to mismanagement on the part of His Majesty's Government. In these circumstances, without going into all the controversial matters which, as I have already said, are rather appropriate to a vote of censure than to a Motion to report Progress upon the details of a particular Bill being considered in Committee—passing those by, I would simply request the House, if the matter of complaint against the Government be that Government business does not proceed fast enough, not to effect the very result of which the hon. Gentleman complains by having a long discussion on what is, after all, a dilatory Motion. The hon. Gentleman says that Government business has been going too slow; he says it is the fault of hon. Gentlemen sitting on this side. Well, we will not quarrel as to where the fault lies; that it has been going too slow I entirely and fully admit; and the best way of preventing that evil being continued is at once to dismiss the Motion which the hon. Gentleman has brought forward, which is and can be but a waste of time, and to proceed at once to the consideration of the Bill, which, as the hon. Gentleman truly says, is one of the most important which the Government has brought forward in the course of the present session.

Question put.

The Committee divided:—Ayes, 164; Noes, 202. (Division List No. 175.)

AYES.

Abraham, William Cork, N.E.)
Ainsworth, John Stirling
Ashton, Thomas
Asquith, Rt. Hn. Herb. Henry
Atherley-Jones, L.
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Beaumont, Wentworth C. B.
Bell, Richard
Benn, John Williams
Black, Alexander William
Blake, Edward
Boland, John
Bryce, Rt. Hon. James
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Burke, E. Haviland
Burns, John
Burt, Thomas
Buxton, Sydney Charles
Caldwell, James
Campbell-Bannerman, Sir H.
Causton, Richard Knight
Channing, Francis Allston
Churchill, Winston Spencer
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Corbett, A. Cameron (Glasgow)
Craig, Robert Hunter (Lanark)
Crombie, John William
Crooks, William
Cross, Alexander (Glasgow)
Cullinan, J.
Dalziel, James Henry
Davies, Alfred (Carmarthen)
Davies, M. Vaughan (Cardigan)
Delany, William
Devlin, Joseph (Kilkenny, N.)
Dickson-Poynder, Sir John P.
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Donelan, Captain A.
Doogan, P. C.
Edwards, Frank
Ellice, Capt. E.C(SAndrw'sBghs
Ellis, John Edward (Notts.)
Farquharson, Dr. Robert
Farrell, James Patrick
Fenwick, Charles
Ferguson, R. C. Munro (Leith)
Ffrench, Peter
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Flynn, James Christopher
Fowler, Rt. Hon. Sir Henry
Freeman-Thomas, Captain F.
Gilhooly, James
Grant, Corrie
Griffith, Ellis J.
Guest, Hon. Ivor Churchill
Gurdon, Sir W. Brampton
Haldane, Rt. Hon. Richard B.
Hardie, J.Keir(MerthyrTydvil)
Harwood, George
Hayden, John Patrick
Hayter, Rt. Hon.Sir Arthur D.
Helme, Norval Watson
Hemphill, Rt. Hon. Charles H.
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Holland, Sir William Henry
Hope, John Dean (Fife, West)
Horniman, Frederick John
Jacoby, James Alfred
Jones, D. Brynmor (Swansea)
Jones, William(Carnarvonshire
Jordan, Jeremiah
Joyce, Michael
Kearley, Hudson E.
Kennedy, Vincent V.(Cavan,W.
Kitson, Sir James
Labouchere, Henry
Lambert, George
Langley, Batty
Law, Hugh Alex. (Donegal, W.
Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cornwall)
Layland-Barratt, Francis

Leese, Sir Jos. F. (Accrington)
Leigh, Sir Joseph
Leng, Sir John
Levy, Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Lloyd-George, David
Lough, Thomas
Lundon, W.
Lyell, Chares Henry
Macnamara, Dr. Thomas J.
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
M'Crae, George
M'Fadden, Edward
M'Hugh, Patrick A.
M'Kenna, Reginald
M'Killop, W. (Sligo, North)
Mansfield, Horace Rendall
Markham, Arthur Basil
Mooney, John J.
Morley, Rt.Hn. John(Montrose
Murphy, John
Nannetti, Joseph P.
Norman, Henry
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
O'Brien, K. (Tipperary, Mid.)
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Brien, P. J. (Tipperary, N.)
O'Connor, James (Wicklow, W.
O'Doherty, William
O'Donnell, T. (Kerry, W.)
O'Dowd, John
O'Malley, William
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
Parrott, William
Partington, Oswald
Pirie, Duncan V.
Power, Patrick Joseph
Price, Robert John
Rea, Russell
Reckitt, Harold James
Reddy, M.
Redmond, John E. (Waterford)
Reid, Sir R. Threshie(Dumfries
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.)
Robertson, Edmund (Dundee)
Roe, Sir Thomas
Rose, Charles Day
Runciman, Walter
Russell, T. W.
Samuel, Herbert L (Cleveland)
Schwann, Charles E.
Seely, Maj.J.E.B.(Isle of Wight
Shaw, Thomas (Hawick B)
Sheehan, Daniel Daniel
Sheehy, David
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Smith, Samuel (Flint)
Soames, Arthur Wellesley
Soares, Ernest J.
Spencer, Rt. Hn.C R(Northants
Stanhope, Hon Philip James
Strachey, Sir Edward
Sullivan, Donal
Thomas, Abel (Carmarthen,E)
Thomas, Sir A (Glamorgan,E)
Thomas, D Alfred (Merthyr)
Thomson, F. W. (York, W. R.)
Tillet, Louis John
Toulmin, George
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Ure, Alexander
Wallace, Robert
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan)
Wason, John Cathcart(Orkney)
White, George (Norfolk)
White, Luke (York, E. R.)
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
Whittaker, Thomas Palmer
Williams, Osmond (Merioneth)
Wilson, Henry J. (York, W.R.)
Woodhouse,Sir J.T(Huddersf'd
Yoxall, James Henry

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Mr. Herbert Gladstone and Mr. William M'Arthur.

NOES.

Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
Allhusen,Augustus HenryEden
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster,Rt.Hn.Hugh O
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Austin, Sir John
Bagot, Capt. Josceline FitzRoy
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Baird, John George Alexander
Balcarres, Lord
Baldwin, Alfred
Balfour, Rt.Hon. A.J.(Manch'r
Balfour, Capt. C. B. (Hornsey)
Balfour, Rt. Hon. G. W. (Leeds
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Bartley, Sir George C. T.
Beckett, Ernest William
Bignold, Arthur
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Bond, Edward
Boscawen, Arthur Griffith
Boulnois, Edmund
Bowles, Lt.-Col.H.F(Middlesex
Bowles, T.Gibson(King's Lynn
Brassey, Albert
Bull, William James
Campbell, Rt.Hn.J.A.(Glasgow
Campbell, J.H.M(DublinUniv.
Carson, Rt. Hon Sir Edw H.
Cavendish, V.C.W. (Derbyshire
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Chamberlain, RtHn.J.A(Worc.
Chapman, Edward
Clive, Captain Percy A.
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Coghill, Douglas Harry
Cohen, Benjamin Louis
Colston, Chas. Edw. H. Athole
Cox, Irwin Edward Bainbridge
Craig, CharlesCurtis(Antrim,S.)
Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Davenport, William Bromley
Dewar,Sir T.R.(Tower Hamlets
Dickinson, Robert Edmond
Dickson, Charles Scott
Digby, John K. D. Wingfield-
Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
Dixon-Hartland, Sir F. D.
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers
Duke, Henry Edward
Durning-Lawrence, Sir Edwin
Dyke, Rt.Hn.Sir William Hart
Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
Faber, Edmund B. (Hants.,W.
Fardell, Sir T. George
Fergusson,Rt.Hn. Sir J (Manc'r
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
Fison, Frederick William
FitzGerald, Sir Robert Penrose
Fitzroy, Hn. Edward Algernon
Flower, Sir Ernest
Forster, Henry William
Foster, P. S. (Warwick, S.W.)
Galloway, William Johnson
Gardner, Ernest
Gordon, Hn.J.E.(Elgin&Nairn)
Gordon, Maj. E. (T'r Hamlets)
Gorst, Rt. Hon. Sir John Eldon
Goulding, Edward Alfred
Graham, Henry Robert
Greene,SirE.W(B'ryS.Edm'nds
Greene, Henry D.(Shrewsbury)
Gretton, John
Greville, Hon. Ronald
Groves, James Grimble
Gunter, Sir Robert
Hain, Edward
Halsey, Rt. Hon. Thomas F.
Hardy, L. (Kent, Ashford)
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Harris, F. Leverton (Tynem'th
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Heath, James (Staffords., N.W.
Helder, Augustus
Hoare, Sir Samuel
Hogg, Lindsay
Hope, J.F.(Sheffield,Brightside
Hornby, Sir William Henry
Horner, Frederick William
Houldsworth, Sir Wm. Henry
Howard, Jn.(Kent, Faversham
Howard, J. (Midd.,Tottenham)
Hozier, Hn. James Henry Cecil
Hudson, George Bickersteth
Hunt, Rowland
Jeffreys, Rt. Hon. Arthur Fred.
Kennaway, Rt.Hn.Sir John H.
Kenyon, Hn. Geo. T. (Denbigh)
Kenyon-Slaney, Col. W.(Salop.
Kimber, Henry
Laurie, Lieut.-General
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
Lawson, J. Grant (Yorks., N.R.
Lee, A. H. (Hants., Fareham)
Lees, Sir Elliott (Birkenhead)
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Leveson-Gower, Frederick N.S.
Lockwood, Lieut.-Col. A. R.
Loder, Gerald Walter Erskine
Long, Col.Chas. W. (Evesham)
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas, Reginald J.(Portsmouth
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
MacIver, David (Liverpool)
Maconochie. A. W.
M'Iver,Sir Lewis(Edinburgh,W
Malcolm, Ian
Manners, Lord Cecil

Massey-Mainwaring, Hn. W.F.
Mildmay, Francis Bingham
Mitchell, William (Burnley)
Moon, Edward Robert Pacy
Moore, William
Morrison, James Archibald
Morton, Arthur H. Aylmer
Mount, William Arthur
Murray, Rt. Hon. A. G. (Bute)
Murray, Col. Wyndham (Bath)
Myers, William Henry
Newdegate, Francis A. N.
Nolan, Col. John P. (Galway, N.)
O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
Palmer, Walter Salisbury)
Peel, Hn. Wm. Robert Wellesley
Pemberton, John S. G.
Percy, Earl
Pilkington, Colonel Richard
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Plummer, Walter R.
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Pretyman, Ernest George
Purvis, Robert
Pym, C. Guy
Quilter, Sir Cuthbert
Rasch, Sir Frederic Carne
Reid, James (Greenock)
Remnant, James Farquharson
Renshaw, Sir Charles Bine
Richards, Henry Charles
Ridley, S. Forde (Bethnal Green
Ritchie, Rt. Hn. Chas. Thomson
Roberts, Samuel Sheffield)
Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
Rolleston, Sir John F. L.
Ropner, Colonel Sir Robert
Royds, Clement Molyneux
Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford
Sadler, Col. Samuel Alexander
Samuel, Sir H. S. (Limehouse)
Sassoon, Sir Edward Albert
Seely, Charles Hilton (Lincoln)
Seton-Karr, Sir Henry
Sharpe, William Edward T.
Simeon, Sir Barrington
Sloan, Thomas Henry
Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
Stanley, Edward Jas. Somerset
Stanley, Rt. Hon. Lord (Lancs.
Stewart, Sir Mark J. M'Taggart
Talbot, Rt. Hn. J. G (Oxf'd Univ.
Thorburn, Sir Walter
Thornton, Percy M.
Tollemache, Henry James
Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
Tritton, Charles Ernest
Tuff, Charles
Valentia, Viscount
Vincent, Col. Sir C. E. H (Sheffield
Vincent, Sir Edgar (Exeter)
Walrond, Rt. Hn. Sir William H.
Wanklyn, James Leslie
Warde, Colonel C. E.
Webb, Colonel William George
Welby, Lt.-Col. A. C. E (Taunton
Whiteley, H. (Ashton und. Lyne
Whitmore, Charles Algernon
Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
Wilson, A. Stanley (York, E.R.
Wilson, John (Glasgow)
Wilson-Todd, Sir W. H. (Yorks.)
Wodehouse, Rt. Hn. E. R. (Bath
Wolff, Gustav Wilhelm
Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B. Stuart
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George
Yerburgh, Robert Armstrong
Young, Samuel
Younger, William

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Sir Alexander Acland-Hood and Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes.

Clause 1.

Amendment again proposed—

> "In page 1, line 5, to leave out the words 'an on,' and insert the word 'a.'"—(*Mr. Griffith Boscawen.*)

Question proposed, "That the words 'an on' stand part of the clause."

*__MR. WHITTAKER__ (Yorkshire, W.R., Spen Valley) reminded the Committee that when the Bill was last under consideration the hon. Member for the Tunbridge Division moved an Amendment to bring off-licences within the scope of the Bill, in order that all licences should be under the same jurisdiction, but suggested that only off beer licences should be compensated. The hon. and learned Member for the Stretford Division also supported the Amendment from the point of view of placing all licences under the same jurisdiction, but he strongly objected to compensation being given to any off-licences whatever. The Solicitor-General, while refusing to accept the Amendment because it would bring in licences connected with other business, intimated that the Government would be prepared to consider the advisability of bringing in off beer licences only. The real question before the Committee was whether or not off-licences should receive compensation. Personally, he was against the proposal. He was against the proposal to compensate on-licences on the basis of the Bill, therefore he was against introducing off-licences into the scheme. But looking at the question from the point of view of the Government, if on-licences were to be compensated, why should not off-licences be similarly treated? What reason could be given in support of compensation for on-licences which was not equally strong in favour of compensation for off-licences? Or, to put it another way, what reason could be given against compensation for off-licences which would not be fatal to the proposal of the Government with regard to on-licences? The Government contended that it would be grossly unjust and inequitable to take away an on-licence, other than for misconduct, because it had a value. So also had the off-licence, and surely the eternal verities did not alter simply because the licence was an off-licence instead of an on-licence.

Everybody admitted the desirability of reducing the number of off-licences, and according to the Government the present Bill was to facilitate the reduction of licences: why, then, should not the same process be applied to both classes of licence? The hon. and learned

Gentleman had stated that the Government would be prepared to consider the inclusion of beer licences, but that this clause was not the proper place for the Amendment. The Committee had a right to know clearly what was the position of the Government on the question of off-licences. To differentiate licences connected with some other business was to bring in an extraordinary distinction. Justice and equity could not depend upon whether or not a person carried on two businesses. Justice was not a matter of the amount of the damage done or of the loss sustained. A grocer, a large part of whose business was connected with his off-licence, might be much more dependent for his livelihood upon the licensed part of his business than a smaller on licence-holder who transacted some other business. In Ireland three-fourths, or probably four-fifths of the public-houses were carried on in establishments in which the licensed business was dealt with on one side of the shop and a retail business on the other, so that Irish Members who were supporting the Bill would probably find that they were leaning on a very broken reed indeed. Theatres, music halls, and railway refreshment rooms all came within the scope of the Bill, but the selling of liquor in those places was but a small portion of a gigantic business. Upon what principle, then, was compensation to be given? If it was to be given only to those who had no other business, why was the brewer to come in at all? because if the licence of one house was taken away he would have any number more left to him. Brewery shareholders, too, had other sources of income, and therefore, on the theory applied to off-licences, they were not entitled to compensation. Whatever the principle of the Bill might be, it clearly was not that a valuable privilege was being taken away, because an off-licence was a valuable privilege, but the dispossessed holder was not to be compensated. As to the off beer licences, if there was any holder who held his licence with the fullest knowledge that it was subject to the discretion of the justices, it was the off licence holder. The Act of 1882, even more clearly than the Act of 1828, laid it down that the renewal was to be at the absolute discretion of the justices. In the year after the passage of the Act 850 off beer licences were refused renewal, but nobody's soul was troubled about compensation or about the injustice done, and yet that was the one particular class of off-licence which the Solicitor-General now said the Government would be prepared to consider. It seemed to him that the only principle at the bottom of the Bill was that the brewer should be compensated, and the suggestion that off beer licences should have exceptional treatment was due to the fact that the off beer house was frequently a tied house and was the only off-licence business in which the brewer was really interested. It simply showed how fully and thoroughly the present measure was not a licence-holders' Bill but a brewers' Bill.

As to jurisdiction, that would be an anomaly throughout the Bill. The renewal of off-licences would not be dealt with by the same authority as the renewal of on-licences, and he agreed that that was a retrograde step. But the inclusion of beerhouses would not remove the confusion, inasmuch as all other off-licences would have to go before a different tribunal. He submitted that the portion of the Bill under consideration was the proper place for such an Amendment; therefore the Committee were entitled to an immediate statement from the Government as to their position in the matter.

*Mr. CATHCART WASON (Orkney and Shetland) did not think the hon. Member for Spen Valley had hardly been fair to the Government, because the Solicitor-General, when he addressed the House some weeks ago, was very careful not to make any promise as to whether the Government would accept this Amendment. He rather treated it in a callous, hard-hearted manner, and not in the sympathetic manner which the speech of the mover deserved to be treated. He intended to give all the support he could to this proposal, because it was nothing short of a pure measure of justice. Why should not the persons for whom the hon. Member for Tunbridge pleaded so ably receive some of the benefit? In vulgar parlance, why should they not have their "little bit" when so many millions of public money were flying about, because their case was just as strong as the holders of on-licences. The Solicitor-General did not treat this Amendment with the smallest respect, and this argument was that great stores like the Army and Navy Stores or Harrods' Stores could not distinguish in their business between the profits due to the sale of spirituous liquors and what applied to other business. That was an absolutely absurd argument, for there was not the slightest difficulty on the part of the smallest store-keeper in stating clearly what proportion of his profits were derived from the sale of drink and what portion were derived from other goods. He did not think there was a single word in the speech of the hon. and learned Member the Solicitor-General which would bear the construction put upon it by the hon. Member for Spen Valley. He agreed that this was the time when they ought to know how much further the Government were going in regard to this question. The holders of on-licences knew that they were being treated with more than justice and consideration by the Government, and it was a great pity that the hon. Member for Tunbridge had not received more support in pressing for pure and simple justice to the off-licence holders. He wished to make the Bill as little harmful as possible. The public were going to pay this compensation money, and the sooner they fixed their minds upon that point the better it would be for a proper understanding of the Bill. He submitted that the Amendment proposed by the hon. Member for Tunbridge was worthy of every consideration.

Mr. RITCHIE (Croydon) said he hoped his hon. friend the Member for Tunbridge would not press this Amendment, and if he did he hoped the Government would not assent to it. This was a very large and complicated Bill, and he was sure that the Government would be wise in restricting it to its present limits and not extending it to another part of licensing. Off and on-licenses stood upon absolutely different lines. Allusion had been made to the Act of 1882, which placed off-licences under magisterial control. Something had been said about there having been no compensation included in that measure, but the reason for that was very plain. Previous to the passing of the Act of 1882, for which he was responsible, every house in every street, if it could be shown that it was rated above a certain amount, might become an off-beerhouse, and there was absolutely no restriction. What compensation could be due to those who were granted licences under circumstances of that kind? Words were put into the Act of 1882 which were intended to make it quite plain that under no circumstances was there to be any doubt about the justices having full and complete control over those licences. Those words showed clearly what the intention of Parliament was, and every person who was then in possession of an off-licence, and every person who had obtained one since that time, knew that there was no claim, moral or otherwise, for compensation. That was totally different to the position of on-licences which, whatever might be the law, according to practice had always been renewed from year to year; and although there was no vested interest in them, there was a real substantial interest in them. Nothing of the kind could be said to exist in the case of off-beerhouses. This Amendment would not only add a great deal of complication, but it was wholly unnecessary, and there was no such claim for compensation as existed in regard to on-licences. He earnestly hoped that with regard to off-licences and grocers' licences the Government would set themselves steadily against any extension of this measure to licences of that kind. By accepting this proposal they would add to their difficulties, and it would be a most unnecessary extension having regard to previous legislation.

Sir ROBERT REID (Dumfries Burghs) said that in regard to these off-licences the story was a very simple one. They were free houses under the Act of 1834, and as his right hon. friend opposite had just said, anybody could open a beershop with one of those licences if he had certain qualifications. That was their position; but in 1869 they had bestowed upon them what was practically a freehold, and they could only be dispossessed upon one of four grounds. The on-licences were in exactly a similar position. In 1882 the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Croydon introduced a Bill for the purpose of taking these off-licences out of the category of freehold licences and placing them in the absolute unqualified discretion of the magistrates, making it clear to every human being that they might be discontinued at the discretion of the magistrates. That was done because these off-licences up to 1882 had proved competitive to the brewers. The brewers themselves were the persons who destroyed the freehold existing before in order to put them in the absolute discretion of the magistrates. That was how the liquor interest treated their rivals in 1882. After they had placed these licences in the unfettered discretion of the magistrates they began to buy them up. Those houses—which were the subject of the present discussion, had the freehold destroyed in 1882 by the brewers, and which, after being bought out by the brewers, became tied houses— were the only type of off-licences which existed, and the Committee was now being asked to bring them under the compensation scheme. His hon. friend the Member for Spen Valley said the case for these particular off-licences was as strong as the case for on-licences. If this were a good Bill they might contemplate the bringing in of these off-licence holders, but if, as they thought, this was not a good Bill, and that compensation should not be applied in this form at all, where was the reason for asking them to extend it to a set of licences to which in no sort of equity the provisions of the Bill should be extended. The observation of the right hon. Gentleman as to the reason why no compensation was provided in 1882 was very significant and pregnant. He said the reason was that anybody might take out one of these licences who had qualifying premises, and he was perfectly right. It was because a monopoly was granted to others that it now was proposed compensation should be granted to them. What it was desirable the Committee should appreciate was that compensation was the child of monopoly.

*THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. AKERS-DOUGLAS, Kent, St. Augustine's) said the hon. Member for the Spen Valley Division in opening the debate on this question had reminded the House of the discussion which took place on the occasion when the matter was last discussed in Committee. He stated that he himself was strongly opposed to the inclusion of these off-licences in this Bill, but he proceeded to show many reasons why these licences should come in. His own reason for rising now was to carry out what he thought was the general wish of the Committee, and to ask his hon. friend the Member for Tunbridge to withdraw this Amendment. If he could not withdraw the Amendment it would be the duty of the Government to vote against it. The compensation under the Bill was for persons who had invested considerable sums of money in licensed premises as such. This principle did not apply in the same way to off-licences. [AN HON. MEMBER: Why?] Nobody invested his money in premises simply because they held an off-licence. Mostly, as was pointed out by the Solicitor-General the other night, an off-licence was attached to the house which, quite apart from the licence, was fit for the business for which it was desired to use it. Compensation was given in respect of on-licences not on the loss of business profits, but on depreciation of the premises arising from the fact that the extinction of the licence prevented the house from being used for the purpose for which it was most adapted. There were other reasons given by the Solicitor-General the other night. His hon. and learned friend pointed out that in a certain sense an off-licence might be said to be attached to the person, as under the Act of 1902 a large number of the holders of these licences had personal protection which did not exist in the case of on-licences. Therefore there was a considerable distinction between the two classes of licences, and in view of the principles on which this Bill had been prepared the Government did not feel that they could include the off-licences. He would ask his hon. friend whether, seeing that this view had been so strongly expressed to the Committee, he would not withdraw his Amendment.

MR. ASQUITH (Fifeshire, E.) said the right hon. Gentleman had twitted his hon. friend the Member for the Spen Valley Division for defending this proposition. He thought the right hon.

Gentleman had made a mistake. The hon. Member for the Spen Valley Division was really replying to the argument of the Solicitor-General, who sought to establish the differentiation of these different classes of licence-holders on the basis that some licences, such as grocers, were carried on in connection with other businesses. His hon. friend the Member for the Spen Valley Division stated that if the Government were going to make the carrying on or the non-carrying on of other businesses the test of the right to compensation, then there were a good many licences not entitled to compensation. There was the case of a hotel, a music hall, and many other cases that might be cited. That was really the point of his hon. friend's remark. He welcomed with satisfaction the declaration of the right hon. Gentleman that the Government were not in favour of this Amendment. He thought it would be a much more convenient course to have the Amendment negatived and not withdrawn. It would save a great deal of trouble afterwards. He wished to understand clearly whether the Government adhered to the reservation stated by the Solicitor-General in favour of beer licences, and whether the other class of off-licences were not to come within the scope of the clause either in regard to jurisdiction or compensation. If the Committee had a distinct assurance on that point he thought they might proceed to negative the Amendment.

Mr. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.) said three weeks ago the Solicitor-General told them that certain classes of licences held by men who carried on off-businesses were not entitled to compensation. At the time this language was used exception was taken by Members for Ireland. The Bill did not apply to Ireland at present, but if it were passed no doubt its extension must come, and he wished to point out to Irish Members that if compensation was only given to those who carried on business as publicans alone, the limits within which it would be applied would be very small. As the Solicitor-General would know, there was scarcely a public-house in Ireland where some other business was not carried out. If the principle was to be laid down that licences in these circumstances were not entitled to compensation, he hoped Irish Members who supported the Bill would make a note of it.

Mr. LLOYD-GEORGE said the last speaker seemed to have expected the Government would stick to something they said three weeks ago. He could not possibly himself hold that expectation. Far more interesting, however, than the attitude of the Government was the reason given for it. The Home Secretary said he drew a broad distinction between off and on-licences, and the reason he gave was that compensation was to be in respect of capital expended in adapting the building for the business. If compensation was only to be granted for that purpose he did not think there would be very much opposition to it. The opposition was because it was nothing of the kind. The compensation they were asked to give was not compensation for capital expended. It was compensation in respect of public property and not the money which licences had sunk. A parallel had been drawn with the case of 1882 off-licences, and it had been suggested that after 1882 off-licensees had had full notice of their legal position. The on-licence holders, however, had had full notice since the case of "Sharpe *v.* Wakefield," and the case was even stronger, for they had never had any such permanent right as was taken from the off-licence holder in 1882. It was clear the Government were not proceeding upon any principles at all. They talked of equity and justice. It was all like the shifting sand. The form of the Amendment was to insert the word "a" in the clause, and he supposed the hon. Member thought on general grounds that the Government would sympathise with any indefinite article.

Mr. GRIFFITH BOSCAWEN (Kent, Tunbridge) said he was the last person to attempt to stand in the way of the convenience of the House, but at the same time he thought the attitude taken up by the Government made the position rather difficult for him. When he moved the Amendment three weeks ago, the Solicitor-General said the Government would be prepared to consider the question of including off-licences of a certain class. He relied on the statement ol the hon. and learned Gentleman that if he withdrew his Amendment the Government would consider the possibility of introducing or supporting something—he would not say it went beyond a promise to consider—at a later stage. On those conditions he was prepared at once to withdraw the Amendment, but he rather gathered from what had been said by the Home Secretary that the Government did not quite take the same line now. Before withdrawing it, therefore, he wished to ask the Home Secretary whether by so doing he would be absolutely precluded from raising the question later, and whether the Government were prepared to consider the matter as the Solicitor-General had promised.

MR. McKENNA (Monmouthshire, N.) said if the Government were not inclined to consider what had been urged from the Opposition side of the House, he hoped they would consider what had been said by their thick-and-thin supporter on their own side. It was rather hard on the hon. Member that he should be condemned to silence, so to speak, and asked to withdraw his Amendment. He shared entirely the view of the hon. and learned Member for the Carnarvon Boroughs that they could not expect the Government to have the same mind for more than three weeks at a time. What the Committee were entitled to know was the mind of the Government at the present moment. The Solicitor-General, in reply to the hon. Member opposite, said it was evident to anybody that the Government could not accept the Amendment in the form in which it stood. If it was a mere question of form, he understood that the hon. Member would withdraw his Amendment. On the other hand, if the Government were in the position they were three weeks ago, when they suggested that off-licences would come in for compensation. then they would be opposed. The Home Secretary said that some people had invested the whole of their capital in turning their premises into a condition to facilitate the conduct of one business alone. That was not a question of principle but one of expediency. A grocer might have adapted his premises to carry on part of his business as a retailer of wines and spirits. They, on that side of the House, were against all compensation in respect of those licences, whoever held them and on whatever premises. They were entitled to know whether the Government were finally going, either at the behest of the brewers or any other association, to extend the evil principle of this Bill giving compensation on the extinction of licences. He hoped the Home Secretary would tell the Committee what their intentions really were.

MR. WHITLEY (Halifax) said he did not think the Home Secretary quite realised how far the Solicitor-General went some time since, when he said the reason why compensation was not due to off-licences was because they carried on another business at the same time. In the remote country districts of Yorkshire he should say a substantial proportion of the on-licence holders carried on another business as well. It was usual for a man who was a more or less substantial farmer to run a business in connection with a licensed house and he believed if their books were examined it would be found that the profits they made out of their business as licensed holders would be a very small fraction of their whole income. If the Government were going to rely upon the principles of what the Prime Minister had called "eternal equity" some further explanation should be given, but not a shifty explanation, not an explanation that varied from week to week.

THE SOLICITOR-GENERAL (Sir EDWARD CARSON, Dublin University) said that the hon. Member had rather misrepresented what he had stated earlier in this debate. He did not think it was very important, nor that it was very unusual. But he might be allowed to say that he held exactly the same view now which he held then. What he stated was that the question of whether the off-licences should be dealt with had not been raised in a manner appropriate to the occasion, and he quoted different kinds of licences as to which he showed that the Bill would not be appropriate. What he did say was that, in his view, the question would only arise really in regard to beer off-licences. If it was thought worth while, by any section of the House, that these off beer licences should be reduced, he suggested that the clause defining the restrictions should be made applicable to them. His hon. friend opposite said that he had given a half-promise that the off beer licences would be included in this Bill. He did not give any such promise, nor did he suggest that the Government were going to introduce any such Amendment. His own view was that the question of the off-licences was absolutely different from that of the on-licences — a difference essential in their existence and historically. The hon. Member had gone into the history of the matter, and had shown that there had been various alterations of the law as to off-licences without any question of compensation ever having arisen. He thought he said that in 1902, when the grocers were put on an entirely new basis, there was no question of compensation raised at all. If he remembered rightly as regarded various other off-licences—such as for the sale of cider and spirits—not beer—these were attached to the person, and not to the premises, as in the case of all on-licences. Therefore the two cases were absolutely different. He had always understood that the real reasons proposed for the reduction of these on-licences was that a large number of them were in the streets and the villages, and offered a standing temptation to persons passing by to go in and drink on the premises. A very different consideration applied to the privilege of giving beer to persons standing in the bar, and to supplying beer to persons for consumption off the premises. No very acute question as to the necessity for the reduction of those latter houses had arisen at all, and there had been very little agitation in regard to them. That observation answered, to some extent, the Question put by the hon. Member for South Tyrone. What that hon. Member was dealing with was on-licences in premises where other business was carried on as well as the licensed business. But in Ireland the question was much more complicated. There they had an absolute freehold in the licence given under an Act of Parliament. What he did say was that he hoped the House would understand that in his view the question of the off-licence was entirely different from that of the on-licence; and all he meant when he said that the question might be raised in a more convenient form was that, if it was thought fit to raise it, it should be when they were discussing the off-licences. It was most inconvenient to have a debate on the question of the off-licences mixed up with the on-licences. He hoped he had made it clear that the Government did not intend to include in their Bill any of these off-licences; they proposed to confine it to the question of on-licences.

Mr. ASQUITH said he found it difficult to grasp what the meaning of the Government was. He certainly understood the Solicitor-General to take the view that there was a distinction to be drawn between the two classes of licences—the one being where the main business carried on was a licensed business, and the other where it was carried on in connection with other business. Now, in the speech which the Solicitor-General had just delivered, he seemed to have adumbrated a new policy of compensation. The right hon. Gentleman said that the on-licence provided facilities for temptation which the off-licence did not, and then he proceeded to say that the on-licence was entitled to compensation to which the off-licence was not entitled. In other words, that the right of compensation was to extend to those who had greater capacity to offer temptation to the public.

Sir EDWARD CARSON said he was quite sure the right hon. Gentleman did not wish to misrepresent him. The reason which he gave for the proposal in the Bill was that there was a desire on the part of the public to get rid of a number of on-licences because these provided a temptation which the off-licences did not.

Mr. ASQUITH said that what they had been discussing was the liability for compensation and the right hon. Gentleman's observations were totally irrelevant if the proposal in the Bill would have the effect mentioned. But he rose for the purpose of taking notice formally of the declaration which the Solicitor-General had made on behalf of the Government, that it was not their intention to include, either on their own initiative, or at the suggestion of anyone else, any question of the off-licences. He thought the Committee ought to proceed to negative the Amendment of the hon. Gentleman opposite.

Question put, and agreed to.

MR. WHITLEY said that the Amendment he desired to move was that the Act should only apply to a person whose tenancy of licensed premises was not subject to conditions requiring him to purchase only from a particular firm or particular firms. When the Home Secretary introduced the Bill, he said it was intended to protect the trade. The Amendment would have the effect of safeguarding the tenant of a public-house as against the brewer. The Bill would bring about an immense revolution in the condition of the licensed trade of the country, and he asked the Committee to declare that this great change should not be brought about without laying down, at the earliest possible opportunity, the principle that the State did not intend to recognise, as regarded this particular trade, a practice, which had grown up in recent years on the part of great brewers, of buying up licensed houses and taking away that freedom and responsibility which it was intended should attach to the conduct of licensed houses. It was perfectly plain that it was the intention of the Legislature that the person who was granted a licence should be responsible to the magistrates on the one hand, and the public on the other, for the proper conduct of his business. During the last ten or fifteen years, however, the position had been altered very much for the worse. He believed that it was correct to say that now eight out of every ten licences were under the control of the great brewery companies. That, of course, meant that the actual person whose name appeared on the licence was merely a dummy and a man of straw. His whole position was altered, and he was only a tenant at will. It was not, therefore, too much to ask, when the House was considering such a great change in the position of the liquor traffic, that it should, at the very outset, declare that the first essential was that the trade should revert to the position which it was always intended by the House should be maintained.

It was not necessary for him to revert to the system which had grown up in connection with the tied-house system. He would only draw attention to the worst of those evils, and that was the way in which this system had been used to force the sale of drink. The discount allowed to the unfortunate tenant was so screwed down that he was unable to make a reasonable living without selling more beer than the legitimate requirements of the neighbourhood called for. The result was that practices were introduced, such as giving sweets to children, and the encouragement of as much betting as could be safely carried on, which were against the interests of the public. It was only by such practices that the tenant could make a living out of a tied house. In his own neighbourhood a large proportion of the tied houses went by the name of "man-traps." They were used to induce a steady working man who, after twenty or twenty-five years of labour in a skilled trade, had accumulated savings to the amount of £200, or £300, or £400, to put his money into one of them. That man went in without any knowledge of the real condition of things; and in the course of two or three years he found that the whole of his savings were lost, and that he had to start life again. There was a very distressing case about twelve months ago. It was that of a man engaged in the highest form of skilled labour. He was an engine-driver on one of the express trains on the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway. After a careful and steady life he had saved money; and he was induced to give up his arduous calling for what he thought was the easy life of a publican. His mother and a younger brother signed a promissory note on his behalf; but at the end of a few years he found that not only had he lost his entire savings, but that his aged mother had to pay a sum of £70, all her life's savings. That was an example of the way in which honest men were being swindled by these "man-traps." He appealed to hon. Gentlemen opposite who were honestly concerned for the welfare of the publican to support the Amendment. If it were accepted, brewers would not be interested in maintaining the tied house system, and the tenants would be given their Magna Charta of freedom. In Chester the magistrates had taken a firm stand on this question. They had, by courage and perseverance, been able to restore the tenants to a position of freedom. He asked the Committee to do for the publicans generally what the Chester magistrates were doing.

One important reason why he wished to press the Amendment was that unless it were accepted the owners of tied houses would receive double compensation, the secondary compensation being even greater than the primary. It was perfectly equitable to say that a man who was deprived of his business should be compensated for the loss of the profit he was making; but compensation should not be given twice over. That, however, was exactly what would happen unless a limitation were introduced. The brewer might not be affected to the extent of the sale of a single barrel of beer; and both on the ground of morals and of finance he commended the Amendment to the consideration of the Committee. When they were making a great change in the licensing laws they ought to be careful to recognise that the actual owner of the licence should be entitled to compensation. Let them restore the licence-holder to the position which he enjoyed years ago; and that would do more in the interests of temperance than any mere limitation of the number of licences.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 1, line 5, after the word 'licence,' to insert the words 'which is held by a person whose tenancy of the licensed premises is not subject to conditions requiring him to purchase only from a particular firm or particular firms.'"—(*Mr. Whitley.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

*Mr. YOXALL (Nottingham, W.) said this Amendment was about the most crucial Amendment of all to the Bill. It cast a searchlight on the Bill that hardly any other Amendment could do, and the answer to it of the Government would show whether the Bill was properly described as a Bill for the compensation of licence-holders or not. The first two clauses of the Bill dealt with holders of licences; but in the last part of Clause 2 the conditions were absolutely changed. In that clause it was said that compensation was to be paid to "persons interested in the licensed premises." Who were the "persons interested in the licensed premises?" Not as a rule the licence-holders, or not the licence-holders to any considerable extent. In the case of the free publican, the man whose house was his own freehold and whose capital was his own capital, and who relied on that capital and the pursuit of his trade for his livelihood, there was a good deal to be said for compensation when his licence came to be extinguished. But how far was that the case? It was the case up to the end of the eighteenth century, but at the present time 85 per cent. of the licences were held in respect of licensed premises that did not belong to the publican, and in many places, as in Manchester for instance, as many as 90 per cent. of the licensed premises were tied houses. In the county of Hertfordshire the percentage of tied houses was 93 per cent. So that compensation would not go appreciably to the licence-holders. To whom would it go? The money was to be paid ostensibly as compensation for the extinction of licences the property of the licence-holders. The whole object of the Bill was to compensate licence-holders, and if the Government now refused to draw a distinction between the man who was a *bona-fide* publican and the man who was a mere manager of a tied house then such a searchlight would be cast upon the Bill that the whole country would be able to see that it was really and truly a Bill not for the compensation of licence-holders but for brewers and shareholders in brewery companies and for them alone.

The tied-house system was a fungoid growth which had grown up round our licensing system, and it was a system which this House ought to consider very seriously indeed. No section of the Royal Commission, which recently sat and reported on licensing questions, had avoided condemning the tied-house system, which they said was bad in itself and bad for the country. Under that system a tenant was obtained, who became nominally the licence-holder, advances were made to him sometimes in cash, small amounts, but mainly nominal advances for goodwill, and under the terms of his agreement with the freeholder—the brewers—he must sell in his house the commodity which those brewers provided. He must not go into the open market and purchase commodities, because if he abrogated in the least degree his agreement with the brewery company he had to give up the premises and agree to the transfer of the licence. By this system the licensing laws of this country were reduced to a farce. A bench of justices, for instance, sat to consider the granting of a licence to John Smith, who directly he obtained the licence became a bond-slave. He must buy his beer, his wine, his spirits, everything down to the sawdust on the floor from the persons with whom he made the agreement, and if he did not, then he must give up possession of his premises—at the instigation not of the State but the brewers. The Bill was concerned with the extinction of certain licences, and if they were to be extinguished on public grounds, then the brewers claimed that compensation must be given to them; but he submitted that unless the tied houses were exempted from the operation of this Bill a very great injustice would be done to the free publicans, the licence-holders themselves, at the instigation of brewery companies, who had in their grasp nearly all the licensed houses in the country, and compelled men to drink beer and spirits at a price not fixed by a definite market, of a quality not decided by competition, but at a price and of a quality fixed by the brewers themselves in the agreement made with that creature of slavery, the tenant of the tied house. This Bill proposed to take away from the justices their power of regulating these matters. The justices had been able to do something in that way in the past, and would be able to do something in the future, if their powers remained, to manage this trade, but that part of the powers of the justices was to pass away, and if in the transfer of licences the granting or extinguishing powers passed from the local justices to quarter sessions, the indirect, slight, but often efficacious, jurisdiction of the local justices was destroyed. The general effect of the tied-house system was to push the trade of liquor. The brewers, if their tied houses were not doing well, would say, "You are not doing sufficient; cannot you do something more to push the trade?" The effect of the tied-house system was——

*THE CHAIRMAN said the hon. Member was now discussing the merits and demerits of the tied-house system. This Amendment was to limit the compensation to the free houses.

*MR. YOXALL explained that as the claim for compensation on behalf of the tied houses was that they were held by licensees, and that when the licence was taken away the holder was defrauded of his means of livelihood, and had his freedom to be a trader interfered with, he was endeavouring to show that the occupier of the tied house was not injured. However, he would not pursue the point. It was notorious that the tied-house system led to great insecurity of tenure. It was impossible to ride on a tramcar or omnibus without noticing again and again on the signboards of licensed houses that the name of a tenant had been recently painted out and the name of a new tenant painted in. That was evidence that frequent changes took place, and proved also the little trade value which a great many of the smaller houses possessed. It was a notorious fact that a great many of them were kept open at a positive loss, and they had only been kept open for the last three or four years because of the hope of their owners, the brewery companies, that eventually some compensation would be derived in respect of those houses. If compensation was paid for such houses it would go into the wrong hands. In regard to tied houses there was also a great danger that the claim for compensation would be inflated by the system of charging the tenant more for the beer than it was worth. If the amount of beer supplied to a tied house was nineteen barrels instead of twenty, so as to encourage the publican to water, if, as was nearly always the case with tied houses, the barrels were under measure, and if, further, the price charged was above the market price, it must follow that the compensation paid to a tied house in respect of those inflated quantities would not be a fair compensation. Therefore, if the Amendment were refused by the Government, it became clear that the real object of the Bill was not to compensate the licensee whose means of livelihood had been taken away, but to compensate the capitalist, the brewer, and the brewery shareholder. He hoped, therefore, that the Amendment would be supported, and that it would not be considered that in drawing a distinction between the tied house and the free house there was any attempt to support the Bill in the case of the one as against the other. Compensation was objectionable in any case, but it was less objectionable in the case of the man who was his own master and dealt with his own property than in the case of the freeholder of a tied house, who had absolutely not the shadow of a claim, either moral or legal, to compensation.

MR. CRIPPS (Lancashire, Stretford) submitted that, as a very large number of houses were held under the tied system, the acceptance of the Amendment would cut out a large amount of the fund available for compensation purposes. If the Bill were carried out loyally, a fund should be available sufficient to abolish at least one-third of the existing public-houses, and to carry out the temperance reform suggested by even the Minority Report of the Royal Commission. On the question of compensation, he had considerable sympathy with the last two speakers on the other side, though the question was not really appreciated. Under the Bill, as it stood, there was absolutely no trade compensation whatever. The Bill was not framed on that principle at all, otherwise the amount of compensation might be very large indeed, and the suppression of a large number of public-houses rendered practically impossible. The compensation under the Bill was to depend simply upon the difference in the value of the premises as licensed and unlicensed, and that was very different from trade compensation. According to the Bill, the licensee under the tied system would not be entitled to any compensation, because the amount was to be fixed by quarter sessions, but he had tabled an Amendment by which the licensee under these conditions would be given a title to have allotted to him a fair amount of the compensation. The Bill at present did not compensate the person most injured, viz., the licence-holder whose business was taken from him. He thought the compensation in the Bill was right but not the proposed allocation between the parties interested. The tenant of a tied house ought to have his full share of the compensation when the amount had been determined.

MR. WHITTAKER: He will notget it under the Bill.

MR. CRIPPS said he agreed with the hon. Member, and he had put down an Amendment in order to elicit the views of the Government on the point. He had never denied that the Bill required amendment in several respects, and he wished both sides could agree upon certain Amendments instead of indulging in mere Party discussions. It would be absolutely fatal to the Bill to introduce the Amendment proposed by the hon. Member for Halifax, whereas in a later portion of the Bill the whole matter could be dealt with, and a fair allocation of the compensation money secured. While he supported the Bill generally, there were many details with which he did not agree, and he certainly would not agree with a Bill which did not compensate the licence-holder. He hoped, therefore, the Government would state their views on that point.

*MR. GUEST (Plymouth) said he was sure Members on that side would welcome very much what had fallen from the hon. and learned Member for the Stretford Division in regard to the distribution of the compensation money, and that there would be a general disposition to support the priniple that the licensee should be entitled to a considerable amount of the compensation paid. He did not think,however, that the hon. and learned Member's suggested Amendment would in the least affect the principle raised by the present Amendment. They were not considering how the compensation fund should be distributed, but whether there was not a certain class of house which in equity and justice was not entitled to any compensation at all. What was the principle of compensation? They on that side of the House held that neither as a matter of law nor as a matter of practice were the trade interests as a whole entitled to any sort of compensation whatever, but there was a disposition very widely entertained that if by compensation they could get over the difficulty of inflicting hardship upon individuals, and facilitate the reduction of licences, some sort of *solatium* or compensation might be paid to the licensee dispossessed. But on the question of the tied houses how could it be said there was any individual hardship involved? The whole principle of the tied-house system was that a certain brewery or brewery syndicate owned a great number of houses. If in the operation of this reduction the syndicate lost the licence of one house they were in a very different position from that man who owned only one house in which he might have invested the whole of his savings and who might be ruined by the Bill. The brewery companies would not be injured. On the contrary, it had been computed that from the saving on the management of the houses lost and the great amount of business done in the houses retained it was extremely probable they would be, on the whole, gainers. If that were the position it seemed very anomalous that they should be treated in exactly the same way as an individual who might lose the whole of his livelihood through the loss of his licence. The principle sought to be introduced into this Bill was that only the man whose name was over the door and who really held, as a result of his savings, the public-house ought to receive compensation, and not the house belonging to the important brewing interest. That was a principle which might be generally adopted.

There was a general feeling that the trade was well able to look after itself. If the tied house was to receive no compensation those houses, it was held, should be excluded from the houses upon which the contribution was to be levied. It seemed to him there was nothing unjust in calling upon the whole trade, irrespective of whether they were to receive compensation or not, because a comparatively small sum levied would be sufficient to compensate all the claims, as there were only 15 per cent. of houses in England not on the tied system. It was obvious that a very small sum would be needed to abolish them altogether, and he did not think it would be at all unfair to call upon the trade as a whole to contribute an amount which had for its object the removal of the individual hardship in 15 per cent. of the houses. If that were adopted they would easily effect the necessary reduction of the non-tied-house system and further achieve the greater advantage of leaving to the discretion of the licensing authorities the care of those houses which were tied. It was perfectly clear that this Bill was in the nature of a reply to the action of certain Licensing Benches recently. That was extremely objectionable in principle. He would like this Amendment to be carried if only for the fact that it would rehabilitate the licensing magistrates in dealing with the ordinary licensed houses which came under their control. If they admitted no hardship would be done by taking away a licence here and there in the public interest and that no compensation was necessary in the case of the trade as a whole, he could not see why they should not leave it to the magistrates to determine in each case whether the licence should be withheld or renewed. That principle seemed to be perfectly simple and intelligible and he believed they would get out of the great difficulty they were in, and the diminution of the unnecessary number of public-houses would proceed in the ordinary way.

Mr. THEODORE TAYLOR (Lancashire, Radcliffe) said it was generally agreed that the tied houses were the greatest blot on our licensing system. If the effect of the Amendment was to place tied houses in a less favourable position than those not tied, the remedy was very simple. Those who held the tied houses had nothing to do but to alter their system. It was in the interests of the consumer that the tenant should have freedom with whom to deal. Very little was heard about the interests of consumers, but they formed a large class of the community, and it was right their case should be considered. It was bad in any trade that the retailer should be bound to one producer, and the tied-house system, which had grown up as a practice, but had never been recognised by law, was contrary to public policy. What would be thought if the same system existed in the grocery business? He was sure public opinion and the women of this country would be against all the groceries in one town coming from one wholesale dealer, because he could make the price what he liked. That was absolutely political economy. The system added a monopoly to a monopoly, and enhanced the money value on which compensation was to be paid. Take an example of a town with ten public-houses with a value of £1,000 each where this system did not exist. In another town with the same number of public-houses where the tied system prevailed there was an added value on the top of the £1,000, viz., the value obtained by the wholesale dealer in the right of controlling the retail dealers. This at least doubled the value of public-house property. In one town the public-house property would be worth £10,000, in the other £20,000. He put it to the Government seriously whether the town where the tied-house system prevailed was entitled to draw twice as much as the other town, where there was a competition between the public-house owners. He was trying to show that there was a substantial difference in financial equity between holders of licences which were freehold and those which were tied to a certain producer. It was not fair between one licence-holder and another that, contrary to the public interest, the value of certain licences should be swollen by crushing out competition. It was grossly unfair that by law, for the first time, this increased monopoly value should be given to these monopolists. He could quite concede that there should be a moderate amount of compensation to a man who had established a business and had carried it on without any complaint against him and had adapted his premises to these purposes, but that the Government should recognise the extra value of a monopoly upon a monopoly—a combination of monopolies—was almost incredible in view of the injury to public interests they had seen accrue from great monopolies in the United States of America. The artificial piling up of an aggregate of monopolies was not a fit subject for recognition as entitled to compensation, even granting for a moment, for the purposes of argument, that it was perfectly legitimate to give compensation for the discontinuance of a year-to-year licence held by a publican.

SIR ROBERT REID said there was one point referred to by the hon. Member for Stretford which he would allude to, because he appeared to take a very different view of the amount of compensation in the case of these tied houses. The difference between the value of a house without a licence, and the value of one with a licence, might be well illustrated by the letter which was written by Earl Grey who, after having obtained a licence on some of his property, was informed that the licensing magistrates had bestowed upon him a present of £10,000. This proposal made the houses ten times more valuable than they were before, therefore they were not dealing with a trifle. The Amendment before the Committee said in effect that no compensation was to be given to tied houses. There was this much to be observed that compassionate reasons, which had played a large part in the discussion of this matter, could not really apply to tied houses. Tied houses were owned in groups by brewers, and while no one would say that they ought not to receive justice, he thought that when one of them had a licence extinguished, that brewer, being the owner of many others, was often more than compensated by the amount of additional business which accrued to the remainder. In addition to that, in the case of tied houses, as he read the Bill, subjects which would come in for compensation, not directly but indirectly, would be the profits made on the brewing and the selling. The profit of the retailer was a perfectly different profit and a very much less profit. These considerations ought certainly to weigh. But his chief reason for supporting the Amendment was that in giving compensation the effect would be to make these licences permanent property. They were liable to be bought up, and so, for public reasons, was every piece of property in the country. Whatever might be said about the private owner of a house obtaining compensation under the ordinary working of the law, it was a perfectly different thing in the case of the owner of a tied house. The idea of making that permanent was a very serious matter, because a tied house was an excrescence on the licensing law. He believed it was nearly 100 years ago that public attention was drawn to this evil, and it had been condemned by Committees of Parliament very early in the last century. It was a thing that had grown up notwithstanding the disapproval of the Legislature by making use in some cases of many very discreditable shifts.

The system of one person owning and getting the profit and another unhappy person being put in to take charge of a licensed house was contrary to the policy and spirit of the Acts ever since the commencement of licensing. The policy of the statutes was that there should be a respectable person as licensee carrying on his business in the house which he owned. The results of the contrary system were deplorable. It had been little less than cruelty to a number of most decent, respectable people, no doubt in most cases, who had been placed in the management of public-houses. The conditions of their employment were such as ought not to be permitted by law, especially in dealing with a dangerous trade like this. Some of these poor people were under a tenure of a few days. They were obliged to sign blank applications for transfers, to be filled in at the will and pleasure of the owners, and they were tied to such a degree that for hardly any article they could purchase were they free to go into the cheapest market. The result was that the prices charged by the owners of tied houses were admittedly extravagant—20 and 25 per cent. above the market price. They were liable to dismissal almost at a day's notice, and their condition had attracted the attention of not a few Licensing Benches, because it led to evil results in the administration of the licensing laws. In many instances the rents were very low, and in that way the rates were defrauded. He was only pointing out what was stated in the Minority Report, and he thought also the Majority Report. One of the consequences of the system was the pushing of the trade which everybody wanted to prevent. If the man who was put in to manage a tied house did not give satisfaction—and satisfaction in the case of companies consisted n paying large dividends—they were liable to dismissal, and the result was that they pushed trade. They often provided bad liquor. Those poor creatures were not able to buy what they liked, they were bound to buy what was provided for them under covenant. He had not heard so many complaints in England to which this Bill applied, but in Scotland the character of the drink supplied was scandalous. A comparatively small quantity of the spirits supplied very often in these shops was of such a kind as to produce bad health of all kinds, and drunkenness. All these things were the result of the tied system. In addition to that, it had been shown in the Minority Report of the Commission—he would not say always, as he did not wish to exaggerate—that in numerous cases there was strong ground for believing that the justices were imposed upon and defrauded by means of bogus agreements. It was an unpleasant thing to be obliged to say these things about men carrying on business, but he had warrant for what he said in the Report and the evidence of the Commission. He did not deny that there were good instances of tied houses. He hoped that many of the tied houses were well conducted, but the system laid itself open to gross abuses. He did not think anyone on the other side would dispute it. The proposal of the Government would not only stereotype the system of licensing, but it would bar the door against any improvements that might hereafter be suggested.

Another effect of what was proposed was that in regard to tied houses a freehold would be bestowed upon the owners. If the tied houses were excluded from the operation of the Bill, as the Amendment proposed, 80 per cent. of the licensed houses would be disposed of, and it would bestow a great advantage upon the real persons who ought to be considered, if anybody was to be considered, namely, the persons who lived in and managed their own licensed houses. He was sorry to say that that did not appear to be the purpose of the Bill at all. It was not the publicans but the brewers who sent a deputation to the Prime Minister. It was to them that the promise was given. It was by them the promise was exacted. It was by their evil political influence that this Bill was being thrust through the House contrary, he believed, to the unbiassed wishes of most of the House, and contrary, he was certain, to the protest of the whole country outside. It was a brewers' Bill, and it was for that reason that he hoped the Government would accept the Amendment.

*Mr. AKERS-DOUGLAS said the mover of the Amendment desired to withdraw the tied houses from the operation of the Bill, and to give the local justices the power to destroy these "tied" agreements. These tied houses were variously estimated to be between 70 and 80 per cent. of the existing houses. A great deal had been heard in the debate of the objections to the tied system. Hon. Members who had taken part in the debate—certainly those on the other side—had talked of the tied system as though it applied to this particular trade only. Incidentally he would remind the House that there were many other trades in this country which were carried on on the principle of being tied. [An Hon. Member: Monopolies.] He only mentioned that incidentally. [An Hon. Member: What trades?] He knew instances of grocers who carried on business in a large number of places. There were bakers and other trades that did so also.

Mr. T. W. RUSSELL: You do not offer to give them compensation.

*Mr. AKERS-DOUGLAS said if the principle of being tied was a bad one in regard to liquor it was not a good one in others. Hon. Members had quoted a good deal from the Minority Report of the Royal Commission in regard to the effect of the tied-house system being to push trade. It was perfectly true that the minority expressed an opinion to that effect. On the other hand, the majority did not seem to have taken so hostile an attitude with regard to this system. They said that the statement was not justified that the tied-house system led to more drnking. His hon. and learned friend the Member for Dumfries had been very hard on certain sections who were connected with the trade. The right hon. Gentleman had laid it down that respectable persons who carried on free houses were in a different category altogether from those who carried on tied houses. He should like to protest, on behalf of many people in his own constituency and others, against the sweeping character of such a charge. There was no ground for it. There were a very large number of those who conducted and owned tied houses who did not come under the description of the right hon. Gentleman.

Sir ROBERT REID said he did not want to be misunderstood. He did not think he had said anything at all against the persons who resided in and conducted the tied houses.

*Mr. AKERS-DOUGLAS said he was glad to have given the hon. Gentleman the opportunity of disabusing their minds of what many of them thought were his views. In regard to the tied system, if he remembered right, according to the Report of the Royal Commission, and in the opinion of many other authorities, there were tied houses and tied houses; and there were many directions in which the tied system was carried out, which certainly did not come under the condemnation of the hon. and learned Member for Dumfries Burgh. He understood that, especially in the Midlands, conditions prevailed in regard to the managerial system which were extremely good. An hon. Member had asked him as to the amount of compensation which would be given to the publican or occupier of the house. He entirely agreed with the hon. Gentleman that a fair share of the compensation money ought to go to the man who had carried on the business in a respectable manner. On the Second Reading of the Bill he had given an illustration of why that should be so, which he was sure would appeal to the hon. and learned Member for Dumfries as an old cricketer. Take for instance the case of a cricketer who, by his popularity and his excellent management of a public-house, had attracted a large amount of business to his house. Certainly that man's share in the amount of compensation to be provided under this Bill ought to be very considerable. He believed that that would be provided for under Clause 2. In answer to the hon. Member for Stretford, he might say that if it had not been made perfectly clear in the Bill that the occupier of the house would receive a proper share of the compensation money, the Government would be perfectly prepared to accept an Amendment in that direction.

Hon. Members had pointed out that between 70 and 80 per cent. of public-houses were tied. It would be impossible for the Government to accept this Amendment, if for no other reason than that they would lose 70 per cent. of the compensation fund. The hon. and learned Member for Dumfries said that the Government were building up a much greater monopoly by refusing to agree to the exception now proposed. On the contrary he quite thought the case might be as suggested by the right hon. Member for Oxford University. Supposing that compensation was not to be given to a tied house at all, and that in a given case the decision was left to the brewster sessions whether to take away the licence of a free house for which they might give compensation or that of a tied house without compensation. It was quite possible that the effect of that would be entirely opposed to the effect intended by the hon. and learned Member for Dumfries. The free house would probably go and the tied house remain. He did not think that it would be to the advantage of the public to exclude the tied houses from insuring themselves, while the amount of the compensation fund would be largely reduced. [Opposition cries of "No."] If 70 per cent. of the houses were tied, 70 per cent. of the whole houses would be withdrawn from contributing to the compensation fund. Then it had been said that the occupiers of tied houses should receive proper compensation; but if the tied houses, *i.e.*, 70 per cent. of the public-houses, were withdrawn from the operation of the Bill, and if it were left to the brewster sessions to deal with them without compensation, what became of the sympathy of hon. Gentlemen opposite for the men who occupied those tied houses.

Mr. WHITLEY: We want them to be free.

*Mr. AKERS-DOUGLAS said that they must have compensation money for all houses including the tied houses, which would contribute a very valuable portion of the funds for compensation. The Government could not see the difference as regards this principle between the tied and the free houses, and they could not agree to accept the Amendment.

Mr. ASQUITH said he quite agreed with the right hon. Gentleman that both the object and the effect of the Amendment would be to withdraw the tied houses entirely from the scope of this Bill as regarded jurisdiction and compensation if any tied licence were suppressed. The right hon. Gentleman could not discern any real difference between the tied houses and the free houses, and he referred to the analogy of other trades. But the right hon. Gentleman would forgive him if he said that he did not understand the A B C of the case. Let him point out to the Home Secretary that a licence to sell intoxicating liquors was a valuable marketable commodity created by the State. It was a licence granted to a particular individual in regard to particular premises, and the essence of the consideration for the grant by the State of this valuable privilege to one of its citizens was that the State must be satisfied that the person to whom that privilege was granted was a fit person and that the premises he was to occupy were a fit place. But the effect of the tied-house system was that the person really interested in the monopoly was not the licence-holder, and that the licence-holder was the person not really interested in the premises. Therefore, the whole licensing law had been completely undermined by the proposal in the Bill. When the right hon. Gentleman made the analogy between the grocer and the candlestick-maker and the tied public-house, he forgot two things. In the first place the State gave the former no monopoly, and, in the second place, if they were deprived of their premises none of them came to this House to ask for compensation. It was suggested as a reason why compensation should be given to free houses, that some of the holders of them had embarked their savings in this particular industry under a mistaken view of the law. That was not the case with the great brewers, who had been warned by their legal advisers for years that they had invested their capital in these houses in the knowledge that this was a precarious security. Another ground alleged for giving compensation to a particular individual tenant of a free house was that he was made a victim by the licensing magistrates when the public interest demanded a reduction of licences. But that did not apply in the slightest degree in the case of a tied house. In that case the man was not a tenant at all. The managers of tied houses were for the most part persons with no savings. They had nothing to lose. The only person who could conceivably be represented as the victim of hardship was the brewer or distiller, and they knew perfectly well that he was not a victim at all; in all probability he would get through his other houses an increased trade, and he would effect a saving in the expenses and outlay of management in respect of the premises which were suppressed.

The only other ground on which the claim to consideration was made was the difficulty of insurance. But it was a matter of notoriety that the owners of tied houses insured on a very large scale, and were able to do so because they insured their premises as a whole, which sometimes were spread over a county, or even two or three counties. There was not the faintest difficulty in an insurance company calculating the premium which would sufficiently compensate them for insuring such property as that. The right hon. Gentleman opposite seemed to express a belief that the managers of tied houses would get something out of the fund, but, as far as he understood Clause 2, he very much doubted whether they would get a halfpenny of compensation. Very often the manager had not got more than the *status* of a weekly tenant, and in point of fact, and, he believed, in point of law, sometimes he was not a tenant at all. He would remind the Committee what the majority of the Commission said upon this point—

> "We desire to express our general adhesion to the principle of compensation equivalent to a fair intrinsic selling value of the licence and goodwill, apart from the extreme inflation of prices caused in some cases by excessive competition."

There was no cause which had done so much to produce that inflation of prices as this system of tied houses. It was the competition of the great brewery companies bidding against one another which had led to the excessive and ridiculous sums which in not a few cases were paid for premises of this kind. The Bill took no note of the intrinsic selling value; it took the actual, which was in many cases the inflated value, as the measure for compensation. They were told that to exclude tied houses from the scope of the Bill would diminish the compensation fund by 80 per cent. Yes; but it would diminish the area for the payment of compensation in precisely the same proportion. And he would not for a moment be taken to say that it would not be perfectly fair still to levy in the same way for the purposes of the compensation fund, because the tied houses would derive increased benefit from the suppression of their competitors. On all these grounds he thought the Amendment a most reasonable and proper one.

*MR. REA (Gloucester) said he would support the Amendment, because he desired that the discretion of the magistrates should remain undiminished. Many benches of magistrates now insisted on knowing the condition of the tenant in order to ascertain whether he was a man of substance or not. They even asked to see the agreement; and in many cases they found that the agreement was oppressive and contained clauses contrary to public interest and convenience, and even to public morality. That security would be lost under the Bill as it stood. It was quite true that only certain benches of magistrates acted in that manner; but he believed that the sense of responsibility of the magistrates was growing. It had been said that the Amendment would exclude almost the whole trade from the operation of the Bill, and reduce it to a dead letter. It had been stated that the number of tied houses was 70 per cent., 80 per cent., or 90 per cent. of the total number of licensed houses. His own impression was that the highest estimate was the most accurate. In his own constituency the tied houses numbered 95 per cent. of the total licensed houses. He did not, however, agree with his right hon. friend that the Amendment would necessarily exclude the tied houses. It was probable that, rather than forego the endowment which the Bill gave, the brewers would relax the tie and get a rack-rent for the houses, equal to the economic value of the monopoly which would cover the present rent and profits. He, therefore, did not believe that the acceptance of the Amendment would restrict the area of the Bill in any great degree; whereas the public advantage that would be gained would be very great. The brewers would be compelled to sell their beer on its merits; and that would be a novel situation for them.

Everyone would admit that a close monopoly led to the supply of an inferior article. He had received many letters stating that beer was being supplied to tied houses which would not be accepted in free houses; and a letter was published a few days ago by a gentleman who had been a Member of this House in which he stated that brewers endeavoured as far as they could to discourage the sale of cider in their tied houses. The monopoly thus maintained led to incessant drinking, because it kept open 15 or 20 per cent. of the houses that did not pay. They were kept open by the brewers, because they got rid of their stuff; kept open in the hope that sooner or later they would get compensation, and because the brewers knew that in the economic management of trade, as in land where the soil was poor and the industry was hardest to carry on, risks would be taken and that the tenants would do their utmost to keep their heads above water longer than they otherwise would do. They knew the tenants of these houses had to be mere drink-sellers and were not in the position of an owner of a free house who only sold drink as he sold any other commodity. The evidence given before the Royal Commission showed case after case where pressure was put upon the tenant to sell drink and nothing else. People could not get tea at a tied house. Why? Because the brewer exacted his sale of barrels of beer. These tied-house tenants had to sell liquor; they had to keep open their premises the greatest number of days in the year, and the greatest number of hours in the day. His hon. and learned friend had spoken of this system of tied houses defrauding the rates. There was no doubt about that. Many of these houses were let at rents of one-third or one-fourth of their value. There was a case of that kind brought to the House of Lords and Lord Macnaghten said——

*THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member must confine himself to showing why it would be desirable to exclude the tied houses from the operations of this Bill.

*MR. REA said he maintained, with his hon. friend the hon. Member for Dumfries, that this system was really an abuse—an evasion of the spirit of the law. The law gave a licence as a trust to the individual, who became thereby a *quasi*-public servant and invested with a *quasi*-public monopoly. The law insisted on personal character and personal responsibility. He believed if this Amendment was adopted it would restore the economic and political personal freedom to some 100,000 good citizens and would restore healthy conditions to the trade itself.

MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL (Oldham) said it could hardly be denied by anybody who had listened to this debate, that this was a most important Amendment. He regarded it as even more important than the Amendment which dealt with the time limit, because it offered a much more effectual method of limiting the compensation than the time limit. He had always been in favour of compensation in some cases, and he took what he thought was the popular view of the country with regard to compensation. He had always imagined that compensation really meant compensating the man who served in the public-house, and he was quite certain the people of the country who were in favour of compensation believed in it because they considered that the man they saw in the public-house would be unjustly treated if he were turned out of his house without notice and without compensation. That view was a logical and reasonable view, because, as the right hon. and learned Member for Fife pointed out, with the utmost clearness, a licence was granted to the occupier of the premises; he was the only person treating with the State, and there were only two persons to the bargain, the authority which gave the licence and the person who received it. Why, then, should it be assumed that the great brewers had any claim for compensation at all, or that there should be any obligation at all on the State? Legally, of course, there was no claim to compensation; but between the licensing authority and the individual occupier who received the licence it seemed to him that there was at any rate a moral claim to consideration of some sort or another. The publican kept his licence subject to good behaviour; there was a reasonable assumption that if his behaviour continued good his licence would continue. But where did the good behaviour of the great brewer come in? There was no bargain of the kind with him. Whatever argument they might raise on behalf of the individual occupier, the great brewer had no share whatever in those arguments. They heard a great deal when the Bill was introduced about persons of substance and the necessity for getting persons of substance to occupy public-houses, but now it appeared that eighty-five out of every hundred public-houses were not occupied by persons of substance at all, but by fleeting shadows, unsubstantial phantoms who were going to be removed at pleasure, without scarcely any notice, by the authority of the great brewing trust. He was perfectly convinced that the great masses of the people did not realise that the Bill proposed to give compensation almost entirely to the great power in the trade and to practically exclude from the benefits of the compensation fund the only class of people on whose behalf a logical argument in favour of compensation could be maintained.

It was said that the great brewers and distillers had a claim not to be excluded from any compensation, because their premises were rated at their highest value. What had that got to do with it? The rating authority found that the premises were worth so much, and rated them upon their actual value. If the value of the premises were reduced, they would be rated upon the lower value. In no way could that involve the State in any liability as regarded the brewing and distilling interests. The State was concerned with the occupier alone. Supposing legislation were introduced altering the wine duties, in consequence of which there was a much larger importation of French wines—would anyone advocate that a claim should be advanced by the brewers and distillers of this country for the undoubted injury done to their business by an act of the Government? No; it was perfectly impossible to go behind the parties to the bargain, and deal with other interests which might be adversely affected. These were not very new views for one who had hitherto called himself a Tory Democrat to express. He had heard with some surprise that the Solicitor-General referred to the opinion of Lord Randolph Churchill on the subject of compensation, though he heard with pleasure that he referred to it with some respect. He would venture to read a quotation which bore exactly on the Amendment, because it marked conveniently a great change in the general consensus of opinion in the House of Commons on this question. Lord Randolph Churchill, speaking at Walsall in 1889, said—

> "At any rate, this Parliament has done some good. Although it did not succeed in entrusting local authorities with the duty of licensing, still it did undoubtedly establish this great principle, that the wholesale manufacturers of alcoholic drinks had no legal or moral title whatever which Parliament is prepared to recognise for compensation in the event of their industry being largely restricted."

SIR EDWARD CARSON: Would the hon. Member say whether that referred to State compensation?

MR. WHITTAKER: No; from the trade.

MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL submitted that in any case it made no difference, because the compensation raised by the trade was only a form of taxation which the State had foregone, and a perfectly proper and substantial subject of compensation from which the State shut itself off. Therefore he was not prepared to admit that there was any real difference between State compensation and compensation from the trade. But to finish the quotation—

> "In the case of the retail trader there is an equal agreement amongst all reasonable and moderate men that he does possess an equitable claim to compensation which should be met. This is the opinion of Parliament so strongly that no Government ever dare fly in

the face of it—that the big brewers and the big distillers are not entitled to one sixpence in compensation in the event of a reform of the licensing law."

Fifteen years of progress had apparently somewhat altered the opinion of the House, and they now saw a Government that was prepared to fly in the face of public opinion by proposing a measure the compensation under which was almost entirely limited to that very class which fifteen years ago it was said that Parliament was of opinion should be almost entirely excluded from its operations. He thought it was preposterous that the great brewing interest, who brewed beer according to the demands of the public, should claim to have established a great system of 100,000 taps flowing all over the country, and should demand compensation for every tap that was closed. The very argument used from the Government Benches revealed the hollowness of the claim, because the Home Secretary himself and others had declared that a reduction of public-houses did not necessarily involve a reduction in the amount of liquor consumed. At any rate, he believed it to be strictly true that, in so far as the consumption of beer was reduced by the extinction of licences, the loss was absolutely equated by the economies in administration as well as by the partially increased supply for the houses that remained, and that absolutely no claim whatever that Parliament ought reasonably to consider could be advanced by the great brewing interests for any restriction which they might suffer in consequence of this measure. He would certainly support the Amendment if it went to a division.

SIR EDWARD CARSON said he desired to call the attention of the Committee to the real meaning of the Amendment, and how widely the discussion had digressed from the intention of the hon. Member responsible for it. Hon. Members on the other side were in a very anomalous position. They never ceased telling the Committee that the trade ought not to be allowed to insure for the purpose of obtaining compensation in the manner proposed by the Bill, thereby leaving the whole property of the trade liable to confiscation, and in the same breath they declared they had the deepest sympathy with the publican in possession of a licensed house. Having been unable to resist the Second Reading of the Bill, which set up the insurance, they now tried to divide the two interests and to set the publican against the brewer as though their interests were something different. He did not think that the publican who understood that the object of the hon. Member opposite was to put an end to them altogether, would be very much taken in by that transaction. What was the present Amendment? The hon. Member who moved it said it was in the interests of the publican, but its effect would be to deprive the publican of any claim to compensation if he had entered into an agreement to purchase only from a particular firm or firms.

MR. WHITTAKER: But he will not get any under the Bill.

SIR EDWARD CARSON said that upon that point he disagreed with the hon. Member. He wanted to know how it could be in the interests of the publican to say to him that, because he had entered into a particular contract, he would not be allowed to get compensation under the Bill.

MR. WHITLEY: Because it would break up the tied-house system, and give back to the publican the freedom which he ought never to have lost.

SIR EDWARD CARSON assured the hon. Member that he was under a delusion in regard to that point. All the Amendment as it stood did was practically to say to the publican, "You have been foolish or wicked enough to enter into an agreement to purchase only from a particular firm or firms, and therefore you are so bad a man that you shall not be allowed to come into this compensation scheme." The hon. Member said that if they only passed this Amendment it would put an end to the tied-house system altogether. He assured the hon. Member that that was not so. The only result of this Amendment would be that in the case of short leases and short agreements the publican would be at the mercy of the brewer, who would immediately put an end to the agreement and put in a manager. They had been told that this Amendment would break up the whole system of combination under brewers, but he would point out to the Committee how little it did this. As he had said before, it did not touch the vast number of cases where brewers had put in managers. Did the hon. Member who moved this Amendment really think that he was doing the publican, who had the tenancy, a service by laying down that he was to receive no compensation? Was that his position? That was what the Amendment did. Was he going to lay that down as a proposition? There were cases of publicans with long leases, and there were a vast number of them both in London and elsewhere. Was the hon. Member in such cases going to say that the publican ought to get no compensation, although he was interested to a very large extent, and really had a greater interest in the premises than the owner?

Mr. WHITLEY: I would make it to the interest of the owner to release him.

Sir EDWARD CARSON said that that was not the Amendment. Take, for example, a case where the tenant of licensed premises had been granted a mortgage on going into the premises, and borrowed money from the brewers upon a security. Under those circumstances—and there were many such cases in London—the tenant would feel under an obligation to trade with that brewery as long as the mortgage existed, and in consequence of that transaction he would obtain his goods from that particular firm exactly as if he were tied. The Amendment would, in fact, do grave injustice to the men whose interests it was supposed to serve. What reason was there for drawing this distinction between tied houses and others? He would give as an example a case which had not infrequently arisen in connection with brewery companies buying up houses and tying them. Supposing that A leased a licensed house to B and the latter took possession. A brewery company might go round to him and offer him a considerable sum for his interest, and then relet the premises, and in that way get it tied. In that case, was the original lessor, who had had nothing whatever to say to the tie, to be driven outside the insurance scheme simply because that transaction had taken place? It was assumed that the tied-house system was bad. That might or might not be so; but certainly the responsible Commission had not declared the system was bad—indeed, they had rather gone the other way, and said that under a good and careful brewer the system operated advantageously and had a good result. They went on to say that such a result was not secured under other conditions, but this Amendment would cut out the good and careful brewer from the system of insurance. Upon the whole, the Report of the majority of the Commission was more in favour of the system than against it. He thought it stood to reason that because of the very vast interests involved in these tied houses there was necessarily careful supervision on the part of the owners so that they might not lose the benefit attaching to tied houses. If there was not at the bottom of this matter this great objection, what were the reasons why they should be struck out of the insurance scheme under the Bill? He could see no reason.

The right hon. Gentleman the Member for East Fife said that they were on an entirely different basis in point of law and in point of fact. He would call the attention of the Committee to what was said on the Second Reading of the Bill. It was said on behalf of the Government that a system had been allowed to grow up under which if licensed property was taken for the public interest it had to be fully compensated for. They said that they could not treat the same property for one purpose as having no value and for another purpose as having a value which could be estimated. His right hon. friend knew perfectly well that in many cases tied houses had come before compensation tribunals for the purpose of having their value estimated when they were taken away for public purposes. He did not think anyone had ventured to say in that case that there was any difference between a tied house and an ordinary public-house. But while they were asked to draw this distinction would anyone get up in this House and say that different death duties had been paid on tied and untied houses? That was another reason why the Government said that the tied houses should be allowed to contribute to the insurance and have the insurance paid on the same principle as the owner was assessed for death duties. They saw no reason whatever for drawing any distinction in this Bill between tied and untied houses. He would only remind the Committee of what the Home Secretary had already said, namely, that the houses owned by brewers constituted a very large proportion of the number in this country, and that they could not possibly tax the licence-holder for payment towards this insurance fund without giving him a share of it if he should lose his licence. If they eliminated from the Bill this particular class of licence-holders they would take away a large contribution from the compensation fund.

*SIR HENRY FOWLER (Wolverhampton, E.) said the hon. and learned Gentleman had spoken of this as an insurance scheme, but certainly the House had not yet resolved that it was. When the proper time came he should be prepared to argue that it was in no sense a scheme of insurance. The hon. and learned Gentleman had misconceived the principle of the Amendment. A system of compensation could only be maintained on the ground that for public purposes a man's means of living was interfered with or his occupation taken away, but it was quite another thing to compensate speculating owners of property who bought that property with known risks, who had acquired large profits, and had thus provided themselves with ample insurance against loss. A portion of such property being taken away, the practical effect under the Bill would be to add to the value of what remained, and it was compensation under these conditions he objected to. There was no provision that would ensure that the publican, the *bona-fide* innkeeper, would receive a share of the compensation. The Home Secretary had, however, admitted, in reply to the hon. Member for Stretford, that he was prepared to introduce words in the Bill that would make it clear that the publican was entitled to some compensation.

In Hampshire, with the view to carrying out temperance reforms, a census was carefully taken, a year before this Bill was introduced, by the county magistrates in investigating the conditions of the tenancies held by the brewers on the one hand, and of the ordinary tenants on the other. He would quote the figures in respect to one section of the county. He thought the figures were typical of what they would be throughout the whole Kingdom. In one rural area, out of 927 tenancies there were only twenty-nine held on yearly tenancies. 374 were quarterly, 137 monthly and the remainder chiefly half-yearly. What was the interest of a tenant who might be asked to quit at a week's notice? A week's wages, he presumed, would be ample to cover it; and these men were, he believed, paid at a very small figure. That was the evil of the system. That class was outside the Bill, and could never be brought under it. What was not brought in was the respectable publican whose licence was taken from him not because he had conducted his house badly but because there was a surplusage of licensed houses. Of 741 licensed houses in the area referred to one brewery firm owned more than fifty, twelve owned from twenty to fifty, eight from ten to twenty, and about sixty owned fewer than ten houses. Where was the injury to even the smallest of these brewers if his houses were reduced to nine? The value of the remainder would be proportionately increased. The same brewers held the leases of 113 other houses, and they owned between them a very large proportion of the licensed houses in the other towns and districts of that county. What was proposed was not an insurance fund but legitimate taxation levied for a specific purpose and for the benefit of the people upon whom it was levied. The brewers, supposing they were shut out from the compensation fund, would share in the increased business which would accrue by the diminution in the number of houses; their annual expenditure would be reduced, and if there was a risk, it would be a small and diminishing risk against which they could and did insure. He had no objection to giving compensation to what might be called the legitimate traders, but he did object to giving compensation to the investors who had received large profits, out of which they had provided reserve funds, effected policies of insurance, and paid enormous dividends.

MR. GROVES (Salford, S.) said that, as representing the brewing trade, in which he had a very specific and material interest, he would endeavour to reply to certain inquiries made by the right hon. Member for Wolverhampton. He wished, in the first instance, to ask the right hon. Gentleman if he classed him, and those who were engaged in a similar business in the wholesale way, among the legitimate traders to whom he would extend simple justice and compensation. If that were so, then they would know exactly where they stood. Even brewers, much as they were vilified in that House, would appeal with confidence when they were there asking for a simple matter of justice.

SIR HENRY FOWLER: I was dealing with the licence-holders.

MR. GROVES said that the licence-holders were amply provided for in this Bill. The brewer would be a poor business man if he did not consider the prosperity of his business, and study to popularise it by looking after the interests of his tenants, as well as his own interests. Brewers, like other business men, depended for their success on the quality of the goods they sold, and they would be exceedingly short-sighted if, either by the quality of their product, or by their treatment of their tenants, they endeavoured to palm off on a discriminating public any article of an inferior character. The hon. Member for Oldham had referred to a speech made by a late illustrious statesman in that House. Assuming that that speech was delivered in 1888, and related to compensation, at that time it would be State compensation that was intended. If it was at a later period, when a certain Bill was before the House of a similar character to the present Bill, then it would be trade compensation that was intended. If that Bill had been carried in its entirety, they would not have been called upon now to consider the question of the reduction of licences, because the fund provided amply for a gradual and reasonable reduction, the compensation for which would have been paid for out of the pockets of the owners.

Although he had no desire to enter upon a disquisition on the tied-house system, which was only dealt with in a very limited degree by the Amendment before the House, he would like to remind the House that that system had grown up during a period of years as the result of various circumstances. It was the natural result of the desire of brewery proprietors to extend their business. He was quite free to make the admission that thirty years ago the business with which he was connected did not own a single tied house, and yet to-day a very large proportion of their business was tied. Brewers acquired those houses under the reasonable expectation that if they came to be dealt with, as long as the brewers themselves provided funds for the reduction of licences, they might appeal to the House of Commons with confidence. The right hon. Member for Wolverhampton had stated very correctly that the proportion of licensed premises owned and controlled by brewers was 70 per cent. or 80 per cent. If so, the Amendment limited the operations of the Bill to the remainder. He presumed the main object of those who agreed with the Amendment was that the Bill should be as small and petty in its character as it was possible to make it; that it should not be an attempt to deal with the whole question on a large basis even though the funds were provided by the brewers, but that the Bill was to be whittled away until it became a very trifling thing indeed. The House now had an opportunity of dealing with this question on a broad basis, and as far as he was personally concerned he would welcome a satisfactory settlement once and for all of this vexed question, not from the financial point of view at all, but in order that they might feel that those who were interested in the trade, and who desired to carry on this difficult business in a perfectly legitimate and honourable manner, would be free to do so without harassing interference with their arrangements. To carry on his business satisfactorily the brewer must display the greatest amount of amiability and friendship towards his tenants, and that being the case he intended to vote against the Amendment to exclude tied houses from the operations of the Bill.

* MR. LAWSON WALTON (Leeds, S.) said that the hon. Gentleman who had just spoken had infused an air of candour into the discussion which enabled the

Committee to understand really more clearly what was the motive of the Bill, and also what was the object of the Amendment. The hon. Member told the Committee that the persons really interested in this Bill were behind the persons holding the licences, namely, the brewers, who had revolutionised the licensing trade of the country. The hon. Gentleman did not stop to defend the tied-house system; but everyone who knew anything of the administration of the licensing laws knew that in many parts of the country the most stringent conditions were imposed in order to prevent licences being in the hands of mere managers who were here to-day and away to-morrow, and who were merely agents in charge of depôts for the sale of drink under a system which was adopted, not with a view to carrying on a house as a house of refreshment, or an inn, or a hostel, as in the old days, but in order to secure the greatest possible consumption of drink. He knew a case within his own experience where a tenant was anxious to double the size of his house and was willing to contribute liberally towards the necessary capital for the operation. His proposal was, however, absolutely vetoed, because he could not show that the addition would result in a larger consumption of drink. The hon. Member told the Committee that there was an identical interest as between the manager and the brewery company. There was, however, an extreme diversity of interest. A licensee might be anxious to popularise his house and increase his accommodation for guests, but the brewery company, which sold nothing but beer, and which was indifferent to the accommodation which might be afforded, might say that unless it could be shown that the increased accommodation would lead to an increased consumption of beer they would not consent to it. That showed how far there was identical interest as between the brewery company and the licensee.

The hon. Gentleman asked why they were seeking to leave out of consideration the tied-house system which largely prevailed in this country. He would answer that question. In the first place, it was because they considered the system a mischievous one. Further, the vesting of legal responsibility in one person while the involved capital was vested in another person was a method of carrying on the licensed trade which was opposed to precedent and which was responsible for the evils mentioned in the Minority Report. It also showed how utterly fallacious was the sentiment which inspired the Bill. The poor cricketer whom the magistrates did not want to deprive of his licence without compensation was the picture drawn to excite sympathy in this House and out of it; but when they found that the poor cricketer was merely the manager of a tied house, that his tenancy might be determined at forty-eight hours notice, and that he would not be entitled to any compensation under the Bill at all, it followed that the great brewery companies were putting forward the injured cricketer as a misleading subject of sympathy.

Sir EDWARD CARSON: I have said that we intend that he should be compensated, and that we will make it clear in the Bill.

*Mr. LAWSON WALTON said they had to deal with the Bill as it stood. His hon. and learned friend did not indicate the alteration he proposed to make in order to meet the point.

Sir EDWARD CARSON: It would be out of order.

*Mr. LAWSON WALTON said he had heard his hon. and learned friend indulge in graver breaches of order. As the Bill stood, thousands of people who had a claim to compensation would be told that they were not interested in the licence, being merely agents, and that there was nothing for them. He supported the Amendment because it was a blow at the tied-house system. Besides, a Bill which left the holders of 85 per cent. of the licensed premises out of its scope was founded upon injustice and ought not to be passed.

Mr. Secretary Akers-Douglas rose in his place, and claimed to move, "That the Question be now put."

Mr. LLOYD-GEORGE: It is the dinner gag.

Question put, "That the Question be now put."

The Committee divided:—Ayes, 265; Noes, 184. (Division List No. 176.)

AYES.

Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Allhusen Augustus Henry Eden
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster Rt. Hn. Hugh O
Atkinson, Rt. Hon John
Austin, Sir John
Bagot, Capt. Josceline FitzRoy
Bailey, James (Walworth)
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Baird, John George Alexander
Balcarres, Lord
Baldwin, Alfred
Balfour, Rt. Hon. A. J. (Manch'r
Balfour, Capt. C. B. (Hornsey)
Balfour, Rt Hn Gerald W (Leeds
Balfour, Kenneth R. (Christch.
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Barry, Sir Francis T. (Windsor)
Bartley, Sir George C. T.
Beach, Rt. Hn Sir Michael Hicks
Beckett, Ernest William
Bentinck, Lord Henry C.
Bhownaggree, Sir M. M.
Bignold, Arthur
Bigwood, James
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Bond, Edward
Boscawen, Arthur Griffith
Bousfield, William Robert
Bowles, Lt-Col H. F (Middlesex
Brassey, Albert
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Bull, William James
Burdett-Coutts, W.
Butcher, John George
Campbell, Rt Hn J. A. (Glasgow
Campbell, J. H. M (Dublin Univ
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Cavendish, V. C W. (Derbyshire
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Cecil, Lord Hugh (Greenwich)
Chamberlain, Rt. Hon. J. (Birm.
Chamberlain, Rt Hn J. A (Worc.
Chaplin, Rt. Hon. Henry
Chapman, Edward
Charrington, Spencer
Clare, Octavius Leigh
Clive, Captain Percy A.
Coates, Edward Feetham
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Coddington, Sir William
Coghill, Douglas Harry
Cohen, Benjamin Louis
Colston, Chas. Edw. H. Athole
Compton, Lord Alwyne
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Cox, Irwin Edward Bainbridge
Craig, Charles Curtis (Antrim, S
Cripps, Charles Alfred
Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Cust, Henry John C.
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Davenport, William Bromley
Dewar, Sir T. R (Tower Hamlets
Dickinson, Robert Edmond
Dickson, Charles Scott
Digby, John K. D. Wingfield-
Dimsdale, Rt. Hn. Sir Joseph C.
Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
Dixon-Hartland, Sir Fred Dixon
Dorington, Rt. Hn. Sir John E.
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers
Doxford, Sir William Theodore
Duke, Henry Edward
Dyke, Rt. Hn. Sir William Hart
Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
Faber, Edmund B. (Hants., W.)
Fardell, Sir T. George
Fergusson, Rt. Hn. Sir J (Manc'r
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
Firbank, Sir Joseph Thomas
Fisher, William Hayes
Fison, Frederick William
FitzGerald, Sir Robert Penrose
Fitzroy, Hn. Edward Algernon
Flower, Sir Ernest
Forster, Henry William
Foster, P. S. (Warwick, S.W.)
Gardner, Ernest
Gibbs, Hon. A. G. H.
Gordon, Hn. J. E. (Elgin & Nairn)
Goschen, Hon. George Joachim
Goulding, Edward Alfred
Graham, Henry Robert
Green, Walford D. (Wednesbury
Greene, Sir E. W (B'ry S Edm'nds
Greene, Henry D. (Shrewsbury)
Greene, W. Raymond (Cambs.)
Grenfell, William Henry
Gretton, John
Greville, Hon. Ronald
Groves, James Grimble
Gunter, Sir Robert
Guthrie, Walter Murray
Hain, Edward
Halsey, Rt. Hon. Thomas F.
Hardy, L. (Kent, Ashford)
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Harris, F. Leverton (Tynem'th
Harris, Dr. Fredk. R. (Dulwich)
Hatch, Ernest Frederick Geo.
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Heath, Arthur Howard (Hanley
Heath, James (Staffords., N.W.
Heaton, John Henniker
Helder, Augustus
Henderson, Sir A. (Stafford, W.
Hermon-Hodge, Sir Robert T.
Hickman, Sir Alfred
Hoare, Sir Samuel
Hogg, Lindsay
Hope, J F (Sheffield, Brightside
Horner, Frederick William
Houldsworth, Sir Wm. Henry
Houston, Robert Paterson
Howard, Jn (Kent, Faversham
Hozier, Hn James Henry Cecil
Hudson, George Bickersteth
Hunt, Rowland
Jeffreys, Rt. Hon. Arthur Fred.
Jessel, Captain Herbert Merton
Kennaway, Rt. Hn. Sir John H.
Kenyon, Hn. Geo. T. (Denbigh)
Kenyon-Slaney, Col. W. (Salop.
Keswick, William
Kimber, Henry
King, Sir Henry Seymour
Knowles, Sir Lees
Lambton, Hon. Frederick Wm.
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
Lawrence, Wm. F. (Liverpool)
Lawson, J. Grant (Yorks., N.R.
Lee A. H. (Hants., Fareham)
Lees, Sir Elliott (Birkenhead)
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Leveson-Gower, Frederick N.S.
Llewellyn, Evan Henry
Lockwood, Lieut.-Col. A. R.
Loder, Gerald Walter Erskine
Long, Col. Charles W. (Evesham)
Long, Rt. Hn. Walter (Bristol, S.)
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lowe, Francis William
Lowther, C. (Cumb., Eskdale)
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas, Col. Francis (Lowestoft)
Lucas, Reginald J. (Portsmouth
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
MacIver, David (Liverpool)
M'Arthur, Charles (Liverpool)
M'Iver, Sir Lewis (Edinburgh, W
Malcolm, Ian
Manners, Lord Cecil
Martin, Richard Biddulph
Melville, Beresford Valentine
Meysey-Thompson, Sir H. M.
Mildmay, Francis Bingham
Milner, Rt. Hn. Sir Frederick G.
Molesworth, Sir Lewis
Montagu, G. (Huntingdon)
Moore, William
Morgan, D. J. (Walthamstow)
Morpeth, Viscount
Morrell, George Herbert
Morrison, James Archibald
Morton, Arthur H. Aylmer
Mount, William Arthur
Mowbray, Sir Robert Gray C.
Muntz, Sir Philip A.
Murray, Rt. Hon. A. G. (Bute)
Murray, Charles J. (Coventry)
Murray, Col. Wyndham (Bath)
Myers, William Henry
Newdegate, Francis A. N.
Nicholson, William Graham
Nolan, Col. John P. (Galway, N.)
Palmer, Walter (Salisbury)
Pease, Herbert Pike (Darlington
Peel, Hn. Wm. Robert Wellesley
Pemberton, John S. G.
Percy, Earl
Pilkington, Colonel Richard
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Plummer, Walter R.
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Pretyman, Ernest George
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Pym, C. Guy
Ratcliff, R. F.
Reid, James (Greenock)

Remnant, James Farquharson
Renwick, George
Ridley, S.Forde(Bethnal Green
Ritchie, Rt.Hn. Chas. Thomson
Roberts, Samuel (Sheffield)
Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
Robinson, Brooke
Rolleston, Sir John F. L.
Rollit, Sir Albert Kaye
Ropner, Colonel Sir Robert
Rothschild, Hon.Lionel Walter
Round, Rt. Hon. James
Royds, Clement Molyneux
Rutherford, W. W. (Liverpool)
Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford
Sadler, Col. Samuel Alexander
Samuel, Sir H. S. (Limehouse)
Sandys, Lieut.-Col.Thos. Myles
Scott, Sir S. (Marylebone, W.)
Seton-Karr, Sir Henry
Sharpe, William Edward T.
Simeon, Sir Barrington
Sinclair, Louis (Romford)
Smith, Abel H.(Hertford,East)
Smith,H C(North'mb.Tyneside
Smith, James Parker(Lanarks.)
Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
Spencer, Sir E. (W. Bromwich)
Stanley, Hn. Arthur (Ormskirk
Stanley, Edward Jas.(Somerset
Stanley, Rt. Hon. Lord (Lancs.
Stewart, Sir Mark J. M‘Taggart
Stone, Sir Benjamin
Stroyan, John
Strutt, Hon. Charles Hedley
Talbot, Rt.Hn.J.G(Oxf'dUniv.
Thorburn, Sir Walter
Thornton, Percy M.
Tollemache, Henry James
Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
Tritton, Charles Ernest
Tuff, Charles
Tufnell, Lieut.-Col. Edward
Valentia. Viscount
Walrond,Rt.Hn.Sir William H.
Wanklyn, James Leslie
Warde, Colonel C. E.
Webb, Colonel William George
Welby, Lt.-Col.A.C.E(Taunton
Welby, Sir Charles G.E.(Notts.)
Whiteley, H.(Ashton und.Lyne
Whitmore, Charles Algernon
Williams, Colonel R. (Dorset)
Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
Wilson, A. Stanley(York, E.R.)
Wilson-Todd, Sir W.H.(Yorks.)
Wodehouse, Rt.Hn. E.R.(Bath
Wolff, Gustav Wilhelm
Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B. Stuart
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George
Wyndham-Quin, Col. W. H.
Yerburgh, Robert Armstrong
Younger, William

Tellers for the Ayes—Sir Alexander Acland-Hood and Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes.

NOES.

Abraham, William (Cork,N.E.)
Allen, Charles P.
Ashton, Thomas Gair
Asquith,Rt.Hn.Herbert Henry
Atherley-Jones, L.
Barlow, John Emmott
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Beaumont, Wentworth C. B.
Bell, Richard
Benn, John Williams
Black, Alexander William
Blake, Edward
Boland, John
Bolton, Thomas Dolling
Brigg, John
Bryce, Rt. Hon. James
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Burt, Thomas
Buxton, Sydney Charles
Caldwell, James
Cameron, Robert
Campbell, John (Armagh, S.)
Campbell-Bannerman, Sir H.
Cawley, Frederick
Channing, Francis Allston
Churchill, Winston Spencer
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Corbett, A. Cameron (Glasgow)
Craig, Robert Hunter (Lanark)
Crean, Eugene
Cremer, William Randal
Crombie, John William
Crooks, William
Cross, Alexander (Glasgow)
Cullinan, J.
Dalziel, James Henry
Davies, Alfred (Carmarthen)
Davies, M. Vaughan (Cardigan
Delany, William
Devlin,Chas. Ramsay (Galway
Dilke, Rt Hon. Sir Charles
Donelan, Captain A.
Doogan, P. C.
Duncan, J. Hastings
Ellice,Capt.EC(SAndrw'sBgh
Ellis, John Edward (Notts.)
Esmonde, Sir Thomas
Evans,SirFrancisH(Maidstone
Evans, Samuel T. (Glamorgan)
Eve, Harry Trelawney
Farrell, James Patrick
Fenwick, Charles
Ferguson, R. C. Munro (Leith)
Ffrench, Peter
Fitzmaurice, Lord Edmond
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Fowler, Rt. Hon. Sir Henry
Freeman-Thomas, Captain F.
Furness, Sir Christopher
Gilhooly, James
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Grant, Corrie
Griffith, Ellis J.
Guest, Hon. Ivor Churchill
Gurdon, Sir W. Brampton
Haldane, Rt. Hon. Richard B.
Harcourt,LewisV.(Rossendale
Harwood, George
Hayden, John Patrick
Helme, Norval Watson
Hemphill,Rt. Hon. Charles H.
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Holland, Sir William Henry
Hope, John Deans (Fife, West
Horniman, Frederick John
Hutchinson,Dr.CharlesFredk.
Jacoby, James Alfred
Joicey, Sir James
Jones, D. Brynmor (Swansea)
Jones,William(Carnarvonshire
Jordan, Jeremiah
Joyce, Michael
Kearley, Hudson E.
Kennedy,Vincent P.(Cavan,W.
Kilbride, Denis
Labouchere, Henry
Langley, Batty
Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cornwall)
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Leamy, Edmund
Leigh, Sir Joseph
Leng, Sir John
Levy, Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Lloyd-George, David
Lundon, W.
Lyell, Charles Henry
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
M‘Crae, George
M‘Fadden, Edward
M‘Hugh, Patrick A.
M‘Kean, John
M‘Kenna, Reginald
M‘Killop, W. (Sligo, North)
Mansfield, Horace Rendall
Markham, Arthur Basil
Morgan, J. Lloyd (Carmarthen)
Morley, Charles (Breconshire)
Morley,Rt.Hn.John(Montrose)
Moss, Samuel
Murphy, John
Newnes, Sir George
Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South)
Norman, Henry
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
O'Brien, James F. X. (Cork)
O'Brien,Kendal(Tipperary,Mid
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Brien, P. J. (Tipperary, N.)
O'Connor, James (Wicklow, W.
O'Connor, T. P. (Liverpool)
O'Donnell, T. (Kerry, W.)
O'Dowd, John
O'Kelly,James(Roscommon,N.
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
Parrott, William
Partington, Oswald
Paulton, James Mellor
Pease, J. A. (Saffron Walden)
Philipps, John Wynford
Power, Patrick Joseph
Price, Robert John
Priestley, Arthur
Rea, Russell
Reddy, M.
Redmond, John E. (Waterford)
Reid, Sir R.Threshie(Dumfries)
Roberts, John Bryn (Eifion)

Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.)
Robertson, Edmund (Dundee)
Robson, William Snowdon
Roche, John
Roe, Sir Thomas
Rose, Charles Day
Runciman, Walter
Russell, T. W.
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Schwann, Charles E.
Shaw, Thomas (Hawick B.)
Sheehan, Daniel Daniel
Sheehy, David
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Sinclair, John (Forfarshire)
Slack, John Bamford
Sloan, Thomas Henry
Soares, Ernest J.
Spencer, Rt. Hn. C. R. (Northants
Stanhope, Hon. Philip James
Strachey, Sir Edward
Sullivan, Donal
Taylor, Theodore C. (Radcliffe)
Tennant, Harold John
Thomas, Sir A. (Glamorgan, E.
Thomas, David Alfred (Merthyr)
Thomson, F. W. (York, W.R.)
Toulmin, George
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Ure, Alexander
Wallace, Robert
Walton, John Lawson (Leeds, S.)
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan)
Wason, John Cathcart (Orkney)
White, George (Norfolk)
White, Luke (York, E. R.)
Whiteley, George (York, W.R.)
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
Whittaker, Thomas Palmer
Williams, Osmond (Merioneth)
Wilson, Chas. Henry (Hull, W.)
Wilson, Henry J. (York, W.R.)
Woodhouse, Sir J. T. (Huddersf'd
Young, Samuel
Yoxall, James Henry

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Mr. Herbert Gladstone and Mr. William McArthur.

Question put accordingly, "That those words be there inserted."

The Committee divided:—Ayes, 172 Noes, 271. (Division List No. 177.)

AYES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N.E.)
Ashton, Thomas Gair
Asquith, Rt Hon Herbert Henry
Atherley-Jones, L.
Barlow, John Emmott
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Beaumont, Wentworth C. B.
Bell, Richard
Benn, John Williams
Black, Alexander William
Blake, Edward
Boland, John
Bolton, Thomas Dolling
Brigg, John
Bryce, Rt. Hon. James
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Burt, Thomas
Buxton, Sydney Charles
Caldwell, James
Cameron, Robert
Campbell, John (Armagh, S.)
Campbell-Bannerman, Sir H.
Cawley, Frederick
Channing, Francis Allston
Churchill, Winston Spencer
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Corbett, A. Cameron (Glasgow)
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Craig, Robert Hunter (Lanark)
Cremer, William Randal
Crombie, John William
Crooks, William
Cross, Alexander (Glasgow)
Cullinan, J.
Dalziel, James Henry
Davies, Alfred (Carmarthen)
Davies, M. Vaughan-(Cardigan
Delany, William
Devlin, Chas. Ramsay (Galway)
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Donelan, Captain A.
Doogan, P. C.
Duncan, J. Hastings
Ellice, Capt E C (S. Andrw's Bghs
Ellice, John Edward (Notts.)
Evans, Sir Francis H (Maidstone
Evans, Samuel T. (Glamorgan
Eve Harry Trelawney
Farrell, James Patrick
Fenwick, Charles
Ferguson, R. C. Munro (Leith)
Ffrench, Peter
Fitzmaurice, Lord Edmond
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Fowler, Rt. Hon. Sir Henry
Freeman-Thomas, Captain F.
Furness, Sir Christopher
Gilhooly, James
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Grant, Corrie
Griffith, Ellis J.
Guest, Hon. Ivor Churchill
Gurdon, Sir W. Brampton
Hain, Edward
Haldane, Rt. Hon. Richard B.
Harcourt, Lewis V. (Rossendale
Harwood, George
Hayden, John Patrick
Helme, Norval Watson
Hemphill, Rt. Hon. Charles H.
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Holland, Sir William Henry
Hope, John Deans (Fife, West)
Horniman, Frederick John
Hutchinson, Dr. Charles Fredk.
Jacoby, James Alfred
Joicey, Sir James
Jones, David Brynmor (Swansea
Jones, William (Carnarvonshire
Jordan, Jeremiah
Joyce, Michael
Kearley, Hudson E.
Kennedy, Vincent P. (Cavan, W
Kilbride, Denis
Labouchere, Henry
Langley, Batty
Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cornwall)
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Leamy, Edmund
Leigh, Sir Joseph
Leng, Sir John
Levy, Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Lloyd-George, David
Lundon, W.
Lyell, Charles Henry
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
M'Crae, George
M'Hugh, Patrick A.
M'Kenna, Reginald
Mansfield, Horace Rendall
Markham, Arthur Basil
Morgan, J. Lloyd (Carmarthen)
Morley, Charles (Breconshire)
Morley, Rt. Hon. John (Montrose
Moss, Samuel
Murphy, John
Newnes, Sir George
Norman, Henry
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Connor, James (Wicklow, W.)
O'Kelly, James (Roscommon, N.
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
Parrott, William
Partington, Oswald
Paulton, James Mellor
Pease, J. A. (Saffron Walden)
Philipps, John Wynford
Power, Patrick Joseph
Price, Robert John
Priestley, Arthur W
Rea, Russell
Reddy, M.
Reid, Sir R. Threshie (Dumfries
Roberts, John Bryn (Eifion)
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.)
Robertson, Edmund (Dundee)
Robson, William Snowdon
Roche, John
Roe, Sir Thomas
Rose, Charles Day
Runciman, Walter
Russell, T. W.
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Schwann, Charles E.
Shaw, Thomas (Hawick B.)
Sheehy, David
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Sinclair, John (Forfarshire)
Slack, John Bamford
Sloan, Thomas Henry
Smith, H C. (North'mb. Tyneside

Soares, Ernest J.
Spencer, Rt. Hn. C R. (Northants
Stanhope, Hon. Philip James
Strachey, Sir Edward
Sullivan, Donal
Taylor, Theodore C. (Radcliffe)
Tennant, Harold John
Thomas, Sir A. (Glamorgan, E.)
Thomas, David Alfred (Merthyr)
Thomson, F. W. (York, W.R.)
Toulmin, George
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Ure, Alexander
Wallace, Robert
Walton, John Lawson (Leeds, S.)
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan)
Wason, John Cathcart (Orkney)
White, George (Norfolk)
White, Luke (York, E.R.)
Whiteley, George (York, W.R.)
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
Whittaker, Thomas Palmer
Williams, Osmond (Merioneth)
Wills, Sir Frederick
Wilson, Chas. Henry (Hull, W.)
Wilson, Henry J. (York, W.R.)
Woodhouse, Sir J T. (Huddersf'd
Yoxall, James Henry

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Mr. Herbert Gladstone and Mr. William McArthur.

NOES.

Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Allhusen, Augustus Henry Eden
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster, Rt. Hn. Hugh O.
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Austin, Sir John
Bagot, Capt. Josceline FitzRoy
Bailey, James (Walworth)
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Baird, John George Alexander
Balcarres, Lord
Baldwin, Alfred
Balfour, Rt. Hon. A.J. (Manch'r)
Balfour, Capt. C. B. (Hornsey)
Balfour, Rt Hn Gerald W. (Leeds
Balfour, Kenneth R. (Christch.
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Barry, Sir Francis T. (Windsor
Bartley, Sir George C. T.
Beach, Rt. Hn. Sir Michael Hicks
Beckett, Ernest William
Bentinck, Lord Henry
Bhownaggree, Sir M. M.
Bignold, Arthur
Bigwood, James
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Bousfield, William Robert
Bond, Edward
Boscawen, Arthur Griffith
Bowles, Lt. Col. H F (Middlesex
Brassey, Albert
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Bull, William James
Burdett-Coutts, W.
Butcher, John George
Campbell, Rt Hn J. A. (Glasgow
Campbell, J. H. M (Dublin Univ.
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edward H.
Cavendish, V. C. W (Derbyshire
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Cecil, Lord Hugh (Greenwich)
Chamberlain, Rt. Hon. J. (Birm.
Chamberlain Rt Hn J. A. (Worc.
Chaplin, Rt. Hon. Henry
Chapman, Edward
Charrington, Spencer
Clare, Octavius Leigh
Clive, Captain Percy A.
Coates, Edward Feetham
Cochrane, Hon. Thomas H. A. E.
Coddington, Sir William
Coghill, Douglas Harry
Cohen, Benjamin Louis
Colston, Chas. Edw. H. Athole
Compton, Lord Alwyne
Cox, Irwin Edward Bainbrige
Craig, Charles Curtis (Antrim, S.
Cripps, Charles Alfred
Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Cust, Henry John C.
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Davenport, William Bromley
Dickinson, Robert Edmond
Dickson, Charles Scott
Dickson-Poynder, Sir John P.
Digby, John K. D. Wingfield
Dimsdale, Rt. Hon. Sir Joseph C.
Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
Dixon-Hartland, Sir Fred Dixon
Dorington, Rt. Hon. Sir John E.
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Doxford, Sir William Theodore
Duke, Henry Edward
Dyke, Rt, Hn. Sir William Hart
Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
Faber, Edmund B. (Hants, W.)
Fardell, Sir T. George
Fergusson, Rt Hn. Sir J. (Manc'r
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
Firbank, Sir Joseph Thomas
Fisher, William Hayes
Fison, Frederick William
FitzGerald, Sir Robert Penrose
Fitzroy, Hon. Edward Algernon
Flower, Sir Ernest
Foster, Philip S. (Warwick, S. W
Gardner, Ernest
Gibbs, Hon A. G. H.
Gordon, Hn. J. E. (Elgin & Nairn
Goschen, Hon. George Joachim
Goulding, Edward Alfred
Graham, Henry Robert
Green, Walford D (Wednesbury
Greene, Sir E W (B'ry S. Edm'nds
Greene, Henry D. (Shrewsbury)
Greene, W. Raymond-(Cambs.)
Grenfell, William Henry
Gretton, John
Greville, Hon. Ronald
Groves, James Grimble
Gunter, Sir Robert
Guthrie, Walter Murray
Halsey, Rt. Hon. Thomas F.
Hardy, Laurence (Kent Ashford
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Harris, F. Leverton (Tynem'th
Harris, Dr. Fredk. R. (Dulwich)
Hatch, Ernest Frederick Geo.
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Heath, Arthur Howard (Hanley
Heath, James (Staffords., N.W.
Heaton, John Henniker
Helder, Augustus
Henderson. Sir A. (Stafford, W.)
Hermon-Hodge, Sir Robert T.
Hickman, Sir Alfred
Hoare, Sir Samuel
Hogg, Lindsay
Hope, J. F. (Sheffield, Brightside
Horner, Frederick William
Houldsworth, Sir Wm. Henry
Houston, Robert Paterson
Howard, John (Kent Faversham
Hozier, Hon. James Henry Cecil
Hudson, George Bickersteth
Hunt, Rowland
Jeffreys, Rt. Hon. Arthur Fred.
Kennaway, Rt Hon. Sir John H.
Kenyon, Hon. Geo. T. (Denbigh)
Kenyon-Slaney, Col. W. (Salop.)
Keswick, William
Kimber, Henry
King, Sir Henry Seymour
Knowles, Sir Lees
Lambton, Hon. Frederick Wm.
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
Lawrence, Wm. F. (Liverpool)
Lawson, John Grant (Yorks. N. R
Lee, Arthur H. (Hants., Fareham
Lees, Sir Elliott (Birkenhead)
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Leveson-Gower, Frederick N. S.
Llewellyn, Evan Henry
Lockwood, Lieut.-Col. A. R.
Loder, Gerald Walter Erskine
Long, Col. Chas. W. (Evesham)
Long, Rt. Hn. Walter (Bristol)
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lowe, Francis William
Lowther, C. (Cumb. Eskdale)
Lloyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas, Col. Francis (Lowestoft
Lucas, Reginald J. Portsmouth
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
MacIver, David (Liverpool)
M'Arthur, Charles (Liverpool)
M'Fadden, Edward
M'Iver, Sir Lewis (Edinburgh W
M'Kean, John
M'Killop, W. (Sligo, North)
Malcolm, Ian
Manners, Lord Cecil
Martin, Richard Biddulph
Melville, Beresford Valentine
Meysey-Thompson, Sir H. M.
Mildmay, Francis Bingham
Milner, Rt. Hon. Sir Frederick G
Molesworth, Sir Lewis
Montagu, G. (Huntingdon)
Moore, William
Morgan, David J Walthamstow
Morpeth, Viscount
Morrell, George Herbert
Morrison, James Archibald
Morton, Arthur H. Aylmer
Mount, William Arthur
Mowbray, Sir Robert Gray C.
Muntz, Sir Philip A.
Murray, Rt Hn. A. Graham Bute

Murray, Charles J. (Coventry)
Murray, Col. Wyndham (Bath
Myers, William Henry
Newdegate, Francis A. N.
Nicholson, William Graham
Nolan, Col. John P. (Galway, N.)
Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South)
O'Brien, Kendal (Tipperary Mid
O'Brien, P. J. (Tipperary, N.)
O'Dowd, John
Palmer, Walter (Salisbury)
Pease, Herbert Pike (Darlington
Peel, Hn. Wm. Robert Wellesley
Pemberton, John S. G.
Percy, Earl
Pilkington, Colonel Richard
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Plummer, Walter R.
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Pretyman, Ernest George
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Pym, C. Guy
Ratcliff, R. F.
Reid, James (Greenock)
Remnant, James Farquharson
Renwick, George
Ridley, S. Forde (Bethnal Green
Ritchie, Rt. Hon. Chas. Thomson
Roberts, Samuel (Sheffield)
Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
Robinson, Brooke
Rolleston, Sir John F. L.
Rollit, Sir Albert Kaye
Ropner, Colonel Sir Robert
Rothschild, Hon. Lionel Walter
Round. Rt. Hon. James
Royds, Clement Molyneux
Rutherford, W. W. (Liverpool)
Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford-
Sadler, Col. Samuel Alexander
Samuel, Sir Harry S. (Limehouse
Sandys, Lieut.-Col. Thos. Myles
Scott, Sir S. (Marylebone, W.)
Seton-Karr, Sir Henry
Sharpe, William Edward T.
Sheehan, Daniel Daniel
Simeon, Sir Barrington
Sinclair, Louis (Romford)
Smith, Abel H. (Hertford, East)
Smith, James Parker (Lanarks.)
Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
Spencer, Sir E. (W. Bromwich
Stanley, Hn. Arthur (Ormskirk
Stanley, Edward Jas. (Somerset
Stanley, Rt. Hon. Lord (Lancs.)
Stewart, Sir Mark J. M'Taggart
Stone, Sir Benjamin
Stroyan, John
Strutt, Hon. Charles Hedley
Talbot, Rt Hn. J. G. (Oxf'd Univ
Thorburn, Sir Walter
Thornton, Percy M.
Tollemache, Henry James
Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
Tritton, Charles Ernest
Tuff, Charles
Tufnell, Lieut.-Col Edward
Valentia, Viscount
Walrond, Rt. Hn. Sir William H
Wanklyn, James Leslie
Warde, Colonel C. E.
Webb, Colonel William George
Welby, Lt-Col. A. C. E (Taunton
Welby, Sir Charles G. E. (Notts.
Whiteley, H (Ashton und. Lyne
Whitmore, Charles Algernon
Williams, Colonel R. (Dorset)
Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
Wilson, A. Stanley (York, E. R.
Wilson-Todd, Sir W. H. (Yorks.
Wodehouse, Rt. Hn. E. R. (Bath
Wolff, Gustav Wilhelm
Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B. Stuart
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George
Wyndham-Quin, Col. W. H.
Yerburgh, Robert Armstrong
Young, Samuel
Younger, William

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Sir Alexander Acland-Hood and Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes.

And, it being after half-past Seven of the clock, the Chairman left the Chair to make his Report to the House.

Committee report Progress; to sit again this evening.

EVENING SITTING.

LICENSING BILL.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[MR. J. W. LOWTHER (Cumberland, Penrith) in the Chair.]

Clause 1—

MR. J. H. LEWIS (Flint Boroughs) said the object of the Amendment he now proposed to move was to omit the new licence from the scope of the first clause. He hoped the Government would see their way to accept the Amendment. They surely did not intend to create a permanent vested interest in new licences, yet that was what this clause conferred, and the object of this Amendment was to obviate that undesirable consummation. This Amendment affected both the question of jurisdiction and compensation. With regard to jurisdiction, it would be better that the local justices should deal with the new licences because they knew what the necessities of the locality were, and it was desirable on another ground also. If these powers were vested in quarter sessions there would be a great temptation to grant licences in new districts in order to add to the compensation fund, which would be unfair to the new districts. With regard to compensation, everybody would agree that it was most desirable that a new monopoly interest should not be allowed to grow up in regard to those new licences, but a monopoly interest could only be destroyed in one of two ways: either there must be free trade in the sale of liquor or licences must be let at competitive value. As to free trade in liquor, that was obviously out of the question, and so far as letting the licences at competitive value was concerned, he pointed out that in letting a licence at competitive value that licence must not be dealt with once and for all, but from time to time as occasion arose, because the value of licences changed from time to time. A relatively short time back th

Metropolitan Board of Works were able to acquire licences at an average value of £1,700 each, but now the average value had risen to £3,100, and therefore it was obvious that licences must be dealt with from time to time in a way in which they could not be if a vested interest was created. There was another important question in regard to this matter. The Bill as it stood prevented the extension in the future of the operations of the trust system, which many people favoured, as was pointed out by Lord Grey in his letter on the subject, in which he drew attention to the great success which had hitherto attended the operations of these trusts, and in which he stated that the Bill would operate fatally against the extension of the system. It would be obviously quite impossible for trusts to continue their operations in the future. If they had to pay very large sums for the licences they could not compete with the brewers in obtaining new licences. Therefore, on the ground that the clause as it stood prevented the extension of the trust system in the country on the ground that it was proved to create a vested interest in new licences, and for the other reasons he had mentioned, he begged to move.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 1, line 5, after the word 'licence,' to insert the words 'which was in force on the twenty-fifth day of June nineteen hundred and four, or any licence granted by way of renewal thereof from time to time.'"—(*Mr. J.H. Lewis.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

*MR. DUKE (Plymouth) said he hoped the Government would be able to regard this Amendment favourably. It raised matters of principle which were not previously raised. With a great many of the details of the speech of the hon. Member who moved it he did not agree, but with the distinction which the hon. Member drew between the licences now in existence with the rights of monopoly which they had, and the licences hereafter to be granted, he entirely sympathised. He hoped the Government would see that there was a very great distinction between dealing with licences to be granted in the future and those licences which were already in existence and which had come into existence as part of a system of monopoly. Those who considered this matter on its merits would recognise that where a licence was granted to an individual as part of a system of monopoly, a set of rights was created which could only be dealt with subject to a due regard to elementary principles of justice and fair play; but under the new order of things there would be granted from time to time to trusts or brewers licences, and he hoped the Government would see that, when granting these licences in future, we should not be for all time under a monopoly system of liquor traffic, or if there must be monopoly, the monopoly should not be for the benefit of trusts and brewers, but for the benefit of the public, to whom the profits ought to go. But this Amendment could not be dealt with unless some decision was come as to how we were to proceed in the future. The Government were going to formulate a policy with regard to the new licences, but it was not at present very distinctly outlined, and there was the difficulty under Clause 4, that interference with the Government plan might lessen the compensation fund. The hon. Gentleman who moved the Amendment suggested two modes of dealing with the monopoly system: free trade in liquor and letting licences for terms, but the hon. Gentleman apparently rejected both those alternatives. He (Mr. Duke) did not think the question could be disposed of on this Amendment because it was an Amendment to a scheme for dealing with a monopoly system, the whole of which scheme was bound up with the past history of the monopoly system and the rights, moral or legal, which that system had conferred. The question, to his mind, was whether the House ought not to leave itself free to deal with this matter at a later stage in the consideration of the Bill. Some clause might be put into the Bill which would provide that the granting of a licence in the future was a grant out of the public right for a fixed period, and that the public should receive, in some form or other, and should look for some part of, the proceeds of the traffic under that licence. That would, at any rate, put upon the public and those who were to regulate this traffic a responsibility which would be coupled with their interest in it. He hoped the Government would not close this discussion without seriously considering the interests of the public in future licences.

COLONEL PILKINGTON (Lancashire, Newton) said his reason for following the speeches already made was that it seemed to him to be a great pity that they could not do something in this direction when they were compensating for old licences and doing away with what had been considered in certain quarters to be a gross injustice. This Bill was the result of a feeling of injustice on the part of the present licence-holders; it had nothing to do with the granting of new licences, and the hon. Member for Plymouth had shown very distinctly the great advantage which would result if the Government in this Bill differentiated between the old and the new licences. Nobody wished to have this promise of compensation going on for all time, and it appeared to him that there should be some statesmanlike provision introduced with regard to the new licences. That was absolutely necessary. It was one of those points which, if taken up, would enable the Government to pass this measure in a form satisfactory to everybody in the House and in the country. He made a strong appeal to the Government that these new licences should be treated in quite a different manner from the old licences, and that the view of the hon. Member for Plymouth, with regard to the public receiving a benefit, should be gone into by the Government with a view to inserting some new clause in the Bill to cover the new licences and to reduce to a minimum the compensation paid.

SIR EDGAR VINCENT (Exeter), said he ventured to join in the appeal that had been made by his hon. friends to His Majesty's Government that they would at least accept the principle on which the Amendment was founded. It appeared to him that a very clear distinction should be drawn between the licences already in existence and those that were to be granted in the future. The whole Bill had for its justification the public interest, and the dealing with a difficult position, which all temperance efforts had failed to accomplish in the past. It appeared to him that the Amendment as framed did not in the least attempt to prejudge the treatment to be accorded to licences to be granted in the future. All that it did was to leave the question open, and in Clause 4, it left it open to quarter sessions to insert whatever stipulations might be considered necessary.

SIR EDWARD CARSON said he hoped in what he said the Committee would not think that he meant to suggest that the question of new licences was not to be looked upon in an entirely different manner to old licences. He stated, when speaking on the Second Reading, that he hoped they might be able to frame something that would put the new licences on a satisfactory basis to the State. They had there to consider no question of vested interests or even of equitable interests, and there could be no divergence of opinion on the two sides of the House as to attempting to set up the best possible system in regard to the granting of new licences. Having said so much, hon. Members opposite would see that the application of the principle of that statement was not so easy as might be imagined in finding out what was the most satisfactory system. But there were certain broad facts that should guide them in framing their provisions with regard to new licences. In the first place, he thought they ought to lay down the principle that they were determined that no new vested interests should be set up. They ought to leave the magistrates perfectly free to deal with the granting and renewal of new licences without any possible claim being set up of any kind in relation to them. Whatever interest was created by the grant of a new licence, no claim for compensation or for a share in a monopoly ought to be allowed to arise. If they could say that no new licence should be created in future, that probably would be the most satisfactory manner of dealing with the question. But this would be absolutely impossible, because new districts must arise in which a hotel, a public-house, or a restaurant might be required by the public. The question, then, was, how were they to grant new licences, assuming that they must be granted? A person could not be expected, as a business transaction, to take up a licence for a year only, if he was to be subject to the conditions imposed by Clause 4, and the present conditions as to structural suitability of premises, and so forth. But there ought to be some conditions of this kind provided for in the fourth clause of the Bill for the granting of the new licences.

The view of the Government was that practically the magistrates ought to be allowed to impose such conditions as they thought to be proper. As a corollary, they thought that probably the best way of granting new licences was that they should be granted for three, five, or seven years, or for a period which as a business transaction would be likely to induce men to sink capital in a business intended solely for the convenience of the public. It was plain that in such a case as that there ought to be no compensation at the end of the three, five, or seven years for which the licence was granted. If the Committee, on the other hand, thought that the annual system ought to be kept up, and if at the same time the terms of the Bill were to be exacted, it was plain that while there should be no compensation as for a share in the monopoly, the question arose of whether they could justify the licensee being compelled to subscribe to the insurance fund under the Bill. The Government would be as careful as the hon. Member to see that no system of compensation should be set up which should recognise any vested interest in the granting of a new licence. There was no intention to allow any system whereby the new licences should be placed in the position of the old licences. The Government were anxious to see the best system that could be devised adopted in relation to these new licences, and that the magistrates should not be fettered in granting them by the fear that a new interest would have to be paid for out of the monopoly that would be created. He suggested that with these assurances the matter might be left until Clause 4 was reached, when the whole question of new licences would be considered.

SIR ROBERT REID said he did not gather that the hon. and learned Member was prepared to accept the Amendment, though it was the only possible conclusion from his speech. He was glad, however, to learn that no vested interest was to be created in respect of the new licences granted for the first time after the passing of the Bill. It would have been an astonishing thing if the Government had adhered to the provisions actually contained in the Bill, which undoubtedly would have had that effect.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said the hon. and learned Gentleman must be aware that in every speech he had made on the question he had declared it to be an essential element of the Government policy that no new monopoly licences should be granted.

SIR ROBERT REID said he had the words before him, and was about to quote them when the right hon. Gentleman interrupted him, in which the Prime Minister said that our forefathers had committed a great mistake in allowing any vested interest to be created, and that nothing of the sort ought to be permitted in the future. But under the Bill itself the creation of such a vested interest would beyond all question be permitted, subject to certain conditions, in Clause 4, which might or might not be imposed. It was also satisfactory to hear that no compensation would become payable in the case of new licences. That being the position, he desired to point out the justification for the Amendment and the necessity of insisting upon it. Clause 1 created the principle of the Bill with regard to on-licences, both present and future. Clause 4 allowed quarter sessions to attach certain conditions to the granting of new licences. But the power was entirely optional, and if the quarter sessions thought fit they could permit a new vested interest to grow up. There was not a word in the Bill as to the power to grant licences for three, five, or seven years, as suggested by the Solicitor-General. Personally he believed that if the words of existing Statutes had not been sufficient for the purpose, no form of words which human ingenuity could devise would suffice to prevent the growth of a vested interest. The only remedy was to impose annual taxation equivalent to the annual value of the gift which was to be conferred at the time of the granting of the new licence. He maintained that in these circumstances the Amendment was necessary. Its acceptance could not possibly prejudge any one of the matters referred to by the Solicitor-General in regard to Clause 4.

Mr. DUKE pointed out that if the Amendment were accepted the renewal of different sets of on-licences would be under different jurisdictions.

Sir ROBERT REID submitted that that difficulty could easily be got over by providing in Clause 4 that the granting or renewing of the licences should be on the same footing as those dealt with in Clause 1. The Committee were now dealing with the great enacting clause of the Bill; the Government had stated that they did not propose to apply the principle of Clause 1 to the new licences; why, then, should not Clause 1 be limited to existing licences, leaving the question of new licences to be dealt with in whatever way the Committee thought fit on Clause 4?

Colonel PILKINGTON said the Government had declared their intention to treat new licences in a different manner to existing licences. It was necessary, therefore, that existing licences should be described in the Bill, and nothing could be clearer than the description given in the Amendment. The words suggested in the Amendment would make that matter absolutely plain, and new licences could then be dealt with in Clause 4 of the Bill.

*Mr. MARTIN (Worcestershire, Droitwich) said there seemed to him a comparatively easy way out of the difficulty. There was no real reason why any new licence should be granted, at any rate for a great many years to come. If, when a licence was required in a new and populous place, the person obtaining the permission of the magistrates to have a licence should have to go into the market and buy up a licence in a place where it was not needed, many small towns and villages would have some of their superfluous licences removed from them into places where licences were needed. If no restriction were placed on the negotiability of licences, there would be a permanency in their value, and the necessity of granting any new licences might be got rid of for years to come.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR believed the whole House was of one mind in thinking that they should be careful, in regard to new licences, not to create that monopoly which had been such a burden to them in the past. He was not sure, however, that they ought so to limit the discretion of the magistrates as to make that impossible. He did not commit himself on the point, but he was anxious to give the magistrates discretion to try experiments regarding future licences and the terms on which they should be granted. The plan suggested by the Solicitor-General by which licences should be granted for a number of years would be a fit method in many cases for dealing with new licences, but he would be sorry to restrict magistrates to that one method. They might, for one reason or another, desire that the licences should be under their hand from year to year, and that there should be no bar to their withdrawing a licence if they thought fit to do so. It was evident that the lease system would require no compensation at all. The licence would be granted on terms well understood, and any improvements would be limited by the time the licence had to run. Another system would be to grant licences from year to year on the understanding that, if a licence was withdrawn, the holder would be recouped for any improvements he had made in the licensed premises for the advantage of the public and the proper carrying on of the business. He thought it was impossible, therefore, either in Clause 1 or in Clause 4, that they should do anything to render compensation impossible in the case of future licences. That compensation, of course, would not be for the monopoly value, but would be based on the principle already adopted by Parliament in regard to agricultural tenancies, where compensation was granted for unexhausted improvements. For these and other reasons, he should be reluctant to see the principle of compensation even for future licences absolutely excluded. He hoped that when they came to Clause 4, as much liberty would be left to the magistrates as possible, with a view to their trying various experiments in various districts as to the best mode of granting such new licences as might be required for the needs of a growing population, experiments that might vary from district to district and county to county. He was ready to admit that, in the judgment of the Government, all licences granted after the passing of this Act should come under the principles of Clause 4, and he was ready to accept the Amendment modified by such words as "existing at the commencement of this Act," or words equivalent thereto.

MR. ASQUITH asked why the date should not be inserted.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR thought it would be more in accordance with precedent to use some such phrase as "the commencement of this Act."

MR. J. H. LEWIS pointed out that the words were copied from the Licensing Act of a few years ago.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said he was not aware of that fact. At any rate, the point was that licences *bona-fide* granted after the passing of this Bill should come under the new system, and it remained for the Committee to determine in connection with Clause 4 what that new system should be. That being so, the Government had done their best to meet the common view of the Committee by agreeing to accept the Amendment in the amended form which he had suggested.

MR. ASQUITH asked what were the words proposed.

SIR EDWARD CARSON said the words he suggested were "existing at the date of the passing of this Act," so as to make the compensation set up in Clauses 1 and 2 applicable only to existing licences, leaving open whatever questions it might be desirable to raise with regard to new licences on Clause 4. The question might also be raised as to whether a renewal was not in point of law a new grant.

MAJOR JAMESON (Clare, W.) said the Amendment was a most objectionable one, and simply raised the question of a time limit in another form. It was a piece of absolute folly to accept such an Amendment, and he hoped it would be rejected.

MR. LAWSON WALTON pointed out that if conditions were imposed upon a licensee involving costly alteration of premises and the licence were then withdrawn at the close of the year, an equity was undoubtedly created in the licensee who had invested his capital on the faith of his licence and had not had an opportunity of withdrawing the capital invested. It was, therefore, necessary to decide whether there should be a continuance of the present system of annual licences with an equity of renewal on the part of the licensee, or whether there should be a system of licences granted for a certain number of years, upon the definite understanding that no right to renewal or to compensation was vested in the licensee. That system, instead of giving a licence for a year, granted it for a reasonable period, and allowed the magistrates to review it at the end of that period, and gave them power to readjust the number of licensed houses to the wants of the neighbourhood. If that system was to be adopted with regard to new licences the question was whether they could create two systems of concurrent licences under one administration of the law. The Bill as it stood now would constitute two classes of licences—those in existence before 1904 and which had a right to compensation and which were annual, and licences created since 1904 which were for a term of years. There was no such thing in law as renewal, but there was a new licence. The question arose whether the Government should not at once provide for a renewal licence or a new licence instead of having a licence for one year, for a definite term on the understanding that the term should be sufficient to allow the licensee to cover himself by means of insurance, and with no obligation at the end of that time to compensate him.

MR. J. H. LEWIS said he would accept the suggestion which had been made. He asked leave of the Committee to withdraw his Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 1, line 5, after the word 'licence' to insert the words 'existing at the date of the passing of this Act.'"—(*Mr. J. H. Lewis.*)

Amendment agreed to.

MR. HERBERT ROBERTS (Denbighshire, W.) said the object of the Amendment he wished to propose was to restrict the operation of the clause to licences granted by way of renewal for more than ten years prior to the passing of the Act. It would create a further distinction in regard to compensation, and introduce the condition that no compensation would be payable under Clause 1 of the Bill if the licence had not been renewed for a period of ten years at least. If the clause was passed as it stood now compensation would have to be paid for all existing licences. One of the grounds put forward for claiming compensation was individual personal hardship, and the Committee would remember how the hon. Member for the Ripon Division of Yorkshire had more than once laid before them the case of certain widows, but if they went back as he suggested for a period of ten years that distinction could not arise. There was undoubtedly a great difference between a licence granted forty or fifty years ago and one granted within the last three or four years. There was another and perhaps more important distinction to be drawn between recently granted licences and those which had been renewed for a large number of years. The Committee would remember that it was more than ten years ago, in 1891, that the decision in "Sharpe *v.* Wakefield" was given, and that judgment made it clear beyond doubt that no legal claim could be made for compensation for the refusal of a licence. Those who had applied for licences, either as speculators or otherwise, since that time and invested their money in licences had had due notice of the exact condition of the law, and they had not the same ground for making a claim for compensation in case their licences were refused as those who invested their money before that time. Again, there was this further distinction — almost all the licences granted during the last ten years had been made not to individuals but to brewery companies. The Committee would remember some of those startling figures laid before the House by the hon. Member for Spen Valley in his speech on the Second Reading of this Bill, showing the immense amount of money invested during the last ten years by brewery companies in licensed premises. In his opinion there was a clear difference between the two classes of licences.

What was the object of this Bill? Its alleged object was to facilitate the reduction of licences in England and Wales. That depended upon three things—the amount of the State levy; whether that levy was compulsory or not; and lastly, the extent of the demand made upon the levy. This third point in particular had a direct relation to the Amendment they were discussing. It was clear that the more they could legitimately restrict and reduce the area of compensation the greater and more rapid would be the reduction made. The objection would of course be made that it was not fair to make a difference between a licence granted in 1893 and 1896. If his Amendment were carried the man who was granted a licence in 1893 would receive compensation, whilst the man who received his licence three or four years later would not. The reply to that objection was obvious. No scheme could be devised which would do absolute justice in every possible case and on every possible point. Furthermore, it was not the licences which had been granted during the last ten years which would in any case be taken under the operation of this Bill upon the ground of non-necessity, so that no injustice could arise. Speaking generally, his Amendment excluded from compensation licences which had been issued during the last ten years, and which had reaped the harvest of modern improvements. Upon those grounds he thought there was a distinct difference between the two classes of licences. He did not think that any hardship would be inflicted upon any individual tenant if his Amendment were carried. It would narrow the area of compensation and facilitate a reduction of licences, and upon those grounds he thought his proposition was worthy of the favourable consideration of the Committee He begged to move.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 1, line 5, after the words 'last inserted,' to insert the words 'which has been granted by way of renewal for more than ten years prior to the passing of this Act.'" —(*Mr. Herbert Roberts.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

SIR EDWARD CARSON said it was impossible for the Government to accept this Amendment. This Amendment drew a distinction between the licences granted within the last ten years and those granted before that period, and it would be absolutely impossible to do that in this Bill. It was impossible to make this distinction when all licences were granted under the same law. Of the whole number of licences, those granted in the past ten years were not more than 5 per cent.; many of these were granted on condition that other licences were extinguished; others had been granted under very stringent conditions as to structural arrangements and other matters, and some were for new districts. If any distinction could be drawn, the licences the hon. Member would exclude were more entitled to be the subject of compensation.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE said there was a good deal more to be said for it than the Solicitor-General seemed to think. So far from it being an extravagant proposition, he thought his hon. friend might have extended the Amendment to renewals to the same person for the last ten years. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Croydon said that those who had acquired an interest in 1882 had no equitable claim for compensation, because the law was made perfectly clear in the Act of Parliament. What was the difference between the law made clear by Act of Parliament and the law made clear by the declarations of the Judges of the land?

SIR EDWARD CARSON: The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Croydon spoke of the off beer licences.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE said there was absolutely no distinction as regarded the principle. If it was property, what did it matter whether it was an off beer licence or an onbeer licence? The point laid down was that they were purchasers with notice, and so far as equity was concerned there was a perfectly clear case for the Amendment. There was not a man who did not know everything about the decisions on the subject except the Prime Minister. But if the Government had made up their minds to give the money to the brewers, it did not matter what was put forward from the other side of the House.

Question put.

The Committee divided:—Ayes, 143; Noes, 245. (Division List No. 178.)

AYES.

Abraham, William (Rhondda)
Allen, Charles P.
Asquith, RtHonHerbertHenry
Atherley-Jones, L.
Barlow, John Emmott
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Beaumont, Wentworth C. B.
Bell, Richard
Benn, John Williams
Black, Alexander William
Blake, Edward
Boland, John
Bolton, Thomas Dolling
Brigg, John
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Burt, Thomas
Buxton, Sydney Charles
Caldwell, James
Cameron, Robert
Campbell, John (Armagh, S.)
Cawley, Frederick
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Corbett, A. Cameron (Glasgow
Craig, Robert Hunter (Lanark)
Cremer, William Randal
Crombie, John William
Crooks, William
Davies, Alfred (Carmarthen)
Davies, M. Vaughan-(Cardigan
Delany, William
Devlin, Chas. Ramsay (Galway
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Donelan, Captain A.
Duncan, J. Hastings
Ellice, Capt EC (S. Andrw'sBghs
Ellis, John Edward (Notts.)
Evans, SirFrancisH (Maidsto'e
Eve, Harry Trelawney
Farrell, James Patrick
Fenwick, Charles
Ffrench, Peter
Fitzmaurice, Lord Edmond
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Flynn, James Christopher
Fowler, Rt. Hon. Sir Henry
Freeman-Thomas, Captain F.
Furness, Sir Christopher
Gladstone, RtHn. HerbertJohn
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Grant, Corrie
Griffith, Ellis J.
Gurdon, Sir W. Brampton
Hain, Edward
Haldane, Rt. Hon. Richard B.
Helme, Norval Watson
Hemphill, Rt. Hon. Charles H.
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Holland, Sir William Henry
Horniman, Frederick John
Humphreys-Owen, Arthur C.
Hutchinson, Dr. Chas. Fred.
Jacoby, James Alfred
Joicey, Sir James

Jones, D. Brynmor (Swansea
Jones, William (Carnarvonshire
Jordan, Jeremiah
Joyce, Michael
Kearley, Hudson E.
Kennedy, Vincent P. (Cavan, W.
Kilbride, Denis
Lambert, George
Langley, Batty
Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cornwall)
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Leigh, Sir Joseph
Leng, Sir John
Levy, Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Lloyd-George, David
Lough, Thomas
Lundon, W.
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
M'Arthur, William (Cornwall)
M'Crae, George
M'Kenna, Reginald
Mansfield, Horace Rendall
Markham, Arthur Basil
Milner, Rt. Hn. Sir Frederick G
Mitchell, Edw. (Fermanagh, N.
Morgan, J. Lloyd (Carmarthen
Morley, Charles (Breconshire)
Moss, Samuel
Murphy, John
Newnes, Sir George
Norman, Henry
Nussey, Thomas Willans
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
Parrott, William
Partingdon, Oswald
Paulton, James Mellor
Pease, J. A. (Saffron Walden)
Perks, Robert William
Pirie, Duncan V.
Power, Patrick Joseph
Priestley, Arthur
Rea, Russell
Reddy, M.
Reid, Sir R. Threshie (Dumfries
Roberts, John Bryn (Eifion)
Robertson, Edmund (Dundee)
Robson, William Snowdon
Roche, John
Roe, Sir Thomas
Rose, Charles Day
Runciman, Walter
Russell, T. W.
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland
Schwann, Charles E.
Shaw, Thomas (Hawick B.)
Sheehy, David
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Slack, John Bamford
Smith, H C (North'mb. Tynes'de
Soares, Ernest J.
Stanhope, Hon. Philip James
Sullivan, Donal
Taylor, Theodore C. (Radcliffe)
Thomas, Sir A. (Glamorgan, E.)
Thomas, David Alfred (Merthyr
Thomson, F. W. (York, W. R.)
Toulmin, George
Ure, Alexander
Walton, John Lawson (Leeds, S.)
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Wason, John Cathcart (Orkney)
White, George (Norfolk)
White, Luke (York, E. R.)
Whiteley, George (York, W. R.)
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax
Whittaker, Thomas Palmer
Williams, Osmond (Merioneth
Wilson, Henry J. (York, W. R.
Woodhouse, Sir J T. Huddersf'd
Yoxall, James Henry

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Mr. Herbert Roberts and Mr. Trevelyan

NOES.

Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Allhusen, Augustus Henry Eden
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster, Rt. Hn. Hugh O.
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Austin, Sir John
Bagot, Capt. Josceline FitzRoy
Bailey, James (Walworth)
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour, Rt. Hn. A. J. (Manch'r
Balfour, Rt. Hn Gerald W (Leeds
Balfour, Kenneth R. (Christch.
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Bentinck, Lord Henry C.
Bignold, Arthur
Bigwood, James
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Bond, Edward
Bousfield, William Robert
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Brown, Sir Alex. H. (Shropsh.)
Bull, William James
Burdett-Coutts, W.
Butcher, John George
Campbell, J. H. M. (Dublin Univ.
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Cavendish, V. C. W. (Derbyshire
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Cecil, Lord Hugh (Greenwich)
Chamberlain, Rt Hn. J. A. (Worc.
Chaplin, Rt. Hon. Henry
Chapman, Edward
Clare, Octavius Leigh
Clive, Captain Percy A.
Coates, Edward Feetham
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Coghill, Douglas Harry.
Cohen, Benjamin Louis.
Colston, Chas. Edw. H. Athole
Compton, Lord Alwyne
Craig, Charles Curtis (Antrim, S.
Crean, Eugene
Cripps, Charles Alfred
Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Cullinan, J.
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Davenport, William Bromley-
Devlin, Joseph (Kilkenny, N.)
Dickinson, Robert Edmond
Dickson, Charles Scott.
Digby, John K. D. Wingfield-
Dimsdale, Rt. Hon. Sir Joseph C.
Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
Dixon-Hartland, Sir Fred Dixon
Doogan, P C.
Dorington, Rt. Hon. Sir John E.
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Doxford, Sir William Theodore
Duke, Henry Edward
Dyke, Rt. Hon. Sir William Hart
Faber, Edmund B. (Hants, W.)
Fardell, Sir T. George
Fergusson, Rt. Hn. Sir J. (Manc'r
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
Fisher, William Hayes
Fison, Frederick William
FitzGerald, Sir Robert Penrose-
Fitzroy, Hon. Edward Algernon
Flower, Sir Ernest
Forster, Henry William
Foster, Philip S. (Warwick, S W.
Gardner, Ernest
Gibbs, Hon. A. G. H.
Gordon, Hn. J. E. (Elgin & Nairn)
Gorst, Rt. Hon. Sir John Eldon
Goulding, Edward Alfred
Gray, Ernest (West Ham)
Greene, Sir E W (B'ry S. Edm'nds
Greene, Henry D. (Shrewsbury)
Greene, W. Raymond- (Cambs.)
Gretton, John
Groves, James Grimble
Guthrie, Walter Murray
Hall, Edward Marshall
Hardy, Laurence (Kent, Ashford
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Harris, Dr. Fredk. R. (Dulwich)
Hatch, Ernest Frederick Geo.
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Heath, Arthur Howard (Hanley
Heath, James (Staffords. N.W.
Heaton, John Henniker
Helder, Augustus
Hermon-Hodge, Sir Robert T.
Hickman, Sir Alfred
Hoare, Sir Samuel
Hogg, Lindsay
Hope, J. F. (Sheffield, Brightside
Horner, Frederick William
Houldsworth, Sir Wm. Henry
Hoult, Joseph
Houston, Robert Paterson
Howard, John (Kent Faversham
Howard, J. (Midd., Tottenham
Hozier, Hon. James Henry Cecil
Hudson, George Bickersteth
Hunt, Rowland
Jameson, Major J. Eustace
Jeffreys, Rt. Hon. Arthur Fred.
Kennaway, Rt. Hon. Sir John H.
Kenyon, Hon. Geo. T. (Denbigh)
Kenyon-Slaney, Col. W. (Salop
Keswick, William
King, Sir Henry Seymour

Knowles, Sir Lees
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
Lawrence, Wm. F, (Liverpool
Lawson, John Grant (Yorks NR
Leamy, Edmund
Lee, Arthur H. Hants (Fareham
Lees, Sir Elliott (Birkenhead)
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Llewellyn, Evan Henry
Lockwood, Lieut.-Col. A. R.
Loder, Gerald Walter Erskine
Long, Col. Charles W. (Evesham
Long, Rt. Hn. Walter (Bristol, S
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas, Col. Francis (Lowestoft)
Lucas, (Reginald J. Portsmouth
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon, Alfred
M‘Arthur, Charles (Liverpool)
M‘Fadden, Edward
M‘Hugh, Patrick A.
M‘Iver, Sir Lewis (Edinburgh W
M‘Kean, John
M‘Killoy, W. (Sligo, North)
Malcolm, Ian
Manners, Lord Cecil
Martin, Richard Biddulph
Massey-Mainwaring, Hn. W. F.
Maxwell, Rt. Hn Sir H. E (Wigt'n
Meysey-Thompson, Sir H. M.
Mildmay, Francis Bingham
Molesworth, Sir Lewis
Montagu, G. (Huntingdon)
Montagu, Hon. J. Scott (Hants.)
Moon, Edward Robert Pacy
Moore, William
Morgan, David J (Walthamstow
Morpeth, Viscount
Morrell, George Herbert
Morrison, James Archibald
Morton, Arthur H. Aylmer
Mount, William Arthur
Mowbray, Sir Robert Gray C.
Muntz, Sir Philip A.
Murray, Rt Hn A. Graham (Bute
Murray, Charles J. (Coventry)
Murray, Col. Wyndham (Bath
Myers, William Henry
Newdegate, Francis A. N.
Nolan, Col. John P. (Galway, N.
Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South)
O'Brien, Kendal (Tipp'rary Mid
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Dowd, John
Parker, Sir Gilbert
Pease, Herbert Pike (Darlingt'n
Peel, Hn Wm. Robert Wellesley
Percy, Earl
Pierpoint, Robert
Pilkington, Colonel Richard
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Plummer, Walter R.
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Pretyman, Ernest George
Pym, C. Guy
Rankin, Sir James
Ratcliff, R. F.
Reid, James (Greenock)
Remnant, James Farquharson
Renwick, George
Ridley, S. Forde (Bethnal Green
Roberts, Samuel (Sheffield)
Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
Robinson, Brooke
Rollit, Sir Albert Kaye
Ropner, Colonel Sir Robert
Rothschild, Hon. Lionel Walter
Round, Rt. Hon. James
Royds, Clement Molyneux
Rutherford, John (Lancashire)
Rutherford, W. W. (Liverpool)
Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford-
Sadler, Col. Samuel Alexander
Samuel, Sir Harry S. (Limehouse
Sandys, Lieut.-Col. Thos. Myles
Sassoon, Sir Edward Albert
Scott, Sir S. (Marleybone, W.)
Seton-Karr, Sir Henry
Sharpe, William Edward T.
Shaw Stewart, Sir H. (Renfrew)
Sheehan, Daniel, Daniel
Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
Stanley, Hon. Arthur (Ormskirk
Stanley, Edward Jas. (Somerset
Stanley, Rt. Hn. Lord (Lancs.)
Stewart, Sir Mark J. M‘Taggart
Stone, Sir Benjamin
Stroyan, John
Strutt, Hon. Charles Hedley
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Talbot, Rt. Hn. J. G (Oxf'd Univ
Thorburn, Sir Walter
Thorton, Percy M.
Tollemache, Henry James
Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
Tritton, Charles Ernest
Tuff, Charles.
Tufnell, Lieut.-Col. Edward
Valentia, Viscount
Vincent, Sir Edgar (Exeter)
Walker, Colonel William Hall
Walrond, Rt. Hn Sir William H.
Wanklyn, James Leslie
Warde Colonel C. E.
Webb, Colonel William George
Welby, Lt-Col. A. C. E (Tau'ton
Whiteley, H (Asht'n-und-Lyne
Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
Wilson, A. Stanley (York, E R.
Wilson, John (Glasgow)
Wilson-Todd, Sir W. H. (Yorks.
Wodehouse, Rt. Hn. E. R. (Bath
Wolff, Gustav Wilhelm
Wortley, Rt. Hn. C. B. Stuart-
Wrightson, Sir Thomas
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George
Yerburgh, Robert Armstrong
Young, Samuel

Tellers for the Noes—Sir Alexander Acland-Hood and Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes.

Mr. MOSS (Denbighshire, E,) had the following Amendment standing in his name on the Notice Paper:—

"In page 1, line 5, after the word 'licence,' to insert the words, 'the holder of which is also the owner of the licensed premises, or is the *bona-fide* tenant thereof, and is not in any way restricted in his right to purchase intoxicating liquors, tobaccos, cigars, or any other commodities in the open market.'"

*The CHAIRMAN said if the hon. Member would leave out the last two lines it might be in order, but even then it seemed to him to raise exactly the same point as had been discussed on the Amendment of the hon. Member for Halifax, namely, the tied-house question.

Mr. MOSS submitted that the tied-house question did not possibly arise under the Amendment. The only point he wished to discuss was that the owner of the licensed premises, or the *bona-fide* tenant, should be entitled to compensation.

Mr. LLOYD-GEORGE said the Amendment of his hon. friend the Member for Halifax would not cover the case of a secretary or manager who, as very often happened, was the tenant. The Amendment of his hon. friend the Member for East Denbighshire would cover the case of a secretary or manager.

*The CHAIRMAN: It depends on the definition of the words "*bona-fide* tenant." His definition of a *bona-fide* tenant is a man who "is not in any way restricted in his right to purchase intoxicating liquors, tobaccos, cigars, or any other commodities in the open market."

Sir ROBERT REID said this did not raise the tied-house question, which they had been discussing. The question raised by his hon. friend's Amendment was whether the holder of the licence was the owner of the licensed premises on the one side, or the *bona-fide* tenant thereof on the other.

*The CHAIRMAN thought the hon. Member might be allowed to proceed with the Amendment if he would promise that the words "tied house" would not occur in his speech.

Mr. MOSS said there were two propositions which were now admitted by the House. The first was that a licence was an annual licence and that the licensee or owner of the premises had no legal right to compensation, and that if he was to be compensated it must be as a concession or act of grace. Compensation rested on a moral and not on a legal basis. He was quite sure the House would agree that if any person was entitled to compensation it was the person who had placed his savings in the business and had purchased it. A large number of public-houses were bought up by brewers and large companies, and in 90 per cent. of the cases the person placed in charge of the house was not a *bona-fide* tenant at all. He was licensed because he happened to be the secretary or the manager of the company, and there might be no agreement at all to entitle him to compensation. The effect of the Amendment would be that in all those cases where there were irresponsible people who did not care for the public and who only cared to sell a certain amount of liquor, there would be put in their place responsible people who were anxious to conduct the business with due regard to the public interest, and who themselves would be amenable to the law.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 1, line 5, after the words last inserted, to insert the words 'the holder of which is also the owner of the licensed premises or is the *bona-fide* tenant thereof.'" –(*Mr. Moss.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Sir EDWARD CARSON congratulated the hon. Member on the skill with which he had moved the Amendment so as to escape the Chairman's ruling. He recognised in many of the hon. Member's arguments their old friend the tied house. Was a man a *bona-fide* tenant or less than that because he had made a contract with a large brewer for three or six months? What was to be the test of a *bona-fide* tenant?

Mr. MOSS: I never suggested that at all. I gave a pledge to the Chairman that I would not deal with that point, and I carefully abstained from doing so.

*The CHAIRMAN: I am afraid the hon. Member has quite unwittingly misled me on this point. It is perfectly clear that we are on the same discussion. I do not think it can well be avoided.

Mr. LLOYD-GEORGE: It was the Solicitor-General who introduced the words "tied house."

Sir EDWARD CARSON said he must deal with the realities of the Amendment. He must state what was his conception of the only meaning the Amendment could have. What was to be the test of a *bona-fide* tenant? He submitted that in reality the Amendment was the same as the preceding one, and that there was no reason for passing it.

Sir ROBERT REID said the Report of the Royal Commission showed that a bogus tenancy might exist in connection with tied houses. These bogus agreements which were put before the magistrates were very different from real contracts. There seemed to have been a considerable number of bogus tenancies in Manchester, and the magistrates had considerable difficulty in dealing with them. In his opinion bogus agreements might exist in connection with tied houses or apart from tied houses. The point was that they wanted some person in real possession and not merely a caretaker who was here to-day and gone to-morrow—a person who was the owner himself, and not a tenant under a sham agreement and a mere illusory tenure. He would certainly vote for the Amendment.

Mr. CORBETT (Glasgow, Tradeston) said the managers were a class on whom the Bill would inflict very great hardship. They held their positions subject to removal at short notice, and there was hardly any form of employment in which such constant changes were taking place. A man entered upon the post of manager with a character, and after an occupation of something like two or two-and-a half years might be absolutely destroyed and characterless and possibly a burden on the community. They might be told that the supervision of the brewers over the managers would do something to protect the public from irregularity in the conduct of these houses. He ventured to say that the supervision of the brewer over the manager consisted in his seeing that the latter sold a sufficient amount of beer; and if they could investigate the relations of these people it would be found very often that the complaint against the manager was not that he conducted the house badly, but that he failed to sell the amount of beer which the brewer thought he ought to sell.

MR. McKENNA said the Solicitor-General had asked what a *bona-fide* tenant was. It would be in the recollection of the Committee that when his hon. friend the Member for Halifax moved his Amendment the Solicitor-General objected to it on the ground that the manager of a brewing company who owned the premises was not a tenant. It was, therefore, perfectly clear that the argument of the Solicitor-General was dealt with by the present Amendment. Therefore he was not a *bona-fide* tenant, and why should compensation be given to him? Compensation under the Bill would be given to the brewery company because the licence was to be withdrawn, while the manager would be thrown out into the streets and get nothing at all. The only person to suffer would be the manager, and he it was that should in equity receive compensation, because he would be thrown out of employment, and might not obtain a situation elsewhere.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE said that the distinction between the two cases was very clear. The question was whether the tenant was to be a *bona-fide* tenant or merely the agent of the brewery company. He would suggest to his hon. friend the Member for Denbigh that he should accept an Amendment to his Amendment, by omitting the words "The *bona-fide* tenant thereof," and substituting for them the following part of the Amendment on the Paper standing in the name of the hon. Member for Eifion, "the tenant of the licensed premises as tenant from year to year, determinable only in the usual way on half a year's notice, or as lessee for a fixed term of not less than two years, and not determinable on breach of any covenant or agreement other than a covenant or agreement to pay the rent, or to insure the premises, or to keep or yield up the same in proper repair." That would raise the question whether the person was nominally the tenant, or was merely the servant of the brewery company. Of course, he must be a tenant by the law of the land, because unless he came forward to the licensing magistrates and said that he was the tenant of the premises, he would not get the licence. If he was purely the creature of the brewery company he was not the tenant. He begged to move.

Amendment proposed to the proposed Amendment—

"To leave out the words '*bona-fide* tenant thereof,' and to insert the words 'tenant of the licensed premises as tenant from year to year determinable only in the usual way on half a year's notice, or as lessee for a fixed term of not less than two years and not determinable on breach of any covenant or agreement other than a covenant or agreement to pay the rent or to insure the premises or to keep or yield up the same in proper repair.'"—(*Mr. Lloyd-George.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the proposed Amendment."

MR. HALDANE (Haddingtonshire) said he thought that the Amendment moved by his hon. friend had brought the matter to a focus. He could not imagine that the Government wished to bring within the scope of this Bill the class of tenant which this definition was framed to exclude. He thought that some Amendment such as this was necessary, and if his hon. friend went to a division he should certainly support him.

MR. BRYN ROBERTS (Carnarvonshire, Eifion) said he supported the Amendment. He did not think it was possible to get good tenants under the conditions named, which were so rigid and stringent that they made the tenant a slave of the brewery company, and not an independent person. That was why the class of tenants had deteriorated so very much. The old class of tenant was a man of importance, generally a churchwarden, and of high respectability. Under the system of the Bill the person put in authority on licensed premises combined in his person the disadvantages of manager and tenant. Inasmuch as he was under control of the brewery company he could be turned out at a moment's notice, and was therefore under the same disadvantages as a mere manager; but he had not the advantage of a manager, in not being liable for bad debts or a bad speculation. These latter fell on the brewery company. This evil was not a new evil. If hon. Members would take the trouble to read a book by Mr. Sidney Webb and his wife, giving an account of the working of the Licensing Acts during the last hundred years, they would find that all the evils experienced now in administering the licensing laws were not new. In 1787, it was desired to restrict the licences in a similar manner to that now proposed, but the only difference was that the Party which was in favour of restriction of licences without compensation was the Party of the Tory country gentleman.

*The CHAIRMAN said that the only question before the Committee was the definition of what a *bona-fide* tenant was.

Mr. BRYN ROBERTS said he was showing that on previous occasions the same evils existed from which we now suffered, and he thought that the historical analogy was very pertinent. In the century before last the Tory squires were in favour of restricting the licences because they said the public houses were Radical hot-beds. It was the Radical Party in those days which was in favour of free, open, and unrestricted licences. He maintained that unless the Amendment was accepted the evils that had been shown to exist in the past and in the present, would be developed in the future in a very striking degree. It was most important that licensees should be responsible persons. He knew it was said that it would be very unjust to the brewers if they had not the right to dismiss a bad tenant until after six months notice, but, if they gave power to the brewers to dismiss a tenant at a minute's notice, that would be a temptation to them to accept a bad tenant. If the brewers or owners of the licensed houses had to give six months' notice, they would take as much trouble to secure a good tenant as any owner of a West End house.

Mr. WHITLEY said that the Solicitor-General had asked for a definition of a *bona-fide* tenant. The right hon. and learned Gentleman would find it in a single phrase of another Bill, which had not yet come on for Second Reading, viz., that no licence should be granted unless the applicant showed that he had a tenancy of his premises for at least the period for which the licence was to be granted. That was his idea of what was a *bona-fide* tenant. Where it had been adopted it had been an enormous boon to the tenant, and had given him security. He believed if that definition were inserted in this Bill it would be a great benefit to the trade.

Mr. WHITTAKER said that there was very strong reason for declining to give compensation in any case in which the tenant did not pay a *bona-fide* rent. Under the provisions of this Bill the owner would not, unless the tenant was a *bona-fide* tenant, paying full rent, contribute anything towards the compensation fund whilst he would receive the whole of the compensation. As the Bill now stood, the tenant who did not pay a rack-rent, and who was not a *bona-fide* tenant, would pay the whole of the compensation. A more abominable arrangement was never suggested in an Act of Parliament. This Amendment would make it perfectly clear that the owner of a house, where the tenant was not a *bona-fide* tenant, would get no compensation.

*Mr. GUEST said that the object of the Amendment was to define, in the strictest terms possible, what was a paid servant or manager of a brewery company, and what was a man who, although holding under the tied-house system, was still in some sense of the word a licensee.

SIR EDWARD CARSON said he found it difficult to understand the arguments of hon. Gentlemen opposite. Hon. Gentlemen were trying to turn into managers people who were really tenants. They were told that the manager was to get no compensation. Then the tenancy was to be so restricted that a six or nine months tenant was to get nothing, and if there was a special agreement that the tenancy was to be terminated by a three months notice or a year's notice the tenant was to get no compensation, and also in cases where there was anything in the tenancy besides the ordinary covenant that the law supplied. If there was a covenant for a breach of which the tenancy was to end, then the tenant was to get nothing. They were thus to reduce the number of these persons in whom the Opposition at other stages of the debate had been deeply interested. Then if a man had a lease for twenty-one years, say, or any greater period, he was not to get compensation if he had entered into a covenant to keep the place in an orderly manner, or—and this was the real object —if he had entered into a contract to purchase from a brewer. All this was aimed at the owner, otherwise he could not conceive why hon. Gentlemen opposite wished to deprive these various tenants of compensation. But they had already discussed the tied-house question on another Amendment.

MR. ELLIS GRIFFITH (Anglesey) said there was a point in the Amendment altogether apart from the tied-houses question. The Commissioners evidently had it in mind that there might be tied-houses, houses partly tied, and houses carried on on the managerial system, and it was to the latter system that the Amendment was directed. The Amendment was intended to give what the Prime Minister called security of tenure. They wanted as far as possible to abolish managers in tied houses, and to get tenants who would take a legitimate interest in the business. The object of the Amendment was to get *bona-fide* tenants; and if that were done they would have much better management and much better public-houses.

MR. CROOKS (Woolwich) said he wished to ask the Solicitor-General a few questions, because he feared that gentlemen interested in the brewing trade had deceived the Government. There were a great many licence-holders who had never seen the houses for which they held licensees. That was rather a startling statement; but it was true. The brewery companies had in their employ, perhaps at a weekly wage, a number of men of respectable character, who were able to satisfy the police that they could conduct a licensed house properly. One of these men obtained the transfer of the licence, and then returned to his daily labour without perhaps having ever seen the licensed house. Was such a man a *bona-fide* tenant? Would he have a claim to compensation? Did the Solicitor-General realise that there might be a licence-holder who had no interest in the house at all? If he were known, would the Bill have been introduced? It seemed to him to be another case of the confidence trick being played against the Government. He thought he should be wanting in his loyalty to the Government if he did not explain the matter to them. Some of the licences were expensive to the brewers; and if they could only surrender them and obtain new licences instead they would be glad. It was said that the brewers were acting in the interests of temperance and morality. He did not believe it—it was not his fault. He knew a licence-holder who wanted to vote. The returning officer asked him where his house was; and he said he did not know, but that it was somewhere in the neighbourhood, and that his name was over the door. Sure enough it was. But was such a man a *bona-fide* tenant? He thought that it would be an exceedingly good thing if the Government were to take the Bill back, and have a consultation with the brewery and distilling companies with reference to these sham licence-holders. If this were a Bill to compensate the licence-holders, every hon. Gentleman interested in the brewing trade would vote solidly against it. It was marvellous the kind of evidence the brewers were able to produce. He knew of a case in which a licensed house was supposed to be sold for £19,000. He wanted the man who was stated to have sold the house to be produced; and the reply was that he had moved, his address being unknown. He thought the Government ought to accept the Amendment. They were at last getting on the track of the *bonâ-fide* tenant. If the Law Officers could only see some of the monstrous leases which were now drawn, he doubted whether they would regard them as legal. They on that side had endeavoured to make it perfectly plain that they did not desire to injure the *bona-fide* licence-holder, and that they would not allow either the public or the publican to be victimised.

Mr. SECRETARY AKERS-DOUGLAS rose in his place, and claimed to move, "That the Question be now put;" but the Chairman withheld his assent, and declined then to put that Question.

MR. ATHERLEY-JONES (Durham, N.W.) said that a very important question of public policy underlay the Amendment. It would secure that compensation should not be given to the owners of licences unless they took proper care to ensure that their houses were properly and respectably conducted; and the only way that could be accomplished was to give a real tenure, not a precarious tenure. He would urge the Home Secretary to accept the Amendment, and not to regard the question from the narrow standpoint of legal dialectics.

Question, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the proposed Amendment," put, and negatived.

Words inserted.

Question put, "That the words, as amended, be there inserted."

The Committee divided:—Ayes, 153; Noes, 262. (Division List No. 179.)

AYES.

Abraham, William (Rhondda)
Ashton, Thomas Gair
Asquith, Rt. Hon. Herbt. Hy.
Atherley-Jones, L.
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Beaumont, Wentworth C. B.
Bell, Richard
Benn, John Williams
Black, Alexander William
Boland, John
Brigg, John
Bryce, Rt. Hon. James
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Buxton, Sydney Charles
Caldwell, James
Cawley, Frederick
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Corbett, A. Cameron (Glasgow)
Craig, Robert Hunter (Lanark)
Cremer, William Randal
Crombie, John William
Crooks, William
Cross, Alexander (Glasgow)
Cullinan, J.
Dalziel, James Henry
Davies, Alfred (Carmarthen)
Davies, M. Vaughan- (Cardigan
Delany, William
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Doogan, P. C.
Duncan, J. Hastings
Edwards, Frank
Ellice, Capt E C (S. Andrw'sBghs
Ellis, John Edward (Notts.)
Evans, Sir Francis H. (Maidstone
Evans, Samuel T. (Glamorgan)
Fenwick, Charles
Ferguson, R. C. Munro (Leith)
Ffrench, Peter
Fitzmaurice, Lord Edmond
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Flynn, James Christopher
Fowler, Rt. Hon. Sir Henry
Freeman-Thomas, Captain F.
Grant, Corrie
Grey, Rt. Hon. Sir E. (Berwick)
Griffith, Ellis J.
Guest, Hon. Ivor Churchill
Gurdon, Sir W. Brampton
Haldane, Rt. Hon. Richard B.
Harcourt, Lewis V. (Rossend'le)
Harwood, George
Hayden, John Patrick
Hayter, Rt. Hon. Sir Arthur D.
Helme, Norval Watson
Hemphill, Rt. Hon. Charles H.
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Holland, Sir William Henry
Hope, John Deans (Fife, West)
Horniman, Frederick John
Humphreys-Owen, Arthur C.
Hutchinson, Dr. Charles Fredk.
Jacoby, James Alfred
Joicey, Sir James
Jones, William (Carnarv'nshire)
Jordan, Jeremiah
Joyce, Michael
Kearley, Hudson E.
Kennedy, Vincent P. (Cavan W)
Kilbride, Denis
Kitson, Sir James
Labouchere, Henry
Lambert, George
Langley, Batty
Law, Hugh Alex. (Donegal, W.)
Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cornwall)
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Leese, Sir J. F. (Accrington
Leigh, Sir Joseph
Leng, Sir John
Levy, Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Lloyd-George, David
Lough, Thomas
Luncon, W.
Lyell, Charles Henry
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
M'Crae, George
M'Kenna, Reginald
Mansfield, Horace Rendall
Mitchell, E. (Fermanagh, N.)
Morgan, J. L. (Carmarthen)
Morley, Charles (Breconshire)
Moss, Samuel
Moulton, John Fletcher
Murphy, John
Newnes, Sir George
Norman, Henry
Nussey, Thomas Willans
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
Partington, Oswald
Paulton, James Mellor
Pease, J. A. (Saffron Walden)
Perks, Robert William
Pirie, Duncan V.
Power, Patrick Joseph
Price, Robert John
Priestley, Arthur
Rea, Russell
Reddy, M.
Reid, S. R. Threshie [Dumfries
Roberts, John Bryn (Eifion)
Roberts, J. H. (Denbighs.)
Robson, William Snowdon
Roche, John
Roe, Sir Thomas
Runciman, Walter
Russell, T. W.
Samuel, Herbert L. (Clevel'nd)
Samuel, S. M. (Whitechapel)
Schwann, Charles E.
Seely, Maj. J. E. B. (I. of Wight)
Shaw, Charles Edw. (Stafford)
Shaw, Thomas (Hawick B.)
Sheehy, David
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Sinclair, John (Forfarshire)
Slack, John Bamford
Soames, Arthur Wellesley
Soares, Ernest J.
Spencer, Rt. Hn. C. R (Northants
Stanhope, Hon. Philip James

Stevenson, Francis S.
Sullivan, Donal
Taylor, Theodore C. (Radcliffe)
Tennant, Harold John
Thomas, Sir A. (Glamorgan, E.)
Thomas, David Alfred (Merth'r)
Tomkinson, James
Toulmin, George
Trevelyan, Charles Phillips
Walton, J. Lawson (Leeds, S.)
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Wason, E. (Clackmannan)
Wason, J. Cathcart (Orkney)
White, George (Norfolk)
White, Luke (York, E. R.)
Whiteley, G. (York, W. R.)
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
Whittaker, Thomas Palmer
Williams, Osmond (Merioneth)
Wilson, H. J. (York, W. R.)
Woodhouse, Sir J. T. (Hudf'd)

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Mr. Herbert Gladstone and Mr. Wm. M'Arthur.

NOES.

Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
Allhusen, August Henry Eden
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster, Rt. Hn Hugh O.
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Austen, Sir John
Bagot, Capt. Josceline FitzRoy
Bailey, James (Walworth)
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Baird, John George Alexander
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour, Rt. Hn. A. J. (Manch'r)
Balfour, Capt. C. B. (Hornsey)
Balfour, Rt. Hn. G. W. (Leeds)
Balfour, Kenneth R. (Chrstch.)
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Bartley, Sir George C. T.
Beach, Rt. Hn. Sir Michael H.
Bhownaggree, Sir M. M.
Bignold, Arthur
Bigwood, James
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Bond, Edward
Boscawen, Arthur Griffith-
Bousfield, William Robert
Brassey, Albert
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Brown, Sir Alex. H. (Shropsh.)
Bull, William James
Burdett-Coutts, W.
Butcher, John George
Campbell, J. H. M. (Dublin Unv)
Campbell, John (Armagh, S.)
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Cavendish, V. C. W. (Derbysh.)
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Cecil, Lord Hugh (Greenwich)
Chamberlain, Rt Hn J. A. (Worc)
Chaplin, Rt. Hon. Henry
Chapman, Edward
Clive, Captain Percy A.
Coates, Edward Feetham
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Colston, Chas. Edw. H. Athole
Compton, Lord Alwyne
Craig, Charles Curtis (Antrim, S
Creane, Eugene
Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Cust, Henry John C.
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Davenport, William Bromley-
Devlin, Joseph (Kilkenny, N.)
Dickinson, Robert Edmond
Dickson, Charles Scott
Digby, John K. D. Wingfield-
Dimsdale, Rt. Hon. Sir Joseph C
Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
Dorington, Rt. Hon. Sir John E.
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers
Doxford, Sir William Theodore
Duke, Henry Edward
Dyke, Rt Hon. Sir William Hart
Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
Faber, Edmund B. (Hants, W.)
Fardell, Sir T. George
Fergusson, Rt. Hn Sir J. (Manc'r
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
Fisher, William Hayes
Fison, Frederick William
FitzGerald, Sir Robert Penrose-
Fitzroy, Hon. Edward Algernon
Forster, Henry William
Foster, Philip S. (Warwick S. W
Gardner, Ernest
Gibbs, Hon. A. G. H.
Gordon, Hn. J. E. (Elgin & Nairn
Goulding, Edward Alfred
Gray, Ernest (West Ham)
Greene, Sir E W (Bury S Edm'nds
Greene, Henry D. (Shrewsbury)
Greene, W. Raymond-(Cambs.)
Greenfell, William Henry
Gretton, John
Greville, Hon. Ronald
Groves, James Grimble
Hall, Edward Marshall
Halsey, Rt. Hon. Thomas F.
Hardy, L. (Kent, Ashford)
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Harris, F Leveston (Tynemouth
Harris, Dr. F. R. (Dulwich)
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Heath, Arthur H. (Hanley)
Heath, James (Staff. N.W.)
Heaton, John Henniker
Helder, Augustus
Henderson, Sir A. (Staff. W.)
Hermon-Hodge, Sir Robert T.
Hickman, Sir Alfred
Hoare, Sir Samuel
Hogg, Lindsay
Hope, J. F. (Sheffield, Bright.)
Horner, Frederick William
Houldsworth, Sir Wm. Henry
Hoult, Joseph
Howard, J. (Kent, Faversham)
Howard, J. (Midd. Tottenham
Hozier, Hon. James H. Cecil
Hudson, George Bickersteth
Hunt, Rowland
Jameson, Major J. Eustace
Jeffreys, Rt. Hon. Arthur F.
Jessel, Captain Herbert M.
Kenyon, Hon. Geo. T. (Denb.
Kenyon-Slaney, Col. W. (Salop
Keswick, William
King, Sir Henry Seymour
Knowles, Sir Lees
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
Lawrence, Wm. F. (Liverpool)
Lawson, J. Grant (Yorks, N.R)
Lee, A. H. (Hants, Fareham)
Lees, Sir Elliott (Birkenhead)
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Llewellyn, Evan Henry
Lockwood, Lieut.-Col. A. R.
Loder, Gerald Walter Erskine
Long, Col. Charles W. (Evesham
Long, Rt. Hn. Walter (Bristol S)
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lowe, Francis William
Lowther, C. (Cumb. Eskdale)
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas, Col. Francis (Low'stoft)
Lucas, Reginald J. (Portsm'th)
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
MacIver, David (Liverpool)
Maconochie, A. W.
M'Arthur, Charles (Liverpool)
M'Fadden, Edward
M'Iver, Sir Lewis (Edinb'gh) W.
M'Killop, W. (Sligo, North)
Malcolm, Ian
Manners, Lord Cecil
Martin, Richard Biddulph
Maxwell, Rt Hn Sir H. E. (W'gtn
Melville, Beresford Valentine
Meysey-Thompson, Sir H. M.
Mildmay, Francis Bingham
Milner, Rt. Hon. Sir Fredk. G.
Molesworth, Sir Lewis
Montagu, G. (Huntingdon)
Moon, Edward Robert Pacy
Moore, William
Morgan, David J. (W'ltmstow)
Morpeth, Viscount
Morrell, George Herbert
Morrison, James Archibald
Morton, Arthur H. Aylmer
Mount, William Arthur
Mowbray, Sir Robt. Gray C.
Muntz, Sir Philip A.
Murray, Rt. Hon. A. G. (Bute)
Murray, Chas. J. (Coventry)
Murray, Col. Wyndham (Bath)
Myers, William Henry
Newdegate, Francis A. N.
Nicholson, William Graham
Nolan, Col. J. P. (Galway, N.)
Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South)
O'Brien, Kendal (Tipperary M.)
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Brien, P. J. (Tipperary, N.(
O'Dowd, John
Palmer, Walter (Salisbury)
Parker, Sir Gilbert
Pease, Herbt. Pike (Darlington)
Peel, Hn. Wm. Robt. Wellesley
Percy, Earl
Pierpont, Robert

Pilkington, Colonel Richard
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Plummer, Walter R.
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Pretyman, Ernest George
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Pym, C. Guy
Quilter, Sir Cuthbert
Rankin, Sir James
Ratcliff, R. F.
Reid, James (Greenock)
Remnant, James Farquharson
Renwick, George
Richards, Henry Charles
Ridley, S. Forde (Bethnal Green)
Roberts, Samuel (Sheffield)
Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
Robinson, Brooke
Rolleston, Sir John F. L.
Ropner, Colonel Sir Robert
Rothschild, Hn. Lionel Walter
Round, Rt. Hon. James
Royds, Clement Molyneux
Rutherford, John (Lancashire)
Rutherford, W. W. (Liverpool)
Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford-
Sadler, Col. Samuel Alexander
Sandys, Lt.-Col. Thos. Miles
Sassoon, Sir Edward Albert
Scott, Sir S. (Marylebone, W.)
Seely, Chas. Hilton (Lincoln)
Seaton-Karr, Sir Henry
Sharpe, William Edward T.
Sheeham, Daniel Daniel
Simeon, Sir Barrington
Sinclair, Louis (Romford)
Smith, Abel H. (Hertford, E.)
Smith, HC (North'mb, Tyneside
Smith, James Parker (Lanarks.)
Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
Stanley, Hn. Arthur (Ormskirk
Stanley, Edward Jas. (Som'set)
Stanley, Rt. Hon. Lord (Lancs.)
Stewart, Sir Mark J. M'Taggart
Stirling-Maxwell, Sir John M.
Stroyan, John
Strutt, Hon. Chas. Hedley
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Talbot, Rt. Hn. J. G. (Oxf'd Univ
Thornton, Percy M.
Tollemache, Henry James
Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
Tritton, Charles Ernest
Tuff, Charles
Valentia, Viscount
Vincent, Col. Sir C E H (Sheffield
Vincent, Sir Edgar (Exeter)
Walker, Col. William Hall
Walrond, Rt Hn. Sir William H.
Wanklyn, James Leslie
Warde, Colonel C. E.
Webb, Colonel William George
Welby, Lt.-Col. A C E (Taunton)
Welby, Sir Charles G. E. (Notts.)
Whiteley, H (Ashton und. Lyne
Whitmore, Charles Algernon
Williams, Colonel R. (Dorset)
Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
Wilson, A. Stanley (York, E. R)
Wilson, John (Glasgow)
Wodehouse, Rt. Hn. E R. (Bath)
Wolff, Gustav Wilhelm
Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B. Stuart
Wrightson, Sir Thomas
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George
Wyndham-Quin, Col. W. H.
Yerburgh, Robert Armstrong
Young, Samuel
Younger, William

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Sir Alexander Acland-Hood and Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes.

And, it being after Midnight, the Chairman left the Chair to make his Report to the House.

Committee report Progress; to sit again To-morrow.

AGRICULTURAL AND TECHNICAL INSTRUCTION SCHEMES (IRELAND).

Return ordered, "showing separately, in respect of each class of Scheme adopted by local authorities and approved by the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction (1) the Rate struck; (2) the amount levied off the Rates in each county or urban district; (3) the amount of unexpended balance of previous Rate; (4) the expenditure out of local Rates on each Scheme; (5) the amount allocated to each Scheme from the funds of the Department; (6) amount actually paid over by Department; (7) statement of reasons for non-payment of Department's contribution where such has not been fully paid; and (8) particulars of grants by the Department to Agricultural Societies during the year ended the 31st day of March, 1903."—(*Mr. Sullivan.*)

SANDGATE HOMES (PAUPER INMATES CHARGEABLE TO METROPOLITAN UNIONS).

Return ordered, "showing (1) the number of Paupers chargeable to each Metropolitan Union who are inmates of Convalescent or similar Homes at Sandgate; (2) the Complaints on account of which such paupers were sent to the Homes, and the number suffering from each Complaint; (3) the weekly or other amount paid by the Guardians per head for such Paupers; and (4) the periods during which such Paupers have been inmates of the Homes."—(*Sir Edward Sassoon.*)

TUBERCULOSIS (ANIMALS) COMPENSATION BILL.

Ordered, That Mr. Barran be discharged from the Select Committee on Tuberculosis (Animals) Compensation Bill; and that Captain Ellice be added to the Committee.—(*Mr. Herbert Gladstone.*)

BISHOPRICS OF SOUTHWARK AND BIRMINGHAM BILL.

Not amended (by the Standing Committee) to be considered.

LORD HUGH CECIL (Greenwich) said he would appeal to hon. Members opposite to let the Bill pass. It was not opposed by the Front Opposition Bench.

MR. WHITLEY (Halifax) said it was a Government Bill, and should not be taken after midnight.

Bill deferred till To-morrow.

Adjourned at ten minutes after Twelve o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Tuesday, 28th June, 1904.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

The Lord Chancellor acquainted the House, That the Clerk of the Parliaments had laid upon the Table the Certificate from the Examiners that the Standing Orders applicable to the following Bill have been complied with:—Hamilton Gas Order Confirmation [H.L.].

The same was ordered to lie on the Table.

De Trafford Estate Bill [H.L.]; London County Council (Money) Bill. Reported, with Amendments.

Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway (Various Powers) Bill. The King's consent signified; and Bill reported, with Amendments.

Thurles Urban District Council Water Bill. Committee to meet on Tuesday next.

Swindon Corporation Bill; Clyde Navigation (Works) Bill. Moved, That the order made on the 14th day of March last, "That no Private Bill brought from the House of Commons shall be read a second time after the 16th day of June next," be dispensed with, and that the Bills be now read 2^{a}; agreed to. Bills read 2^{a} accordingly and committed. The Committees to be proposed by the Committee of Selection.

Lord Tredegar's Supplemental Estate Bill [H.L.]; Scarisbrick Estate (Amendment Bill [H.L.]; Bristol Tramways (Extensions) Bill [H.L.]. Read 3^{a}, and passed, and sent to the Commons.

Southend-on-Sea Gas Bill; Brymbo Water Bill; Great Central and Midland Joint Railways Bill; Baker Street and Waterloo Railway Bill. Read 3^{a}, with the Amendments, and passed, and returned to the Commons.

Birkdale Improvement Bill. Read 3^{a}, with the Amendments; a further Amendment made; Bill passed, and returned to the Commons.

Leicestershire and Warwickshire Electric Power Bill [H.L.]. Returned from the Commons agreed to, with Amendments.

South-Western and Isle of Wight Junction Railway (Extension of Time) Bill. Returned from the Commons with the Amendment agreed to.

Bexhill Water and Gas Bill; Harrow Road and Paddington Tramways Bill; London, Tilbury, and Southend Railway Bill. Returned from the Commons with the Amendments agreed to.

Glasgow Corporation (Tramways, etc.) Order Confirmation Bill [H.L.] (No 124). A Bill to confirm a Provisional Order relating to Glasgow Corporation (Tramways, etc.). And

Greenock Corporation Order Confirmation Bill [H.L.] (No. 125). A Bill to confirm a Provisional Order relating to Greenock Corporation. Were presented by the Lord Kintore (*E. Kintore*) (pursuant to the Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899, Sections 8 and 9); read 1^{a}; and to be printed.

Scotch Education Department Provisional Order Confirmation (Edinburgh) Bill [H.L.]. House in Committee (according to order); Bill reported without Amendment. Standing Committee negatived; and Bill to be read 3^{a} on Thursday next.

Commons Regulation (Merrow) Provisional Order Bill; Commons Regulation (Oxshott) Provisional Order Bill; Land Drainage Provisional Order Bill. Read 3^{a} (according to order), and passed.

Tramways Orders Confirmation (No. 2) Bill [H.L.]. Amendments reported (according to order), and Bill to be read 3^{a} on Thursday next.

PETITION.

LOCAL AUTHORITIES (QUALIFICATION OF WOMEN) BILL [H.L.].

Petition in favour of; of persons signing; read, and ordered to lie on the Table.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

COLONIES (ANNUAL).

No. 418. Bermuda (Report for 1903).

TRADE REPORTS: I. ANNUAL SERIES.

No. 3198. Germany (Prussian Estimates).

II. MISCELLANEOUS SERIES.

No. 614. Live stock in Mexico.

Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie on the Table.

INDIA (LOANS RAISED IN INDIA).

Return of all loans raised in India chargeable on the revenues of India outstanding at the commencement of the half-year ended the 31st March, 1904, with the rates of interest and total amount payable thereon, etc. Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table.

OPEN SPACES BILL [H.L.].

Reported from the Standing Committee without further Amendment. The Report of the Amendments made in Committee of the Whole House to be received on Thursday next.

MERCHANT SHIPPING BILL [H.L.].

Reported from the Standing Committee with a further Amendment. The Report of the Amendment made in Committee of the Whole House, and by the Standing Committee, to be received on Thursday next, and Bill to be printed as amended. (No. 126.)

RESERVE FORCES BILL [H.L.].

Reported from the Standing Committee with Amendments. Report of Amendments to be received on Thursday next, and Bill to be printed as amended. (No. 127.)

LOCAL AUTHORITIES (QUALIFICATION OF WOMEN) BILL [H.L.].

[SECOND READING].

Order of the day for the Second Reading, read.

EARL BEAUCHAMP: My Lords, in moving the Second Reading of this Bill I do not know that it is necessary for me to detain your Lordships at any great length. It is quite obvious that it would be too much to expect that the Bill should become law during the present session and, therefore, I shall content myself with ascertaining the feeling of the House this afternoon, and shall probably not proceed further with it if your Lordships allow it to go to a Second Reading on this occasion. It has already received approval in another place, where it was carried by a majority of something like 130 or 140. I may say, in order to commend the Bill to noble Lords on the other side of the House, that it is in some respects a reactionary Bill. In days gone by women were able to sit on the vestries and were allowed to be elected members of the school boards, but it is now impossible for women to be members of the Metropolitan borough councils which succeeded the vestries, or to be members of county councils which have practically taken the place of the old school boards. I am anxious that women should be allowed to resume on the Metropolitan local authorities and on the county councils which have taken over the duties of the school boards the work which they previously performed.

The past few years have seen considerable changes in regard to the general idea of the position of women. I believe public opinion is willing to put a higher value upon the work of women than ten or twenty years ago. That is due to the classic example of Her late Majesty, Queen Victoria, who showed that it was possible to combine the qualities required even for the highest statesmanship with true womanliness. There are countless examples of women who have served the State well in various positions of trust and dignity in different parts of the country. There is still another direction in which I think we may conclude that public opinion is now willing and ready to give more authority to women than they have had in the past. I refer to the movement, which has considerable support, to give women votes in the Church councils when the time comes for the Church to resume her powers of self-government.

With regard to the position of women, I think I may fairly refer to the fact that over 1,000 women occupy the position of guardians of the poor, in which capacity they have without doubt rendered very valuable service to the community, and not only have they filled official positions such as guardians of the poor, but they have also performed useful work in connection with such bodies as the Charity Organisation Society, and in many other directions. I would refer noble Lords to the opinion of the late Lord Salisbury, who was, I think, strongly in favour of women being allowed to occupy the position to which this Bill would enable them to be elected. But there is one other argument which I think should appeal to all noble Lords who are interested in local government throughout this country. As time goes on the Legislature is putting more and more work upon county councils, and these councils find it increasingly difficult to perform those duties. In many parts of the country county councils are composed of squires and men of business who can only spare for the work of the county one day in the week. They try, therefore, to combine with their private business the affairs of the county, but it is becoming increasingly difficult for them to do it, and I think before very long we shall find that the county councils have practically fallen into the habit of allowing their permanent officials to rule the county because the members are unable themselves to give that time to the administration of affairs which ought properly to be given. The time, I think, has come when we shall have to tap a new class in order to perform this service.

I may perhaps refer to a case which recently attracted a great deal of attention in this country—that of Colney Hatch Asylum. I would remind your Lordships of the fire which broke out in the women's wing there, and also of the scandals which took place with reference to the stores. It was proved that tons of sugar had been poured down the drains. The proper quantity of sugar to be consumed in a large establishment like that of Colney Hatch is a matter on which women are surely able to advise, and their advice is also valuable in regard to the security of women inmates in asylums. There are two special directions in which I venture to think women should be given positions of trust. The first one is in the matter of education. It is obvious to your Lordships that, even supposing there were an equal number of boys and girls in the elementary schools in this country, the number of women teachers is very much in excess of the number of male teachers. Surely, therefore, we ought to put women at any rate in an equal position of authority with regard to women teachers. Those who are acquainted with the way the Education Act is being worked in the country know that county councils are not able always to resist the temptation to overthrow the advice of the Education Committees, and as there are no women on the county councils the advice of women is sometimes ignored by those councils. I venture to think that the one or two women who are occasionally put on by some county councils are not enough by themselves to affect the administration of the Act. I think that women ought to be given a much larger share of representation than they now enjoy, or that it is possible to give them at the present moment on the Education Committees.

I will venture to state to your Lordships a few of the functions of county councils which women are especially qualified to attend to. There is the supervision of lunatic asylums. In the asylums of this country there are something like 8,000 women, yet there is not one single woman in any position of authority over the management of those asylums. That seems to me to be a position in which women would be well qualified to advise the county councils, and to assume an equal amount of responsibility. Then there are the industrial schools, in which there are a large number of girls. At the present moment, too, the Inebriate Homes for Women are entirely managed by county councils, which consist solely of men. That, surely, is another direction in which women would be well qualified to undertake responsibility. The supervision of midwives is another function which has been put on county councils without any assistance from the women of the county, while county councils have also to pass by-laws regulating street trading and the hours of work affecting a large number of girls.

Turning to the work of the Metropolitan borough councils, those bodies have to administrate the Public Health Act, the Factory Act, and the Workshops Act, which includes the inspection of rooms in factories and laundries, and the supervision of sleeping accommodation in business houses, in connection with which women might perhaps be able to alleviate the lot of many of the unhappy girls in the business establishments of this city. Again, if the Metropolitan borough councils had women serving upon them, the number of deaths in the baby farms in the Metropolis would, I believe, be considerably diminished. I believe this is an instance of the way in which the Legislature has committed women's work to men to undertake. Parliament has from time to time passed laws giving the Metropolitan borough councils and the county councils, composed only of men, work which women would be much better able to do, and I venture, in conclusion, to say that those who, like myself, have had an opportunity of seeing how well women can perform work which is entrusted to them, would be very glad indeed to welcome the co-operation of women in the other directions which would be possible under this Bill.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2^a."—(*Earl Beauchamp.*)

THE LORD CHANCELLOR (The Earl of HALSBURY): My Lords, before I say anything on the subject of the Bill, I should like to call the noble Lord's attention to the Memorandum which accompanies it, and which seems to show a total misapprehension of the object of a Memorandum. There is a Standing Order in the other House which, I think, might very appropriately be adopted by your Lordships, under which an instruction is given to the clerks at the Table to strike out any passages of a controversial nature. The object of a Memorandum to a Bill is for the purpose of explaining what the Bill is, and it is sometimes convenient that its object should be so explained. But this Memorandum, although in shorter form, and, therefore, not open to the observation I had to make the other day with regard to another Memorandum attached to a Bill, is really a Second Reading speech.

With regard to the Bill itself, I confess I am very familiar with the observations the noble Lord has made. We had them put before us at considerable length five years ago, and not a single new observation has been made. I confess I think it would have been more appropriate when you were forming these new municipal councils, that the matter should have been brought forward, and I think it is rather strong, after the decision of your Lordships to which I have referred, that this one single alteration of a very important Bill, agreed to by a large majority, should be raised again. Nothing has occurred during those five years that I am aware of to justify raising the question again. This is an appeal against a five years old decision on no new facts. I think the noble Earl has rather confused the administrative work of women in various capacities in life with placing them in positions of authority as county councillors and borough councillors. This is only one part of that agitation which has been going on for some time to place women in exactly the same position as men. In saying what I have said in opposition to the Bill, I may inform your Lordships that I am not speaking on the authority of His Majesty's Government. I am simply stating my own view. On the occasion I refer to the late Marquess of Salisbury moved the adoption of a course of this sort, and it was my painful duty, for, as I then explained, the first time in my life, to vote against him. On that occasion your Lordships rejected the proposals contained in this Bill by a majority of 114, and, as no new facts have been put forward by the noble Earl, I do not propose to argue the question again. I hope your Lordships will reject the Bill.

LORD TWEEDMOUTH: My Lords, I think the noble and learned Earl on the Woolsack has somewhat misrepresented the intention of the Memorandum. As far as I am able to read the Memorandum and to understand it, it is a simple statement of the object of the Bill. It does not enter into any controversy whatever. It states the object of the Bill and the particular subjects to which women, if elected, may be able to turn their attention; and in my view you can hardly state a controverted subject with less controversy than it is stated in this particular Memorandum, Therefore, whilst I heartily concur with what the noble and learned Earl on the Woolsack said about another Memorandum which is still fresh in our minds, I do not think this Memorandum at all comes in the same category; and I regret that the noble and learned Earl thought it necessary to stigmatise it in the way he did. The noble Earl also said that he did not see why this question was not raised when the new borough councils were constituted. My Lords, it was raised in both Houses of Parliament at the time. Another point I think worth considering, and a reason also for raising the question again, is that recently you have given to these various local bodies new powers and new duties, and, in many cases, the particular work is exactly the sort of work which women may very rightly, properly, and usefully turn their attention to.

I think it is agreed by those who object to women's suffrage that the work which has been done by women in recent years on all sorts of local representative bodies has been extremely useful, and has tended to the advantage of the locality and the country. I can speak on this Bill without my withers being wrung at all, because I frankly confess that I am against women's suffrage for Parliamentary purposes, but my Lords, this is an entirely different matter. The question of suffrage is raised in a totally different manner by this Bill. How does the case stand? For these very bodies on which it is proposed to give women seats by this Bill women already have a vote. I do take up this position very strongly, that when you give to certain people, whatever their sex may be, the right, the duty, and the power to vote for representatives on a public body, I hold that those persons should also be given the right to sit upon those authorities; and it is on the very grounds of past legislation that I urge the necessity and the desirability of your Lordships giving assent to this Bill. I do not think I need elaborate any arguments on the subject. It has been argued again and again, and I thoroughly believe that in the minds of nine-tenths of the people of this country, without respect to Party, it is the firm conviction that on these local bodies women can do very useful work and they ought to be given the power to sit upon them.

THE DUKE OF RUTLAND: My Lords, the noble Lord who has just sat down has expressed a very strong opinion that whenever a person has a right to vote he should also have a right to sit upon the body for which a vote is given. But let me ask the noble Lord how he reconciles that statement with the state of the law with respect to the clergy of the Established Church? They all have the right to vote in Parliamentary elections, but Parliament has constantly refused permission to them to sit in the House of Commons, for which they exercise the franchise. Again I differ from the noble Lord. He supported the Bill, and yet expressed himself as opposed to granting female suffrage. I take the opposite view. Ever since Mr. John Stuart Mill introduced the first Female Suffrage Bill in the House of Commons I have supported that movement. I shall continue to support it, and I look upon this Bill merely as a comparatively small but useful measure in that direction, and I shall, therefore, give it my support.

*LORD JAMES OF HEREFORD: My Lords, I am sure every one of your Lordships will have heard with great pleasure my noble friend the Duke of Rutland express his opinion upon the principle involved in this Bill. To me that pleasure is very great, for I recall to my recollection that it is now more than thirty years ago that the noble Duke and I were in another place ranged on different sides in relation to this great question of female suffrage. My opposition to this Bill is to a great extent founded upon the statement that my noble friend the Duke of Rutland has just made. He admits that he supports the Bill because it is a step in the direction of female suffrage. We do not object to women dealing with subjects with which they are familiar, and in which they can be usefully engaged. The opposition proceeds from the fear that this tendency to bring them into Party political life, into the struggles of political life, will be most injurious, not only to the State as a whole, but to domestic life generally. The noble Duke has said that he supports this Bill, not so much because it is a meritorious Bill in itself, but because it will eventually lead to equality of women in Party political life with men. It is on that ground that I oppose it, and I appeal to your Lordships to reject it.

This is a question of progress. Step by step those who support female suffrage gain their object, not by one action alone, but by several. I well recollect when women were given votes for municipal bodies. Some of us said at the time that if they were granted a vote for municipalities they would then ask for the Parliamentary franchise, but that was denied. The moment, however, that a vote for municipal elections was given to women, it was used as a basis for argument in favour of its extension. It was argued, "How can you, logically, having given women a vote for municipal elections, refuse to give them a vote for Parliamentary elections?—and if now we grant this measure two steps will have been taken. It will be said at once, "If you allow women to sit upon county councils, how can you refuse them the Parliamentary vote?" And if they get the Parliamentary vote we shall have the demand that women shall be allowed to sit in the House of Commons. The difference between my noble friend opposite and myself is clear. He wishes to see women sitting in the House of Commons——

LORD TWEEDMOUTH: No, I do not.

*LORD JAMES OF HEREFORD: I beg my noble friend's pardon; I misunderstood him. But my noble friend must admit that the precedent of allowing women to be elected to the county councils and the borough councils will be a strong argument in favour of allowing them to be elected to Parliament. May I remind your Lordships that when the application of the principle contained in this Bill to the borough councils of London was before the House in 1899, it had the value of the support of the late Prime Minister, who placed the argument in favour of the Bill in the strongest possible way, and gave to it the full weight of his great authority. There was one argument in favour of the application of this principle to the London borough councils which does not exist in relation to the other bodies in the Bill. The borough councils were in one sense the successors of the Metropolitan vestries on which women could sit, and Lord Salisbury urged that as Parliament had virtually changed the vestries into borough councils, women should not be deprived of their right to sit upon them. It was pointed out, however, that there were other duties given to the borough councils besides those which the vestries had fulfilled, and that we could not, therefore, allow women to sit on the new bodies. The result of the debate was that by a large majority—186 voted for and sixty-eight against—your Lordships threw out the clause.

What has happened since then to justify the noble Earl in asking us to reverse that decision? The only important new duty that has been thrown upon these councils is the administration of education, and that has been met by Mr. Balfour giving, by virtue of the words "of either sex," power to elect women on the Education Committees. I believe more women will be elected by co-option on the part of the county councils than have ever been elected to the school boards. There are duties which county councils have to perform which women are eminently disqualified for. County councils have to deal with such matters as roads and bridges, and work of which women have had no experience whatever. It may be said that some of the male members have had but little experience of this work, but women as a class have had absolutely no experience of it at all. We heard from the Bishop of Rochester on a previous occasion of the great work that women can do. I admit that, but they must perform those duties in their proper sphere.

The first duty of every woman is in her home, and it is much better that she should be performing her duty there than sitting on a county council, and eventually becoming a Parliamentary elector. If this Bill were to pass we should throw a very onerous task upon our fellow-men. For the first time, I think, we should be asking women to enter into contests of a directly Party kind. In municipal boroughs these elections are fought on Party tickets and by Party organisations, and the same thing applies in many cases to the county councils. The elections are of a purely political character and you propose to invite women to become candidates, selected by Party caucuses to enter these contests. I have heard it argued that men are inferior animals for political purposes to women. What will be the position of an unfortunate citizen who, anxious to do his duty, becomes a candidate for a seat on one of these bodies and is told that there is an attractive young lady, who takes great care of her toilet and being a good speaker, who has signified her intention of addressing meetings in opposition to his candidature? I am afraid there will be many men who will refuse to enter a contest in those circumstances. This is a proposal to introduce a new system into our political warfare, and a system from which no good can result. Whilst I fully admit that in the direction of education and of promoting the interests of women and children there can be no more beneficent action than that of women yet I contend that women ought to be prevented from entering into Party struggles connected with the election of public bodies.

THE LORD PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL AND PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF EDUCATION (The Marquess of LONDONDERRY): My Lords, it had not been my intention to take part in this discussion, but I feel it due to the noble Earl on the Woolsack to explain why it is that I find myself in opposition to him and in agreement with the noble Earl who moved the Second Reading of this Bill. Allusion has been made to the division which took place in your Lordships' House some five years ago, when the late Prime Minister voted with the minority. As I was one of those who voted and spoke in support of the proposal, I think it perhaps not altogether out of place if I remind your Lordships why I took that line then and why I shall vote for the Bill now before the House. I had been Chairman of the London School Board for two years, and had realised the great and important work which women could do on behalf of education. There are many functions which can be discharged better by women than by men, and my experience at the Board of Education, now for two years, has convinced me more strongly if possible that that is the case. Whenever opportunity has occurred we have at the Board of Education encouraged the appointment of women on the Education Committees, and so far as I can gather their experience has been of inestimable value to those committees, in exactly the same way as it was to the school boards.

The noble and learned Lord behind me (Lord James) said he did not see why women should be concerned with matters of local government. I quite agree that the opinions of women on many questions such as roads and other matters referred to are not of any great value; but, on the other hand, their opinion on many questions is better than that of men. While I am perfectly willing and anxious to see positions of trust given to women, I am entirely opposed to the Parliamentary franchise being extended to them. If the Parliamentary franchise were extended to women, I do not see why they should not eventually become Members of Parliament; and if they enter the House of Commons, there is no reason why a lady should not work her way up to the position occupied by the noble and learned Earl on the Woolsack. I see a considerable difference between the proposal contained in this Bill and the giving to women of the Parliamentary franchise, and after my experience of the important part women can play in administrative work of the kind in question, I shall certainly record my vote in favour of the Bill.

THE LORD BISHOP OF ROCHESTER: My Lords, I agree with the noble Marquess who has just spoken, that the argument in favour of this Bill is a practical argument. With regard to the observations of the noble and learned Lord, Lord James, I may observe at the outset that I am not at all a supporter of women's suffrage, and I do not agree in thinking either with the noble Duke or with the noble and learned Lord that this Bill ought to be treated as a step or a move in that campaign. I am quite aware how great is the force of the argument of the thin end of the wedge or of the slippery slope; but that is an argument which, like most arguments, requires criticism and control. It must at least be checked against other considerations. What are those other considerations in a case like this? I venture to think that the real dividing line of principles between the cases is this. Women, so far as my experience of them goes, are not good hands at the business of legislation; they are not good hands at treating things in the general, but they are particularly good hands at dealing with things in detail, what we ordinarily call administration; and the Memorandum does very effectively draw the attention of the House to the kind of matters in connection with which the work of women is of great value.

The noble and learned Earl on the Woolsack asks why this matter is brought up again so soon. He said it was discussed five years ago. The noble and learned Earl might have strengthened his argument, for there was a Bill similar to the present one only three years ago, when we had before us a measure affecting the borough councils of London. In the division in 1901, the majority referred to by Lord James had fallen considerably, there voting with the majority 88 and with the minority 46. I refer to the Bill introduced by Lord Aberdeen for enabling women to sit on the London borough councils. The noble and learned Earl asks, Why is the House troubled with this subject again after such a short interval? I think the reason is clear. It is the pressure of real and felt practical necessity. We know the loss on administrative bodies of the services of women, and we desire to put an end to that loss. We have every year confirmatory evidence of the loss which has been incurred through women not being allowed to sit on these bodies.

I do think, therefore, that we might, without the great danger of leading on to worse results in the future, allow the provisions of this Bill to become law. The noble and learned Lord was good enough to refer to a speech I made on this matter three years ago. Speaking from an experience gained in my own diocese in South London, I did venture to point out that it is not at all easy, in many of the boroughs where they are most needed, to get workers, educated, public-spirited, and sufficiently leisured, to undertake public duties of this kind, and, therefore, when you find that there are a large number of women who can be spared from their homes for this purpose—they may be women who are not themselves mistresses or heads of homes—and who have rendered invaluable assistance on boards of guardians, to which they have been returned at contested elections, I hold that there is a very strong practical case for using that service on the new borough councils.

*The Earl of PORTSMOUTH: My Lords, I rise only to explain the reason why I cannot vote with the noble Earl who has moved the Second Reading of this Bill. I must say at the outset, to be quite frank, that I shall vote against it first and foremost because I am a thorough Philistine, in the sense that I have no sympathy with political women. A woman's politics should be the politics of her husband. I cannot help feeling that, whatever may be said by noble Lords in respect of this Bill, those who are going to vote for it are supporting it really with the view of promoting the cause of women's suffrage. I was very much impressed by what the noble and learned Lord, Lord James said. These authorities have already become largely influenced by political considerations, County councils and borough councils are, many of them, worked entirely on political lines, and I cannot see myself how, if you allow women to act on councils of this kind, you can keep them apart from the strife and complications of Party politics. That in itself is to my mind very objectionable. I do think that to an uninstructed person the Memorandum attached to the Bill is somewhat misleading as regards its object, and I rather think the noble Marquess, Lord Londonderry, gave colour to that when he spoke as if the Bill applied only to London.

The Marquess of LONDONDERRY: I was speaking generally.

*The Earl of PORTSMOUTH: The noble Marquess said that, speaking from his great experience on the London School Board, and also as Minister for Education, he knew the value of women in regard to work of this kind. I entirely endorse that view; but if you put women on county councils, particularly in the country, the duties they would have to perform are not the duties stated by the noble Lord. My point is that this Memorandum is most ingeniously drafted, because it seems to imply that these social questions are the only questions which would be dealt with by the councils upon which it is proposed to place women. I differ from the noble Marquess. I think women, as regards business, may be quite as capable as men. I do not think it is a question of capacity; it is a question of sex. The right rev. Prelate argued as if women, in existing circumstances, could not take any part in public administration; and the noble Earl who has charge of this Bill said, speaking on the question of female lunatics, that women were not able to take any part in advising in that matter. I happen to know that the Duchess of Bedford, Lady Battersea, and others, are visitors of Aylesbury Asylum and do very good work there. I do not wish to reiterate the arguments which have been already expressed, but I would urge this, that Parliament could not stop short at this stage, and that those who support this Bill advocate a great alteration in social life, to which I am strongly opposed.

The EARL of ABERDEEN: My Lords, I should like to be allowed to associate myself with at least one observation which fell from the noble and learned Lord opposite, Lord James—I refer to his statement that a woman's first place and first duty is at home. But I do not think it follows that a woman's last duty is also at home. We are often told that charity begins at home. It does not with some people: it ends there. The fact of a woman being a good wife and mother qualifies her to use the spare time that a clever woman sometimes finds, in trying to spread those benefits which she enjoys to others less fortunately situated. The noble and learned Earl on the Woolsack remarked that he thought nothing had occurred since this matter was last discussed to justify its being brought forward again. I venture to submit that something has occurred which has an important bearing on the subject, namely, the Education Act. Formerly women were eligible to sit on the school boards. They are not now eligible for the county councils which have succeeded the school boards. They may be co-opted on to the Education Committee, but that is not the direct system of election rightly aimed at in this Bill. I venture to think that, if occurrences have not taken place, fresh information has certainly been adduced showing the importance of making greater use of women's services. Every day we are getting fresh evidence of the need and value of women's work in various directions. In certain specific matters women have not at present an opening to work officially. The Inebriate Homes for Women, I understand, are now so arranged that women have no right to be elected upon the authorities which manage them. The same thing applies as to the regulations of midwives and baby-farms; but it must be admitted that women understand these matters much better than men. Then there is the question of sympathy and accessibility. If a woman is asking advice of a member of one of these constituted authorities, it cannot be expected that in many delicate matters she will go to a male member. Women members are exceedingly useful in cases of this kind. There is increasing testimony as to the many departments of administration in which the work of women is of incalculable benefit, and I do not think we should be influenced to reject this Bill by the bogey of women's suffrage. I trust your Lordships will give the Bill a Second Reading.

LORD BELPER: My Lords, I have no intention, on behalf of the Local Government Board, of making any remarks on this Bill, but I should like to enter my humble protest with regard to one argument used by the noble Earl in introducing the Bill. As I understood him, he said that circumstances had considerably changed in the last few years in consequence of the enormous increase of the work thrown on county councils, and that practically they found it impossible to do that work properly, with the result that a large amount of the work was undertaken by the permanent officials. I really do not think that any gentleman with large experience of county councils will confirm the noble Earl in that statement. Personally, I have experience, not only of county council work in my own county, but in neighbouring counties, and as chairman of the County Councils Association; and I must say that the work is perfectly within the grasp of the members of the county councils, and that no work is given to the officials which ought to be done by the members. It is perfectly true that the officials give great assistance to the councils, but I have never known an official undertake work which ought to be done by an elected member of the council.

Even if that were the case, what is the argument? It is that because county councils are overworked, therefore you are to put a certain number of women on them to relieve them of that work. I do not find in this Bill that it is suggested that the number of the members is to be increased to enable women to be elected, and therefore the whole argument must be that a woman is able to do a great deal more work than a man, and that if a certain number of women find seats on the county councils, in the place of the men who at present sit upon them, the work will be more efficiently done. I fully concur in the remarks which have been made as to the excellent work done by women in some of the branches referred to. We have the advantage of women sitting on almost all the Education Committees of the county councils. In addition, in my own council, we have put women on a consultative committee to deal with those very matters of detail which the right rev. Prelate says lie so fully within the scope of women's work. I cannot see myself that, at present, a sufficient argument has been made out for changing the whole constitution of county councils in the manner proposed. I think the arguments used by Lord James are certainly conclusive up to a certain point; and the fact of extra work having been thrown on the county councils during the last few years is no argument in favour of coming to a different decision from that at which we arrived some few years ago.

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CHINESE LABOUR.

*LORD COLERIDGE: My Lords, I rise to ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether any Chinese labourer hitherto imported into South Africa has been imported under conditions which entitle such labourer to demand, under Regulation 33 of the Ordinance, or otherwise, that either his wife or his child, or children, shall at any time be imported at the expense of the importer, or at all. This question has to do with a pledge given by Mr. Lyttelton in another place that the labourers should be entitled to have their wives and children imported to South Africa at the importer's expense. In the telegram of 24th February which was received by the Colonial Secretary from Lord Milner it was stated that the regulations would provide that any coolie wishing to bring his wife and family could do so, or if, on arrival in South Africa, he wished them brought over every facility would be given for their conveyance from China at the importer's expense. After that telegram had been received, and after Mr. Lyttelton had stated on 9th March that he was prepared to sanction the Ordinance on the assurance that Regulation 33 had been so altered as to impose the cost of introducing the wives and families following labourers upon the employer, Lord Milner appears to have interviewed the mine-owners, with the result that on 10th March he telegraphed to the Colonial Secretary to say that he had seen the mining people and that they were ready to bear the expense of transporting the wives and families following the labourers, provided that married labourers registered the names and addresses before leaving China. "Regution No. 33 will," said Lord Milner, "accordingly be altered in this way if you concur." The Colonial Secretary did concur. The regulation was thereupon altered, and in the 33rd clause of the regulations the noble Duke will see that that proviso is inserted. We have been told by the noble Duke that the first instalment of Chinese labourers have arrived in the Transvaal without their wives or families. What I desire to ask the noble Duke is this, whether or not any of these labourers, and, if so, how many, have registered the names of wives or children before signing the contract, because the noble Duke will thoroughly understand that, if they have not done so, they cannot in future import their wives and families. If none of them have registered, it would seem as though instructions had been given to the recruiters not to engage any man who did attempt to so register. By that simple process a very easy means might occur of evading very beneficent provisions in the regulations which were demanded by public opinion.

THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (The Duke of MARLBOROUGH): My Lords, I do not think that the noble and learned Lord need have any fear that such a course of action as he has suggested has been carried out by the recruiters in China. I see not the slightest evidence in support of his view, which was that the recruiters in China had been instructed to recruit those men only who were unmarried.

*LORD COLERIDGE: I beg the noble Duke's pardon. I did not state that. I said that if the fact was that no registration had taken place it would lend colour to that view. I have not suggested that until I know the facts.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH: I do not think the noble and learned Lord has any reason to suppose that registration has not taken place.

*LORD COLERIDGE: I want to know.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH: The noble and learned Lord is perfectly aware that, according to the terms of the contract, those men who are anxious to take their wives with them to South Africa have to register the names of their wives. That is stated definitely in the terms of the contract and in the regulations, as I reminded the noble and learned Lord the other day. We have received a telegram from the Governor of Hong-Kong which runs as follows—

> "The emigrants were made thoroughly aware of the provisions for taking out families and special accommodation on board was ready; but none took advantage of the privilege. It is impossible to say how many may send for their families later on, which they are encouraged to do."

It seems to me incredible that the Governor of Hong-Kong would send such a telegram as that unless he had assured himself that all the provisions contained in this Ordinance had been thoroughly explained to the emigrants, and he particularly says that none of them took advantage of the privilege, by which I presume he means the privilege of taking their wives with them to South Africa. There is no suggestion in that telegram that they have not registered the names of their wives, and that if they send for them at some future date they are not entitled to have them sent over. The noble and learned Lord appears to be under some misapprehension. He is under the impression that some subtle influence is at work to prevent the Chinamen from taking their wives to South Africa. Nothing is really further from the thoughts either of the Transvaal authorities or of the authorities at Hong-Kong. There are laid down definitely in the Blue-book the terms of the Ordinance on which the Chinamen go to South Africa, and we have no reason to suppose that they have not registered the names of their wives in the event of their wishing to send for them at some subsequent date. Because the Chinamen have not taken their wives with them it is not fair to assume that no form of registration has taken place. If the noble and learned Lord is really seriously concerned upon this point, I will see that a telegram is sent to the Governor of Hong-Kong to ascertain whether any Chinamen did register the names of their wives. If I fulfil that pledge I trust we shall be able to remove those feelings of doubt which I fear at the present time fill the noble and learned Lord's mind.

EARL CARRINGTON: My Lords, the noble Duke has stated that he hardly considered the Question put to him by my noble and learned friend quite fair. Honestly speaking, our opinion is—and I am sure the noble Duke will forgive me for stating it—that this side of the House has hardly been fairly treated in this matter. The subject is tabooed in the other House of Parliament. No mention can be made of it there, and when the subject is raised in your Lordships' House we are met either with a plea that the thing is done and is over, or it is treated as a matter of indifference, or else there is a plea of ignorance. Last week it was officially stated that the death rate in the mines was seventy-one per thousand, and it was also officially stated that flogging was universal there at the present moment.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH: Who by?

EARL CARRINGTON: The noble Duke told us himself that when he was out there he invariably carried a sjambok himself.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH: I said that when I was out in South Africa three or four years ago, during the war and just after the Boer Government had ceased to exist, most people carried a sjambok. It was the custom to do so, but I did not include myself in the number.

EARL CARRINGTON: It has also been officially stated in the Blue-book that the overseers and native police in the mines all carry this weapon, and that whips were applied to the backs of the natives in the mines in the presence of the members of Mr. Brownlee's Commission which was sent out to examine into the treatment of the natives. The native headmen stated that the treatment of the natives in the mines was worse than in the days of the Boers. That appears in the Blue-book. And when this horrible disease, beri-beri, broke out, what did the Government say? They said they knew nothing about it, but would telegraph out, and then I see it stated that the Colonial Secretary did telegraph. But the telegram was not sent for twenty-four hours, and up to the present time there is no information presented on the subject to Parliament. To-day my noble and learned friend has shown conclusively the change there has been in the policy of His Majesty's Government on the subject of the wives and families accompanying the Asiatics. On 21st March the noble Earl the First Lord of the Admiralty, speaking in your Lordships' House, said—

> "Has the House of Lords noticed how these pledges given by the Government have been fulfilled? Regulation No. 33 of the Ordinance

says that every labourer shall be entitled to be accompanied by his wife and children, and if the labourer chooses to leave them behind until he sees the conditions under which he has to work in South Africa, he then is entitled to require his employer to introduce them at his (the employer's) expense; and, if the employer refuses, the labourer can cancel his contract and return to China at the expense of the employer; provision is made to this effect in the contract."

That seems to have satisfied the most rev. Primate. Now, the whole thing is changed. On 9th March, as my noble friend has told the House, the Colonial Secretary was prepared to sanction the Ordinance, and on 10th March—a fortnight before this statement was made in your Lordships' House by the First Lord of the Admiralty—Lord Milner sees the mining people, and they demand the insertion of a clause that such wives only shall be imported as are registered before the labourers leave China. On that my noble and learned friend asks this pertinent question: Have any of these men registered their wives? The noble Duke replied that he did not know, but that he would telegraph to Hong-Kong and find out. I honestly think that this is hardly the way in which to treat a question of this importance. The noble Duke may smile, but this is really a question of the greatest possible importance. If Ministers of the Crown treat public opinion on Colonial and Imperial questions in this manner, is it to be wondered at that the electors, whenever they get a chance, show a marked disinclination to support Ministerial candidates?

*THE EARL OF PORTSMOUTH: My Lords, I really think that in this matter His Majesty's Government deserve some sympathy. We are aware that Lord Milner, with his usual felicity of language, took occasion to say that he did not care twopence about public opinion in this country, and as we know from what recently took place in the House of Commons, he does not even deign to answer the telegrams of the Colonial Secretary. Therefore I do feel that His Majesty's Government are placed in a difficult position, because, unless Questions are constantly put to them from these Benches, they are not in a position—whether assumed or not, I cannot say—of knowing anything about these matters. There is no doubt that the complexion of matters has been very much changed. We were told that every facility would be afforded to these Chinamen to take their wives and families to South Africa, or to send for them after they had reached the Transvaal. Since then Lord Milner, acting under influences unknown to me, has, I must confess, considerably diminished the value of that provision. I am bound to say that I feel very much as I felt when listening to the speech of the most rev. Primate, that we are dealing with the matter in a very insincere manner and with very insincere language. After all is said and done, these men are to be employed in order to obtain cheap labour, and therefore it is not very difficult to suppose that the gentlemen who are to hire the Chinese labourers would say that they would only engage those men who were single, because otherwise they would be put to very considerable expense. Unless it is a question of expense it would be very difficult to make any sort of justification for the introduction of Chinamen at all. I hope we shall hear some expression of opinion from the most rev. Primate to-night. To do him justice the most rev. Primate did appreciate the very serious and grave moral evil which must result from herding these people together in compounds. He spoke with considerable force. His language was forcible; I wish his conduct had been forcible.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR: I do not wish to interrupt the noble Earl, but we are now getting into the former debate, which is absolutely irregular.

*THE EARL OF PORTSMOUTH: I do not know how far it is in order for any noble Lord to speak after the noble and learned Lord who asked the Question; it is difficult to know what are the Rules of Order in your Lordships' house. I was endeavouring to put what seemed to me to be the material points, and before sitting down I would renew my appeal to the most rev. Primate to urge upon the Government the importance of this matter. I can assure your Lordships that my noble friend beside me has not exaggerated the depth of feeling which exists on this subject in the country.

*THE LORD BISHOP OF HEREFORD: My Lords, I hope I may venture, by way of supplement to the Question which has been put by the noble and learned Lord opposite, to ask whether the attention of the noble Duke has been drawn to the form of contract which, I understand, has been signed by the labourers recruited in Shan-tung and elsewhere. I hold in my hand an English translation of the contract, or advertisements, as it appeared in the *North China Daily News.* It has been sent to me by a gentleman of repute, who says he has himself compared it with the original Chinese document, and that, if anything, the Chinese is against the interests of the labourer more than the English translation. This contract enumerates many things. It states that the labourer agrees to proceed to the Transvaal; that his engagement is for three years; that the journey takes so long; that the employer will transport the labourer free of cost, according to all the requirements of the British laws dealing with the matter; that the employer will also transport, free of charge, a reasonable quantity of clothes and such other private effects as may be necessary; that on arrival in the Transvaal the labourer will be provided with housing, food, and medical attendance, and so on; that the food will be of such a kind, and that at the expiration of the engagement the employer will transport the labourer, free of charge by land and sea, to the place where the contract was made. But there is no word in the form of contract with reference to the wives and children of the indentured labourers. Moreover, the reference to the conditions of labour is very superficial. The labourer is told that he will be engaged for three years to work on the gold mines, but there is nothing to draw his attention to the fact that he will have to work ten hours a day in the deep-level mines, that he will be kept in a compound from which he will not be allowed to stray, even on his holidays, and that he will have no opportunities of bettering his position. I feel that it is reasonable to ask the noble Duke if his attention has been drawn to this form of contract, and whether he thinks it is in accordance with what we had understood was to be the spirit of the Ordinance.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH: My Lords, if the right rev. Prelate will put down a Question upon the point he has raised and upon which he wishes to elicit information from His Majesty's Government, I shall, of course, feel it my duty to reply to it.

*THE LORD BISHOP OF HEREFORD: I had no intention of bringing the matter up this afternoon. I did so as the question had been so prominently brought forward. I will, if the noble Duke wishes, bring the matter forward on a future occasion.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH: I think the right rev. Prelate will find an answer to a great many of the points he has raised in the Transvaal Labour Importation Ordinance. The terms of the contract are fully explained there, and if the right rev. Prelate will study it for a few moments a great many of the points he is not quite certain about will be cleared up. I should like to say one or two words in reply to the noble Earl opposite. I will not enter into his explanation of my speech the other night and his interpretation of my view, but I must confess that they were not altogether accurate. His view as to Mr. Brownlee's Commission is not altogether according to facts, and if the noble Earl will carefully read through the Report of that Commission he will see that the headmen under Mr. Brownlee were not unanimous in the opinion they gave. The noble Earl seemed to think that His Majesty's Government had treated lightly the views expressed by him and by the noble and learned Lord opposite. I can assure him that he is wrong in that supposition. I have always, to the best of my ability, paid great attention to the views of noble Lords opposite, and we fully recognise that it is the full right of every noble Lord in this House to offer criticisms on the action taken in this matter. But, after all, these coolies only started from China a fortnight or three weeks ago; and is it reasonable to expect His Majesty's Government, at a moment's notice, to say how many wives have been registered at the port of embarkation? As I have told the noble Earl, we are prepared to telegraph at once to ascertain the information he requires, and, in view of the position, I think the noble Earl's remarks on the attitude, both of myself and of the colleagues with whom I have the honour to serve, has been rather unfair and too severe.

*THE LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY: My Lords, with the indulgence of the House I should like to reply to the noble Earl opposite, Lord Portsmouth. I should not have intervened to-night if he had not put a Question to me, but what the Question exactly was I did not fully grasp.

THE EARL OF PORTSMOUTH: I asked this—Is the most rev. Primate satisfied with the condition of things now?

THE EARL OF CAMPERDOWN: May I raise a point of order? Lord Coleridge put down a notice to ask the Under-Secretary for the Colonies a Question in regard to Chinese labour. The most rev. Primate is not the Under-Secretary for the Colonies or a member of the Government, and I put it to your Lordships whether it is in order for any individual Peer in this House to ask another Peer for his opinion in regard to a Question put to His Majesty's Government, and to refer back to speeches made in a previous debate. Nothing can be more disorderly, and I do appeal to your Lordships to consider whether this kind of thing will conduce to the dignity of our debates.

*THE LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY: My only anxiety is lest it should be supposed that I have the slightest objection to answer any Question put before me in a form in which I can understand it. But a general Question as to whether the position of affairs strikes me as satisfactory seems to me to be one which I ought not to be thus suddenly and peremptorily called upon to answer. I said before, and I say again, that I personally disliked from the first the conditions which were laid down in this matter, and had I been in the Transvaal I should, in all probability, have voted against them; but I did not believe that people generally in this country, or even in this House, had sufficient information to justify us in upsetting what I believed to be the deliberate opinion of the best and wisest local authorities on the subject.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR: My Lords, I must say that I should have interfered several times when some observations were made which appeared to me to have reference to a personal question, but, of course, I have no greater, though I have no less, a right than any Member of your Lordships' House to call attention to a breach of order, and your Lordships are very indulgent in these matters. But at last I did interfere to point out that nothing could be more irregular than to re-discuss a debate which had taken place on a previous occasion.

THE MARQUESS OF RIPON: Of course, the authority of the noble and learned Earl on the Woolsack is great, but I wish to point out that, as a matter of order, he has no more right to call anybody to order than any other, even the youngest, Peer in the House.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR: No; but I have the right to protest.

THE EARL OF CAMPERDOWN: If the noble and learned Earl on the Woolsack has no right to call a Peer to order, he has exactly the same right as any other Peer to call attention to the Orders of the House, and that was what I understood him to do.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR: That is all that I suggested, and I do not think that the noble Marquess can have heard what I said. I said I had no greater, but no less, a right than any other member of your Lordships' House.

THE MARQUESS OF RIPON: I did not deny that the noble and learned Earl had the same right.

The subject then dropped.

LIGHT RAILWAYS BILL

House in Committee (according to Order); Bill reported without Amendment. Standing Committee negatived; and Bill to be read 3^a on Monday next.

House adjourned at ten minutes past Six o'clock, to Thursday next half-past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Tuesday, 28th June, 1904.

The House met at Two of the Clock.

UNOPPOSED PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire Electric Power Bill [Lords]; Preston Corporation Water Bill [Lords]. Read the third time, and passed, with Amendments.

Liverpool and Wigan Churches Bill [Lords]. Read a second time, and committed.

London County Council (General Powers) Bill (by Order). Consideration as amended, deferred till To-morrow (Evening Sitting).

Selby Urban District Council Bill (by Order). Consideration as amended, deferred till Thursday.

Education Board Provisional Order (Cardiff) Bill. Read the third time, and passed.

Education Board Provisional Order Confirmation (London) Bill [Lords]. Read the third time, and passed, with Amendments.

Arbroath Corporation Water Order Confirmation. Bill to confirm a Provisional Order, under The Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899, relating to Arbroath Corporation Water, ordered to be brought in by The Lord Advocate and Mr. A. Graham Murray.

Arbroath Corporation Water Order Confirmation Bill. "To confirm a Provisional Order, under The Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899, relating to Arbroath Corporation Water," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 6th July, and to be printed. [Bill 244.]

Dunfermline District Water Order Confirmation. Bill to confirm a Provisional Order, under The Privat eLegislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899, relating to Dunfermline District Water, ordered to be brought in by The Lord Advocate and Mr. A. Graham Murray.

Dunfermline District Water Order Confirmation Bill. "To confirm a Provisional Order, under The Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899, relating to Dunfermline District Water," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 6th July, and to be printed. [Bill 245.]

Melrose District Water Order Confirmation. Bill to confirm a Provisional Order, under The Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899, relating to Melrose District Water, ordered to be brought in by The Lord Advocate and Mr. A. Graham Murray.

Melrose District Water Order Confirmation Bill. "To confirm a Provisional Order, under The Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899, relating to Melrose District Water," presented; and ordered to be considered upon Friday.

PRIVATE BILLS (GROUP K).

Captain JESSEL reported from the Committee on Group K of Private Bills; That, for the convenience of parties, the Committee had adjourned until Tuesday next, at half-past Eleven of the clock.

Report to lie upon the Table.

STANDING ORDERS.

Resolution reported from the Select Committee, "That, in the case of the Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 13) Bill [County Borough of Tynemouth Order], Petition of Charles Davison Forster for dispensing with Standing Order 128 in the case of the Petition of the 'Northumberland County Council,' against the Bill, the said Standing Order ought not to be dispensed with."

Report to lie upon the Table.

Mersey Docks and Harbour Board Bill [Lords]. Reported, with Amendments.

Report to lie upon the Table.

Leave given to the Committee on Group I of Private Bills to make a Special Report.

Special Report brought up, and read.

Special Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed.

Rotherham Corporation Bill. Reported, with Amendments, from the Police and Sanitary Committee [Section A]; Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed.

MESSAGE FROM THE LORDS.

That they have agreed to—Humber Commercial Railway and Dock Bill; London and North Western Railway Bill, with Amendments.

That they have passed a Bill, intituled, "An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Electric Lighting Acts, 1882 and 1888, The Electric Lighting (Scotland) Act, 1890, and The Electric Lighting (Scotland) Act, 1902, relating to Musselburgh, Portpatrick, and Wishaw." [Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 5) Bill [Lords.]

Also, a Bill, intituled, "An Act for confirming an agreement between the right hon. Godfrey Charles Lord Tredegar and the trustees of his settled estates and the Alexandra (Newport and South Wales) Docks and Railway Company for the conveyance to the Company of lands forming part of the settled estates and an agreement between the Company and Lord Tredegar for the issue to Lord Tredegar of a sum of £150,000 preferred ordinary stock of the Company, for authorising the trustees of the settled estates to purchase from Lord Tredegar a sum of £50,000, part of such last-mentioned preferred ordinary stock; for confirming the purchase by the trustees of the settled estates of a sum of £50,000 preferred ordinary stock of the Company created and issued under The Alexandra (Newport and South Wales) Docks and Railway Act, 1897; and for other purposes." [Lord Tredegar's Supplemental Estate Bill [Lords.]

Also, a Bill, intituled, "An Act to amend The Scarisbrick Estate Act, 1877." [Scarisbrick Estate (Amendment) Bill [Lords.]

And, also, a Bill, intituled, "An Act for conferring further powers on the Bristol Tramways and Carriage Company, Limited; for constructing tramways and widening and altering roads and acquiring lands in and near Bristol; and for other purposes." [Bristol Tramways (Extensions) Bill [Lords.]

Lord Tredegar's Supplemental Estate Bill [Lords]; Scarisbrick Estate (Amendment) Bill [Lords]; Bristol Tramways (Extensions) Bill [Lords]. Read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 5) Bill [Lords]. Read the first time; referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, and to be printed. [Bill 246.]

PETITIONS.

LICENSING BILL.

Petitions against; from Aberystwyth; Ashford, Kent; Ashford, Middlesex (two); Ashton in Makerfield; Attercliffe (two); Babbin's Wood; Bankhill; Bath; Berwick on Tweed; Bilsborrow; Bilsdale East; Borrowash; Boston; Boughton; Bourn; Bradninch; Bradford (three); Braithwaite; Braithwell; Bridge of Allan; Brighton; Bromley Cross; Broughton; Bushy Heath; Burton Joyce; Cambridge (two); Carbrook; Carlton in Cleveland; Carmarthen; Castle Donington; Chapeltown; Charlton; Chelsea (two); Cheltenham; Cheriton Mendy; Chester (two); Chiswick; Cleethorpes; Clifton; Cockermouth; Countesthorpe; Craignant; Crymmych; Derby (five); Dewsbury (two); Diss; Ealing; Ecclesfield; Evesham; Finsbury Park; Forest Hill; Foxton; Gamblesby; Gig Mill; Gildersome; Glanvilles Wootton; Gobowen; Golcar; Grantham; Gravesend; Great Bridge; Great Broughton; Great Coates; Grimsby (three); Hartland; Hartlepool; Hazel Grove; Helmshore; Hereford; Hexthorpe; High Green; High Wycombe; Hornsea; Houghton Conquest; Humberstone; Hyde; Hyde Park (two); Ipswich; Kirkcowan; Kirkwall; Larkhall; Leigh; Llansantffraid; London; Luton; Manchester; Market Rasen; Medomsley; Meldreth; Middlemarch; Morley (four); Newbiggin; Norton Canes; Orwell; Osgathorpe; Oswestry; Parkwood; Reeth; Richmond Hill, Bournemouth; Ringwood; Rochdale; Rockingham; Romiley; Rothley; Royston; Saffron Walden; St. John's Square; Salford; Salkeld Dykes; Scorton; Selathyn; Sheffield (four); Shefford; South Moor; Southwark Park; Stourbridge; Stretford (two); Trevellas

Downs; Upton Park; Ushaw Moor; Wadsworth; Walham Green; Wallsend-on-Tyne; Waltham; Watford; West Melton; West Norwood; Weston Rhyn; Whittonstall; Willesden; Willington Quay; Winchcombe; Winkfield; and York; to lie upon the Table.

LICENSING BILL.

Petitions for alteration; from Derby and Derbyshire; Pye Bank; and South West Bethnal Green; to lie upon the Table.

PORT OF LONDON BILL.

Petition from Westminster, for alteration; to lie upon the Table.

VALUATION BILL.

Petition from Blean, for alteration; to lie upon the Table.

VENKATRAN, BYNDOOR.

Petition of Byndoor Venkatran, for inquiry into his case; to lie upon the Table.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

COLONIAL REPORTS (ANNUAL).

Copy presented, of Colonial Report, No. 418 (Bermuda, Annual Report for 1903) [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

EAST INDIA (LOANS RAISED IN INDIA).

Copy presented, of Return of all Loans raised in India, chargeable on the Revenues of India, outstanding at the commencement of the half-year ending on the 31st March, 1904, etc. [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 229.]

INTOXICATING LIQUORS (LICENCES REFUSED).

Return presented, relative thereto [Address 28th April; *Mr. Cochrane*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 230.]

TRADE REPORTS (MISCELLANEOUS SERIES).

Copy presented, of Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Miscellaneous Series, No. 614 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

TRADE REPORTS (ANNUAL SERIES).

Copy presented, of Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Annual Series, No. 3198 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

National School at Rathview, Dundalk.

MR. THOMAS O'DONNELL (Kerry, W.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that the national school in which Mr. Denis Lavelle, Rathview, Dundalk, teaches, was built by himself at a cost of £350; and that he was not refunded any of this when he was compelled to assign his interest to trustees; and, if so, whether special inquiry will be made into this matter.

(*Answered by Mr. Wyndham.*) In 1894 it came to the knowledge of the Commissioners for the first time that this schoolhouse was the property of Mr. Lavelle. The manager was thereupon informed that no further payment of salary could be made so long as the schoolhouse remained the property of the teacher contrary to the provisions of the rules, and until the Commissioners received satisfactory evidence that he had ceased to have any interest in the premises. The manager replied that if the rules prohibited the ownership of schoolhouses by teachers it would be unreasonable to ask that an exception should be made to them in the present instance. He added that Mr. Lavelle had called on him and expressed his willingness to resign or assign his interest. Some further correspondence ensued and the teacher adopted the latter course. The rules bearing on this matter have always been rigidly enforced by the Commissioners and were rendered necessary by the occurrence of many and gross irregularities. The schoolhouse of which Mr. Lavelle is the teacher is a non-vested building in which the Commissioners have no interest whatever. They are not aware whether he received any consideration from the persons to whom he transferred the premises beyond the privilege of continuing to be recognised as teacher. He surrendered the house to secure the continuance of his salary, and the question of compensation or a refund by the Commissioners does not arise. The matter is entirely one between himself and the local trustees who now own the house.

Uganda Railway.

MAJOR EVANS GORDON (Tower Hamlets, Stepney): To ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he will state when the Report on the Uganda Railway, made by Major Pringle, R.E., Board of Trade Railway Inspector, and mentioned in Africa, No. 12, of 1903, will be laid before Parliament; and, with reference to Africa, No. 7, 1903, if the Committee which supervised the construction of the railway, and was dissolved in September, 1903, submitted a final Report; and, if so, when it will be laid before Parliament.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Lyttelton.*) As I stated in reply to the hon. Member for Orkney and Shetland on the 20th instant,† the despatch referred to in the first paragraph of the Question will shortly be laid. A final Report on the history of the Uganda Railway was written by the chairman and managing member of the late Committee, and will also be laid before Parliament.

Maltese Government Balance Sheet.

MR. BOLAND (Kerry, S.): To ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether in view of the fact that in the balance-sheet issued by the Maltese Government on 29th February, the investments in Imperial and Colonial Funds were stated to amount to £709,999 10s. 6d., although the nominal value of these securities on that day was only £682,449 9s. 4d., and the market value was only £650,476 19s. 6d., involving a deficit of £35,605 instead of a surplus of £22,939 19s. 10¾d., he will order the publication of a new balance-sheet.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Lyttelton.*) The difference between the cost price of the investments and their market value on the 29th of February last was £59,522 11s. To meet this deficit the Malta Government had standing to its credit the reserve funds amounting respectively to £13,207 and £10,710, of which the hon. Member has taken account in referring to the deficit as amounting to £35,605. But it appears from the statements which accompanied and were published with the balance-sheet of the 29th of February last that the Government had also to its credit on that date the nett surplus brought forward from the year 1902–3, viz., £19,416, and also the excess of the revenue for the period to the 29th of February, 1904, viz., £411,664 over the expenditure for that period, viz., £363,279, *i.e.*, £48,385. These two items together amount to £67,801, and therefore if the Colonial Government had had to sell all its securities on that date the Colonial Government would have been able to meet all its liabilities, retaining a surplus of £22,196, and there would not have been a deficit. The statement of the 29th of February, to which the hon. Member refers, was merely a monthly Return and was not a statement showing the position of the Colony for the financial year, which in the ordinary course would only be published at some period subsequent to the close of the financial year, viz., the 31st of March. The annual statement would, in accordance with paragraph 164 (c) of the Financial Instructions, be accompanied by a detailed statement of investments showing the description and amount of stock held, the actual price paid for its purchase, and its market value. So far as I am aware no annual statement has yet been published in respect of the year 1903–4, but the Governor will be asked when its publication may be expected.

Suggested Motor-Car Service between Ullapool and Garve.

MR. WEIR (Ross and Cromarty): To ask the Secretary for Scotland, in view of recent improvements in weight-carrying motor-cars, will he consider the expediency of placing a motor-car on the road between Ullapool and Garve for the purpose of assisting the fishing industry in the Lochbroom district, as authorised under Section 4, Sub-section (e), of the Congested Districts (Scotland) Act, 1897.

(*Answered by Mr. A. Graham Murray.*) I can only refer the hon. Member to my reply to a similar Question by the hon. Member on the 25th June last year,† to which I have nothing to add.

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† See page 471.

Estate of the late Thomas Flynn.

MR. O'DOWD (Sligo, S.): To ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether he has yet ascertained from the American Consul when the estate of the late Thomas Flynn, who died in Warwick, Rhode Island, in February, 1902, will be available for distribution amongst his next of kin, who are British subjects.

(*Answered by Earl Percy.*) No further information has been received beyond that which was communicated to the hon. Member in my letter of 14th April last. His Majesty's Consul-General at New York has been requested to report whether any progress has been made in the matter.

Pay of Post Office Night Messengers in Scotland.

MR. NOLAN (Louth, S.); To ask the Postmaster-General if he is aware that the night messengers at Sheffield, Hull, and Belfast are paid at the rate of time and a half for Sunday duty, whilst the night messengers in Scotland receive no pay for Sunday attendance; and will he now be prepared to adopt a recent official ruling of the Accountant, General Post Office, Edinburgh, that these men are only paid for a week of six days.

(*Answered by Lord Stanley.*) At some of the post offices in Scotland the wages of the adult night telegraph messengers are fixed so as to include payment for Sunday duty, while at others the wages do not cover attendance on Sunday, which is accordingly paid for extra. I will consider whether it is practicable to adopt a uniform system of payment in such cases.

Scotch Post Office Night Messengers—Attendance to Receive Pay.

MR. NOLAN: To ask the Postmaster-General if he is aware that the adult night messengers in Scotland have to attend specially during the day to be paid their weekly wages; and, if so, seeing that these men have to work a full night duty, will he direct that in future they shall receive their pay when ceasing duty on Saturday morning.

(*Answered by Lord Stanley.*) I find that in certain cases the wages of the adult night messengers in Scotland are already paid in the manner suggested by the hon. Member. I shall be glad to consider any application that may be made by the messengers in other places for the adoption of a similar plan.

Return of Overtime of Railway Servants.

MR. CHANNING (Northamptonshire, E.): To ask the President of the Board of Trade why the Return of hours in excess of twelve worked by railway servants in the month of October, 1903, is taking so much longer a time to produce than previous similar Returns; and whether the Board will direct the railway companies who have not yet completed and sent in their Returns to do so without further delay.

(*Answered by Mr. Gerald Balfour.*) I have no reason to suppose that the Return for October, which was called for two months ago, will take a longer time in production than previous Returns. The time occupied by the last two Returns of this nature was about six months. The attention of those companies whose returns are outstanding is being called to the matter.

Publication of Annual Report of Chief Inspector of Factories.

SIR CHARLES DILKE (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean): To ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Home Department when it is expected that the Annual Report of the Chief Inspector of Factories and Workshops, usually promised for May, will be in the hands of Members.

(*Answered by Mr. Cochrane.*) I understand that the Chief Inspector will be able to place the Report in my hands within a few days now. I shall present it to Parliament without delay, and will do what I can to secure that it is printed and placed in the hands of Members at the earliest moment.

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† See (4) *Debates*, cxxiv., 553.

Cyclists in Hyde Park—Watering of Roads.

Mr. REGINALD LUCAS (Portsmouth): To ask the hon. Member for Chorley, as representing the Office of Works, whether he can hold out any hope that this year the morning watering of the roads in Hyde Park will be so effected as not to preclude the possibility of their use by bicyclists between the hours of ten and noon.

(*Answered by Lord Balcarres.*) The First Commissioner regrets that he is unable to hold out any such hope. The experiment of leaving the sides of the roads unwatered has been tried, and has been abandoned on hygienic grounds.

School Inspectors and Provision for Religious Instruction out of School Buildings.

Mr. H. C. RICHARDS (Finsbury, E.): To ask the Secretary to the Board of Education whether His Majesty's inspectors have received instructions not to sign any time-table providing for religious instruction during school hours out of the school buildings; and, if so, will he say why such notification to His Majesty's inspectors has not been made public by the Board.

(*Answered by Sir William Anson.*) The Board will very shortly issue instructions to their inspectors in regard to the taking of children to church during school hours. It is not the general practice of the Board to make public the instructions which they issue to their inspectors, and they see no reason for making an exception in this instance.

Retention of Staff of a Division at Salisbury.

Sir WALTER PALMER (Salisbury): To ask the Secretary of State for War whether it is proposed to retain the headquarters and clerical staff of a Division at Salisbury.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Arnold-Forster.*) It is not possible to give a final answer to this Question at present. The course to be pursued must depend upon the exigencies of the service, and, as I have already stated, the future distribution of the Army at home, in which the question of the headquarters is involved, is still under consideration.

Gold Output of the Transvaal—White and Native Labour.

Mr. HERBERT SAMUEL (Yorkshire, Cleveland): To ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies if he will state what was the value of the gold produced from the mines either of the Witwatersrand district or of the Transvaal as a whole, and the number of white men and of natives employed on those mines, in the month of May in each of the years 1897, 1898, 1899, 1902, 1903, and 1904.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Lyttelton.*) The following figures supply the information desired so far as it is at my disposal:—

	Witwatersrand Mines. Value of Gold produced.	Transvaal Gold Mines.	Transvaal Gold Mines.	
			White men employed.	Natives employed.
May, 1897	£ 867,844	£ Outside districts represent about one-twelfth of Witwatersrand output	9,519 (average for year)	69,098 (average for year)
,, 1898	1,211,765	1,288,234	10,684 (average for year)	82,062 (average for year)
,, 1899	1,582,010	1,658,268	12,000 (about)	95,000 (about)
,, 1902	588,746	588,746	6,727 (June)	29,410 (June)
,, 1903	955,854	995,463	11,439 (at work)	64,480
,, 1904	1,302,294	1,335,826	(figure not received)	70,778

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE.

Artillery Guns.

*CAPTAIN NORTON (Newington, W.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War if he can state what steps are being taken to replace such of our horse and field artillery guns as have become eroded, the number of guns ordered, and where those orders have been placed; whether any improvement has been made upon the quality of powder and class of fuses used in the South African War, as well as in the matter of modern howitzers and heavy field guns of the class now in use in the Japanese Army.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Mr. ARNOLD-FORSTER, Belfast, W.): In reply to the first part of the Question, when the guns are condemned for erosion they are retubed, and over 100 have been retubed in the Ordnance Factories. The reply to the second part of the Question is in the affirmative, except in the case of the field howitzer, which is still under experiment.

In reply to a further Question, the right hon. Gentleman said all guns capable of repair were being repaired. He could not give the number of new guns ordered.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean): I will call attention to this subject on the Army Vote on Thursday.

Acquisition of Additional Ground for Military Purposes at Stobs.

MR. McCRAE (Edinburgh, E.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War if he can state whether any progress has been made in the negotiations for the purchase of additional ground for military purposes at Stobs.

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: No further progress has been made in connection with the negotiations for the purchase of additional ground at Stobs.

Chinese Coolies at Johannesburg—Beri-beri.

SIR WALTER FOSTER (Derbyshire, Ilkeston): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether, in view of the fact that beri-beri is a disease which infects a place or locality and so becomes endemic, he will take steps to have all the recently imported Chinese coolies isolated on their arrival at Johannesburg and kept apart from the other workers in the mines until the danger of the development of the disease is past.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Mr. LYTTELTON, Warwick and Leamington): I have no reason to suppose that the Transvaal Administration and the employers of the newly arrived Chinese labourers will fail to recognise the necessity for all suitable precautions, or to act upon the best advice, though I have not yet heard from Lord Milner what steps have actually been taken; and in the meantime I am not in a position to give the instructions suggested.

SIR WALTER FOSTER: Will the right hon. Gentleman telegraph for information?

MR. LYTTELTON: I have telegraphed three times.

DR. HUTCHINSON (Sussex, Rye): When will the right hon. Gentleman telegraph again?

MR. JOHN REDMOND (Waterford): Are we to understand that the right hon. Gentleman has telegraphed three times and has had no reply.

MR. LYTTELTON: Yes, that is so.

MR. BLAKE (Longford, S.): Had not the right hon. Gentleman better send a fourth cable with notice of recall?

MR. LOUGH (Islington, W.): Is the right hon. Gentleman going to take any further steps?

MR. LYTTELTON: If hon. Members will allow me—In my opinion there is certain to be an explanation of the delay forthcoming, and as I telegraphed as recently as Saturday, I will await a reply.

MR. WHITLEY (Halifax): Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that there are now twenty-three cases of the disease in Johannesburg?

Mr. LYTTELTON: As I have not received information I cannot reply.

Mr. LLOYD-GEORGE (Carnarvon Boroughs): Did the right hon. Gentleman telegraph last week?

Mr. LYTTELTON: The 23rd was the date of the first telegram.

Maltese Government Balance-Sheet.

Mr. BOLAND (Kerry, S.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether, in view of the fact that in the balance-sheet issued by the Maltese Government on 29th February the investments in Imperial and Colonial Funds were stated to amount to £709,999 10s. 6d., although the nominal value of these securities on that day was only £682,449 9s. 4d., and the market value was only £650,476 19s. 6d., involving a deficit of £35,605 instead of a surplus of £22,939 19s. 10¾d., he will order the publication of a new balance-sheet.

Mr. LYTTELTON: The difference between the cost price of the investments and their market value on the 29th of February last was £59,522 11s. To meet this deficit the Malta Government had standing to its credit the reserve funds amounting respectively to £13,207 and £10,710, of which the hon. Member has taken account in referring to the deficit as amounting to £35,605. But it appears from the statements which accompanied and were published with the balance-sheet of the 29th of February last that the Government had also to its credit on that date the nett surplus brought forward from the year 1902–3, viz., £19,416, and also the excess of the revenue for the period to the 29th February, 1904, viz., £411,664 over the expenditure for that period, viz., £363,279 *i.e.*, £48,385. These two items together amount to £67,801, and therefore if the Colonial Government had had to sell all its securities on that date, the Colonial Government would have been able to meet all its liabilities, retaining a surplus of £22,196 and there would not have been a deficit. The statement of the 29th of February to which the hon. Member refers, was merely a monthly Return, and was not a statement showing the position of the Colony for the financial year, which in the ordinary course would only be published at some period subsequent to the close of the financial year, viz., the 31st of March. The annual statement would, in accordance with paragraph 164 (c) of the Financial Instructions, be accompanied by a detailed statement of investments showing the description and amount of stock held, the actual price paid for its purchase, and its market value. So far as I am aware, no annual statement has yet been published in respect of the year 1903–4, but the Governor will be asked when its publication may be expected.

East Africa—Sir Donald Stewart's Appointment as Administrator.

Mr. CATHCART WASON (Orkney and Shetland): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs if, in view of the importance of the questions which must arise in East Africa, he will state to the House what qualifications of Sir Donald Stewart recommended him to the Government as Administrator there; if the appointment is of a temporary nature, or if it will expire when the Colonial Office takes over the administration next year.

The UNDER-SECRETARY of STATE for FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Earl Percy, Kensington, S.): Sir Donald Stewart has shown, by his successful administration of Ashanti, that he possesses the qualifications required for dealing with the affairs of the East Africa Protectorate. The selection has been made after consultation with the Colonial Office, and the transfer of the protectorate will not terminate the appointment.

Insanitary Condition of Sandy (Bedfordshire).

Mr. SCHWANN (Manchester, N.): I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board whether his attention has been drawn to the recent reports of the district inspector and surveyor to the rural district council of Biggleswade, Bedfordshire, as to the insanitary condition of the village of Sandy, and to the prevalence of erysipelas, diphtheria, scarlet fever, and similar diseases in that village, as well as, in a less degree, at Henlow and Arlesey; is he aware that generally the district is dangerous to health, in spite of recommendations made by the inspector of the Local Government Board in 1896 and 1899, in consequence of continued epidemics of diphtheria and typhoid; and whether he will take action, as the improved water supply now being carried out will only partially remedy the evils complained of.

THE SECRETARY TO THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. GRANT LAWSON, Yorkshire, N.R., Thirsk): My right hon. friend has made inquiry, but is informed that there has been no recent special report as to the insanitary condition of the parish of Sandy. He has, however, been furnished with a statement showing the number of cases of infectious disease notified this year in the three parishes of Sandy, Henlow, and Arlesey. Although, according to this statement, the only cases notified during the present month have been three cases of erysipelas at Sandy, there appears to have been some prevalence of this disease and of diphtheria earlier in the year at the places mentioned. The report of the medical officer of health for 1903 states that the death rate in the rural district was as low as 12·2 per thousand. My right hon. friend understands that both at Sandy and Arlesey there are local sanitary committees, and that in some respects sanitary administration has been improved. He is asking for a special report from the medical officer of health as to the occurrence of erysipelas and diphtheria in the district during the present year.

Ejectment Processes in County Cork.

CAPTAIN DONELAN (Cork County, E.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland how many civil bill ejectments and writs for the recovery of possession of land have been issued against tenants in county Cork from the 1st November, 1903, when the Land Act of 1903 came into force, to the 1st June, 1904; and how many civil bills for rent were entered for quarter sessions, and how many writs of summons for the recovery of rent from tenants in county Cork were issued during the same period.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. WYNDHAM, Dover): 144 ejectments were entered for hearing in the period stated, and 113 decrees were granted. The number of civil bills for rent entered in the same period was 484.

Head Constable Moore, Royal Irish Constabulary.

MR. CULLINAN (Tipperary, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he can state if Head Constable Moore is still stationed at Greencastle, county Antrim; how long he has been engaged there on temporary duty; whether he is in receipt of extra pay for temporary duty; and when his period of temporary service will come to an end.

MR. WYNDHAM: Yes, Sir; this head constable is still stationed at Greencastle. It is not intended to withdraw him. The other queries have already been answered by me.

MR. CULLINAN: Are we to assume that this head constable is stationed there permanently now?

MR. WYNDHAM: Yes, I think it amounts to that.

Irish Police Administration.

MR. MACVEAGH (Down, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he can state the number of inspectors-general, county inspectors, district inspectors, and resident magistrates in Ireland; and whether, in the effecting of economies in police administration in Ireland, it is intended to reduce their numbers simultaneously with the reducing of the numbers in the lower ranks.

MR. WYNDHAM: The extent to which economies have been effected is shown in the current year's Estimates, which also show the number of each class of officer mentioned. Further reductions are contemplated in future years.

Melville Estate, Kenmare.

MR. BOLAND: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that on the Melville Estate, near Kenmare, where negotiations for sale have been concluded at 21½ years purchase of first-term rents and at 24½ years purchase of second-term rents, all the tenants owe arrears ranging from two to four years; and whether, in view of the fact that this estate comes within the definition of a congested estate, being nearly all mountain land, and that pressure was exercised by the agent in bringing the negotiations to a conclusion, he can arrange that the estate will be inspected before the actual sale is concluded.

MR. WYNDHAM: This estate has not yet come before the Estates Commissioners to be dealt with. Where doubt is entertained as to the propriety of declaring particular lands to be an estate, an inspection is always made.

Irish National School Teachers.

MR. MACVEAGH: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether his attention has been called to a resolution passed at the meeting of the Central Executive Committee of the Irish National Teachers' Organisation on 21st May last, with reference to the conditions of awarding increments to teachers in the service at the time of the change who, regardless of their attainments and the efficiency of their schools, were placed in grades lower than the classes they had previously held; and to the similar resolution passed unanimously at the annual congress held in Belfast during last Easter week; and, if so, whether he can state what additional amount of money would be required to comply with the suggestion of these resolutions; and whether, considering the feeling which exists on this matter among both managers and teachers, arising mainly from the impossibility, in the great majority of cases, of obtaining promotion to the highest grade and the increments attached thereto, he will endeavour to give effect to these resolutions in the case of those teachers in the service at the time the new system of payments came into operation.

MR. WYNDHAM: I have seen copies of the resolutions in question. It would not be practicable, however, to give effect to them without striking at the fundamental principle of the new system of payments—namely, that increases of income are to be the result of continued good service as teachers. The Rules of the Commissioners in this respect have been liberally applied, though many teachers could not be granted either the increments or promotion for which they were eligible, because their service was not sufficiently satisfactory, or the state of their schools would not warrant their promotion. The additional amount of money that would be required to give advancement, claimed by the resolutions as a right, could not be stated without making intricate inquiries.

In reply to a Question by Mr. SLOAN (Belfast, S.), Mr. WYNDHAM said the Commissioners had taken particular cases into account, with a result that there had been a large increase in the Estimates. He did not think there was any necessity to issue instructions on the subject.

Proposed Pier at Port-na-Ling.

MR. O'DOHERTY (Donegal, N.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he has received a memorial from those interested in the development of the fisheries and granite quarries in and around Port-na-Ling praying for the construction of a pier at that port; and whether, seeing that a report has been made by the Donegal county surveyor, on the feasibility of such a project, to the county council, and, in view of the utility and advantage the construction of a pier would be to the inhabitants of the peninsula of Fonnett, he will send one of the Government engineers to report thereon with a view to the wish being carried out.

MR. WYNDHAM: There are no funds available for undertaking this proposed work, and unless and until additional funds are placed at the disposal of Government, I am afraid no useful object would be served by causing an inspection of the site to be carried out.

Teaching of the Irish Language in Irish Schools.

MR. BOLAND: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that in reply to a communication from the parents of children attending the Tulloha National School, in the parish of Bonane, county

Kerry, the Board of National Education wrote on the 10th of May to Mr. J. Harrington; and whether, in view of the fact that in this Irish-speaking district the parents have expressed their desire that Irish should be taught in the school, representations will be made to the manager, who has agreed to Irish being taught in other schools under his management.

Mr. WYNDHAM: I recently stated I had been informed that no communication on this subject was received by the Board of National Education. I now learn that a communication was received by the Board in May. In reply, the Board pointed out that it could not interfere with the manager in regard to the instruction, so long as the curriculum of the schools was within the programme approved by the Board. The teaching of Irish is not compulsory in national schools.

Mr. THOMAS O'DONNELL (Kerry, W.): Will the right hon. Gentleman consider the desirability of calling on managers of schools to allow the Irish language to be taught where the parents unanimously desire it?

Mr. WYNDHAM was understood to reply that he could not do that.

Mr. THOMAS O'DONNELL: Then cannot the right hon. Gentleman suggest to the manager of this school, who is a member of the Government, the propriety of allowing the language to be taught?

Mr. WYNDHAM replied that that was not within the province of his Department.

Mr. BOLAND: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that Lord Lansdowne allows the Irish language to be taught in another school under his management?

Mr. SPEAKER: Order. That does not arise out of the Question.

National School at Rathview, Dundalk.

Mr. THOMAS O'DONNELL: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that the national school in which Mr. Denis Lavelle, Rathview, Dundalk, teaches, was built by himself at a cost of £350; and that he was not refunded any of this when he was compelled to assign his interest to trustees; and, if so, whether special inquiry will be made into this matter.

Mr. WYNDHAM: I have made special inquiry into this matter and am satisfied that the teacher has no case against the Commissioners of National Education. An explanation of the facts calls for a somewhat lengthy statement, and with the hon. Member's permission I will circulate this statement with the Votes.

Technical Schools in Ireland.

Mr. FIELD (Dublin, St. Patrick): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he can state if any measures are being taken to provide a building fund, to be repayable by annual instalments for the erection of suitable technical schools where urgently required in Ireland.

Mr. WYNDHAM: There are no resources at present available for providing grants for this purpose. The matter is one for consideration in connection with the reform of the system of education, generally.

Dopping-Hepenstal Estate, North Longford.

Mr. J. P. FARRELL (Longford, N.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether any application has been made to the Estates Commissioners for the restoration to their homes of eight evicted tenants on the Dopping-Hepenstal Estate in North Longford; whether he is aware that these eight farms are practically derelict, three of them being in the landlords' hands and five let on the eleven months system; and whether, as this is a poor congested district, any steps can be taken for the sale of the estate under the 7th Section of the Land Act of 1903.

Mr. WYNDHAM: Only one application for reinstatement has been received from this estate. The Estates Commissioners will inquire as to the desirability of issuing a request under Section 7.

MR. J. P. FARRELL: How long will it take to arrive at the decision? When may I put the Question again?

MR. WYNDHAM: I cannot form any estimate of the rate of progress likely to be made.

Larkfield Bog Turbary.

MR. J. P. FARRELL: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the attention of the Royal Irish Constabulary authorities in Granard has been called to the conduct of Thomas Gillespie, a bailiff on the Dopping-Hepenstal Estate; whether he is aware that this man recently and without any legal warrant forcibly dispossessed three men of their turbary on the Larkfield Bog, and threatened with a revolver any person who interfered with him; and, if so, will he say what action the police authorities intend taking to safeguard the public peace in this district.

MR. WYNDHAM: The bailiff did not forcibly dispossess these tenants of their turbary. He cautioned them against trespassing. He was not armed with a revolver. The police will take all steps requisite for the preservation of the public peace.

Future Tenants in County Kerry.

MR. THOMAS O'DONNELL: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland what is the number of future tenants in county Kerry who were in occupation of their farms at the passage of the Act of 1881, but have been made future tenants since; how many of those are at present paying the old rents fixed before 1881; whether, in view of the fact that landlords of such tenants are pressing for high rents with a view to compel them to buy their holdings at impossible prices, steps will be taken to amend the law so as to enable such tenants to have their rents fixed by the Court.

MR. WYNDHAM: There is no official information on any of the matters referred to in the Question. I have stated that the Government does not propose to introduce further legislation affecting the fixing of rents. It is competent to a tenant of this class to purchase under the Act of 1903, and the Commissioners before making an advance must be satisfied as to the security of the holding.

MR. THOMAS O'DONNELL: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that the landlords in Kerry are availing themselves of this opportunity to compel the tenants to purchase at exorbitant rates, and that some are being sued for a fourth gale because they will not consent to extravagant terms?

MR. WYNDHAM pointed out that any bargains entered into under duress would be subject to inspection by the Commissioners.

MR. FLAVIN (Kerry, N.): What alternative have these tenants to consenting?

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! That does not arise out of the Question.

MR. FLAVIN: No, but it is a part.

Sport at Derrygoolan.

MR. ROCHE (Galway, E.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that, at five o'clock a.m. on the morning of the 12th of August last, two policemen were found on the lands of Derrygoolan, Woodford, in company with two men named Moran and Whelan, who were poaching; that they were all ordered off and compelled to leave by the action of the tenants; and whether he will direct that the police shall not take any part in such proceedings in future.

MR. WYNDHAM: Mr. Moran was shooting on the occasion, on the invitation of the agent. Whelan is the estate gamekeeper. Two constables were present to prevent a breach of the peace. They will adopt the same course in future should the necessity arise.

MR. ROCHE was understood to claim that the tenants of these lands had a right to the shooting and to warn off trespassers.

Great Southern and Western Railway Company of Ireland—Sick Benefit.

MR. FIELD: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether he is aware that the Great Southern and Western Railway Company, Ireland, make it a condition of service that all employees shall join the sick benefit society controlled entirely by the directors; that the directors claim to alter the rules at any time without notice to the men, who contribute nearly the whole of the money to the society; and that they did so alter the rules as to deprive the men of the benefits in cases of accident arising in the course of their employment; and, if so, whether he will take steps, by legislation or otherwise, to defend the interests of these employees.

*THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. AKERS-DOUGLAS, Kent, St. Augustine's): The hon. Member has been good enough to send me some papers on this subject, but beyond that I have no information relating to it. As to the first part of the Question, I may point out that the Shop Clubs Act, 1902, expressly exempts a railway benefit society, existing at the passing of the Act and contributed to by the company, from the provisions prohibiting compulsory membership. With regard to the alteration of the rules mentioned in the Question, I gather that it was done because the Workmen's Compensation Act provides for the payment of compensation to railway servants in cases of accident. I have no power to interfere, nor can I hold out any hope of legislation in the matter.

Alleged Perjury by Francis Cooke.

MR. J. P. FARRELL: I beg to ask Mr. Attorney-General for Ireland whether he is aware that in the course of evidence given by a bailiff, named Francis Cooke, on the O'Brien Estate, in North Longford, Judge Curran, in refusing to receive the evidence, stated that the late Judge Monroe declared that this man should be prosecuted for perjury in evidence given before him; whether this man is employed as receiver in Judge Ross's Court; and will these remarks of these learned Judges be brought to the notice of Judge Ross, with a view to his removal from the office.

THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. ATKINSON, Londonderry, N.): The man Francis Cooke is not a receiver in Judge Ross's Court but only the bailiff of a gentleman named Colonel Dopping, who is a receiver in that Court. As far as I have been able to ascertain, Judge Curran considered that Cooke had, in a case tried before him, given inaccurate evidence in identifying on a map produced the precise locality of an alleged trespass, but the Judge made no reference whatever to the late Judge Monroe or to any evidence given before that Judge by Cooke, nor did Judge Curran himself accuse Cooke of perjury. The reply to the later query is in the negative.

Royal Commission on Food Supply—Gambling in Grain.

MR. FIELD: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether the Government will take steps to instruct the Royal Commission on Food Supplies and Raw Materials to take evidence on the evils caused by the prevailing system of gambling in futures as affecting the producer, manufacturers, and consumer.

THE PRIME MINISTER AND FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): This Question has already been answered, and if the hon. Member will consider the matter he will see that it is impossible for me to dictate to the Commission what evidence should be taken, and on what subject; but he may rest assured that the Commission is giving the matter full consideration.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

MR. LAMBERT (Devonshire, South Molton). I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury when it is proposed to take the Vote for the Board of Agriculture.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I cannot say.

MR. LAMBERT: Will it be taken at a reasonable hour before the end of the session?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: It is impossible for me to forecast the allotment of the remaining days of Supply.

MR. LAMBERT: Will the right hon. Gentleman undertake that it shall not be closured?

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: It is impossible for me to forecast the allotment of the remaining days for Supply; but I will endeavour to meet the views of the Opposition as far as I can as to when the remaining Votes shall be taken. Suppose, however, that the Opposition were to desire that every one of the remaining days should be allotted to other matters which they considered of greater importance, clearly I could not then carry out a pledge to take a certain Vote on a given date, and therefore I must decline to give any pledge.

Mr. GIBSON BOWLES (Lynn Regis): Will the Vote be brought on before we have an opportunity of considering the Undersized Fish Bill?

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: I cannot say; but I cannot doubt that my hon. friend will have full opportunity for the discussion of a subject to which I know he has given unremitting attention for the last five years.

Sir H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN (Stirling Burghs): As to business—Which Vote will be taken first on Thursday, what business will be taken on Friday and Monday, and will other subjects be sandwiched with the Licensing Bill?

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: We shall certainly devote Friday and Monday to further steps connected with the Licensing Bill. As regards Supply the Army Vote will be first taken, and if we are fortunate enough to get the two Reports before the close of business, we shall proceed with Class 1.

ADJOURNMENT.

Mr. BECKETT (Yorkshire, N.R., Whitby) rose in his place, and asked leave to move the Adjournment of the House for the purpose of discussing a definite matter of urgent public importance, viz., the alarming deficiency in the drafts required for India and South Africa, and the confusion and uncertainty now prevailing in the War Office and the Army owing to the prolonged delay in the announcement of a definite scheme of Army re-organisation"; but the pleasure of the House not having been signified, Mr. Speaker called on those Members who supported the Motion to rise in their places, and not less than forty Members having accordingly risen:—

The Motion stood over, under Standing Order No. 10, till this Evening's Sitting.

LICENSING BILL.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[Mr. J. W. Lowther (Cumberland, Penrith) in the Chair.]

Clause 1.

***Mr. WHITTAKER** (Yorkshire, W.R., Spen Valley) moved an Amendment to insert

> "In Clause 1, page 1, line 5, after 'licence' the words 'to which Section 19 of the Wine and Beerhouse Act, 1869, extends.'"

The object of the Amendment was, he said, to confine the operation of the Bill to what were known as the 1869 beerhouses. A certain number of beerhouses which were in existence before the year 1869 were only under the control of the justices to a very limited extent. There was only power to refuse renewal on four grounds, and these grounds practically resolved themselves into two. At the present moment there was no necessity to deal with ordinary public-house licences for the purposes of compensation. There was, in fact, no justification whatever for bringing in a measure for compensation in the case of ordinary public-house licences unless some change was about to be made in the law which would give the licensing authorities and the public generally more control over those licences. But under this Bill it was proposed to seriously curtail the controlling powers of the justices. In his opinion the only justification for dealing with fully licensed public-houses from the point of view of compensation would be the introduction of a considerable measure of temperance reform, which would increase the power of the licensing authority and facilitate the getting rid of licences. In the course of the discussions on the Bill it had been made perfectly clear that the grounds alleged by the Government for bringing in the measure were, so far as fully licensed houses were concerned, non-existent. The Government contention had been that there was last year an almost reckless reduction of licences. [MINISTERIAL cheers.] Well, if hon. Gentlemen who cheered that statement would only take the trouble to ascertain the facts they would no longer cheer. There were no brewster sessions in 1902 outside London, and consequently the figures for 1903 represented a reduction for two years. The reduction which had taken place in the number of licences owing to refusals had been far fewer on the average during the last ten years than during the preceding twenty years. It was not right, then, to suggest that the justices had exercised their powers unfairly or unreasonably, and what really was wanted was not a limitation but an increase of those powers. But this proposal of the Government was accompanied by no measure of reform—by no special grant of powers of control. He, therefore, suggested that the operation of the Bill should be limited to the 1869 beerhouses, for the reason that the legal position of those houses differed very greatly indeed from that of ordinary fully licensed houses. And in this connection he would like to correct a misapprehension into which the Prime Minister had fallen with regard to the Act of 1869. The right hon. Gentleman had spoken of the Act having been passed by Mr. Gladstone, but if he would only turn to the records he would find that the Bill was introduced by Mr. Selwyn Ibbetson, a Conservative Member considerably identified with the liquor trade. It was not, therefore, what the Prime Minister had suggested it to be, "the last effort of the Liberal Party in licensing reform." A further misapprehension which should be corrected was that the Bill gave special protection to the 1869 beerhouses. It did nothing of the kind. Beerhouses in existence prior to 1869 were not under the control of the justices; any one could get a licence by applying to the Excise and paying the necessary fee, and the Act of 1869 simply took away some of the privileges and put houses of that class more under the control of the justices than before. He did not admit that from either a legal or a moral point of view the 1869 beerhouse had an absolute right to compensation or absolute fixity of tenure in its licence, but he did admit that there was a good deal more to be said for the 1869 beerhouse than for the ordinary fully licensed house. The legal position was very different indeed. Further than that, there was a certain measure of reform so far as the 1869 beerhouses were concerned, inasmuch as it was proposed to give greater powers over them to the licensing authorities. They were to have power to refuse the renewal of licences on the ground that they were not required, and compensation was to accompany the refusal.

Another reason why he wished to confine the Bill to the 1869 beerhouses was the well-known fact that this class of houses was the worst in the country, and a class over which the justices had the least control. They had no control over their structure or their sanitary condition. The Royal Commission had a great amount of evidence brought before it to show how extremely unsatisfactory was this class of house. The clerk to the Birmingham justices declared that these beerhouses in Birmingham were the worst class they had in the city; the licences had been granted regardless of structure or means of supervision or anything of that kind; hundreds of them had back doors opening into a common yard, or on to factories or stables, and they were premises such as the magistrates would never have dreamt of licensing. The clerk to the Bradford magistrates declared that many of these beerhouses were simply old cottages never fitted for licensed premises. The clerk to the West Bromwich magistrates said his bench were much troubled by these licences; they had personally visited a large number of them and found some sixty-three cases highly suggestive of illicit drinking practices. There was a lack of control over structural arrangements. The Chairman of the Penzance Watch Committee gave similar evidence, while the chief constable of Manchester said the effect of the 1869 Act was to preserve dirty, ill-constructed, unsuitable licensed houses which no bench of justices in the present day would tolerate. This showed the sort of beerhouses the brewers would palm off upon the country if the justices had no power over them.

According to the evidence the beerhouses were structurally unfit. They had a curious instance of that from Lincoln. The corporation there bought up two houses, one of which it was intended to use as a policeman's house, but the borough surveyor promptly condemned it as unfit for habitation. Again, the chairman of the Sunderland bench declared recently, in reference to a beerhouse there, that it was one of the most miserable hovels he had ever seen; the ceilings were low, the whole place was in a bad condition, and there were no sanitary arrangements. One beerhouse had been licensed for fifteen years, and during the whole of the time not a drop of drink had been sold in it. Hon. Members opposite cheered that statement. Well, he could only say he wished the same could be said of all other licensed premises. But why had the licence been kept alive? Its renewal could not be refused; it was an 1869 beerhouse, one of the class which was able to defy benches of magistrates in a way ordinary publicans could not. In the city of Liverpool the justices had done a great deal to control houses by pressure they had been enabled to apply, but these beerhouses could not be subjected to such pressure. Hence the desirability of bringing them under some such law as the ordinary houses.

Another important point was that under the Act of 1869 the justices had no power to protect the tenant, although when dealing with the question of the transfer of ordinary licences they could have before them and examine both the outgoing and the incoming tenant. They exercised this power frequently, and in almost all cases discovered that the cause of the outgoing tenant's leaving was his failure to force the trade and sell enough beer. But with regard to the 1869 beerhouse licences, so long as the applicant was a suitable man of good character they could not refuse to transfer to him. There had been a great demand for a long time from all the recognised authorities that this class of house should be placed under the full control of the justices, but there had been no public demand except from the trade itself for compensation for the non-renewal of a licence of a fully licensed house. Twenty-one quarter sessions had petitioned Parliament—eighteen of them unanimously—to give them full control over these houses. Fifty-eight cities and boroughs—forty-four of them unanimously—had asked that power should be given them to deal with them at their full discretion; and innumerable petitions had been presented from watch committees, county councils, and other authorities. As there were 28,000 of these houses, it could be seen there would be great opportunities for considerable reform. It would be this class of house theju stices would wish to get rid of. The fact was that in some of our large citise and towns the justices had been compelled to resort to bargaining with the brewers, simply because they had not full control over these 1869 beerhouses, and it was these houses in the congested districts which it was most desirable to get rid of. The justices felt it would be a hardship to refuse the renewal of licences to better-class houses, simply in order to reduce the number of the licensed premises when there were worse houses in the immediate vicinity the licences of which could not be refused. He believed that in Birmingham under the reduction scheme 80 per cent. of the licences for which renewal was not asked were beerhouse licences. In Manchester something like two-thirds of the existing licences were beerhouse licences, and it was clear that if the magistrates were granted power to deal with this class of house they would enormously reduce the number and thus effect a very great reform. It was precisely in those districts where the licensed houses were most numerous in proportion to population that these 1869 beerhouses were chiefly found. They were not existent in new growing industrial districts; they were only to be found in the old parts of old towns just where the reduction was most needed.

He submitted that it would be an enormous improvement if the operation of this Bill were limited to this particular class of house. Not only would it enable then to secure a large reduction in the number of licences, but it would get rid of a large proportion of the difficulties which surrounded the Bill. By applying the Bill to fully licensed houses they were conferring on those houses a privilege which they should not have. He suggested that the Government should not make the proposed revolution in our licensing system universal at present, but should try the experiment upon that limited class of beerhouses which it was most desirable and most necessary to get rid of. It would be justifiable to make the levy for compensation over the whole of the licensed houses in the district, because they would all benefit by the abolition of the beerhouses. The Government could not get through the Bill as it at present stood by any fair Parliamentary means, or without a ruthless application of the closure. The Bill bristled with difficulties, important points, and proposals to revolutionise the licensing system of the country, and ought to be, and must be, fully discussed. He contended that there was no time in the present session adequately to discuss it. Did anybody imagine that this Bill would be a settlement of the difficulty? He was perfectly sure that it would raise a fiercer struggle and controversy than any which had already occurred, and that the time would soon arrive when supporters of the Government would wish that they had never seen the Bill. Tht troubles of the Government might almost disappear if they would only limit the operation of the measure to the ante-1869 beerhouses; and he would mose earnestly and sincerely submit his Amendment to them as well worthy of consideration.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 1, line 5, after the word 'licence,' to insert the words 'to which Section 19 of the Wine and Beerhouse Act, 1869, extends.'"—(*Mr. Whittaker.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

*THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. AKERS-DOUGLAS, Kent, St. Augustine's), while agreeing with a good deal of what had fallen from the last speaker, reminded the hon. Gentleman that by this Bill, for the first time in the history of licensing legislation, the ante-1869 houses were brought under the discretion of the magistrates. Had it not been for the introduction of this Bill, these houses, admitted to be bad both structurally and sanitarily, could not be dealt with at all. No effort had been made by hon. Members opposite to deal with this question.

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON (Dundee): Yes, in 1899 a Bill was introduced for the very purpose of transferring these houses to the jurisdiction of the magistrates.

MR. J. H. LEWIS (Flint Boroughs): I have myself year after year introduced a Bill for that purpose.

*MR. AKERS-DOUGLAS: Without offering any compensation.

MR. J. H. LEWIS: The Bill was backed by hon. Members on the Ministerial Bench.

*MR. AKERS-DOUGLAS said the hon. Member for Spen Valley would have the operation of the Bill limited to those houses. He agreed that, as a class, these were the worst houses, and ought to disappear. But it must not be forgotten that they had a Parliamentary title, and, in bringing these licences within the scope of the Bill, the Government had thought they were entitled to extra consideration on that account. The hon. Member had said that in the Government scheme there was ample money to get rid of the whole of these houses, but he had coupled that with the expression of his opinion that all houses ought to be taxed for that purpose. He ventured to think, on the contrary, that, if they were going to levy the compensation fund over the whole of the on-licences, they could not limit the operations of that fund to one particular class. The houses had, under the Bill, been brought under the discretion of the justices in a manner which they thought was perfectly fair and equitable to all those concerned, and he was sorry they could not make any concession on this point. The question was vital to the Bill, and the Government must stick to their Bill.

SIR ROBERT REID (Dumfries Burghs) thought everyone would affirm the right hon. Gentleman's statement that these houses, as a class, were, broadly speaking, the worst in the country, and he wished to point the moral of that, viz., that those houses which were the worst were those which had a Parliamentary title. He did not at all deny that these houses were in a different category from the licences which came under the decision of "Sharpe *v.* Wakefield" in regard to statutory rights and to their legal position for renewal, but he did hope the right hon. Gentleman would seriously reflect before he conferred on other houses similar permanency of title or freedom from magisterial control. While prepared to admit that these 1869 beerhouses were entitled to some measure of compensation in case of a refusal to renew their licences, he would urge the Government to reserve their judgment for another year in regard to the tremendously difficult question of a new system of licensing for those licences which had no Parliamentary title, and to confine the Bill to the ante-1869 beerhouses. If that were done, he believed the Bill would pass in a couple of days, and a great deal of good would be done, for these ante-1869 licences were the worst in the country. Besides, they would be paying for something in which there was a legal right. He did hope the Home Secretary would accept that suggestion.

*MR. GROVES (Salford, S.) said the Amendment was a simple one but it sought to strike a blow at the whole spirit of the Bill. The philanthropic solicitude of hon. Members opposite had during these debates assumed various forms. First it was the poor publican whose interest was being absorbed by the wicked brewer; then it was the tied-house grievance, and now, it seemed, another section of the trade was to be taken under their protection. It could not be denied that those who had financial interest in licensed property of various kinds had a considerable stake at issue under the Bill, but to deal separately with a single section of the licensing interest in the manner proposed would be very unfair. He did not deny that some of the ante-1869 houses were structurally bad, but to stigmatise all these houses as the worst in the country was unjustifiable, and he hoped the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary would see fit to qualify to a large extent the expression he had made use of in regard to them. The ante-1869 houses could show examples of comfort, commodiousness, and good order which would compare favourably with any other section of licensed houses. The record of convictions for drunkenness also showed a favourable state of things in respect of the beerhouses—where only beer was supplied—as compared with houses where more potent beverages were sold. The really heavy drinking took place largely in clubs. Moreover, the magistrates had full control, limited of course to the four grounds, and they were under police supervision in the same way as any other class of licensed houses. The Amendment was an attempt to get a little bit at a time; to-day they were asked to give up their coats, to-morrow it would be their shirts, and before very long it would be their skins. He believed that in this Bill the Government were making an honest attempt to deal with a very difficult question, and he trusted they would not accept this Amendment; in rejecting it they would, he was sure, receive the support of the House.

MR. J. H. LEWIS said that during the past ten years he had frequently introduced Bills to deal with the ante-1869 houses, and these Bills had been backed by Unionist Members. It could not, therefore, be fairly said that this was a Party measure. At least fifty-eight courts of quarter sessions had expressed the opinion, in most cases unanimously, that this was the part of the licensed trade which most urgently needed reform. This was the text of the resolution which had been generally adopted—

> "That this bench of magistrates is of opinion that the very limited discretion vested in justices in regard to the renewal or otherwise of licences of old beerhouses which were in existence in 1869 is anomalous and not conducive to the public interest, and that legislation with a view to removing such anomaly and placing such beerhouses on the same footing as fully licensed houses as regard the licensing and the justices' discretion is urgently needed."

At present the discretion of the justices in regard to these licences was very much confined, and to say that the magistrates had anything in the shape of full control over the licences was the reverse of the fact. It was an accepted principle that licensed premises should be conveniently arranged for purposes of police supervision, but in the case of these beerhouses such supervision was almost impossible, and the magistrates had no power to refuse the licences however structurally unfit the premises might be. They could not even bring pressure to bear on the owners of the premises to put them in a proper sanitary condition. They could exercise that pressure in the case of fully licensed premises which might be much more valuable and better conducted than the old beerhouses. With regard to fully licensed premises the magistrates could lay down conditions for conducting the business, and if the business was conducted in an objectionable manner, and illegitimate inducements for drinking were offered, the magistrates could interfere, whilst beerhouses which might not be required owing to the demolition of a large amount of property could not be touched by the licensing magistrates. All these matters were outside the four grounds to which the right hon. Gentleman had referred. The hon. Member for Stretford said that the privileged existence of these particular houses was the greatest evil in connection with the licensed trade. It was most unjust to the public, unfair to the magistrates and the police, and also to the fully licensed houses that this privileged position should continue. He supported the appeal made by his hon. friend. There were 35,000 of these houses and this would be an experiment well worth making. He thought the Government would carry the House of Commons with them if they limited the Bill to this class of property. With regard to compensation these houses were in a different position, and the House of Commons, when it introduced the provision in the Bill of 1869, acted through sheer inadvertence, and they would have to bear a heavy penalty in consequence. If they now limited their efforts to that class of property the Government would carry with them the whole country by adopting a beneficent scheme of licensing reform.

*MR. TALBOT (Oxford University) said he had had a great deal of experience in regard to licensing questions but he confessed that he was unable to follow the logic of the hon. Member opposite. If this was a *bona-fide* Amendment it seemed to him to be based upon an absolute ignorance of the actual condition of things. If it was not a *bona-fide* Amendment it was not worth discussing. He entirely agreed with the hon. Member for Salford as to the condition of the ante-1869 beerhouses. He was speaking from a magisterial point of view and his hon. friend spoke from another point of view. [OPPOSITION cries of "Hear, hear," and laughter.] Hon. Members opposite laughed at that and seemed to think it was strange. but if they held shares in brewery companies they also might take another view. He agreed that it would be better if the number of 1869 beerhouses could be reduced. He was grateful to the Government for having, in regard to this class of houses, done that which no Government on either side had ever before ventured to do. When they were told that this was an anti-temperance measure and in favour of the brewers he hoped those who made such statements would remember that this was the first time in the history of Parliament that these ante-1869 beerhouses were being dealt with. He was utterly at a loss to understand what the hon. Member for Spen Valley was aiming at when he limited the operation of the Bill to these beerhouses. He agreed with him in wishing to dispense with many of these, but the hon. Member did not wish to do anything more. That was a wholly inadequate conception of the position of things. They all desired as far as they could to remove the temptations to excessive drinking which was generally acknowledged to be largely encouraged by an undue number of licensed houses. Surely they could not stop half-way upon this question. Did hon. Gentlemen opposite think that all but the 1869 beerhouses ought to be maintained in their full vigour and none of them removed? He knew as much of the magisterial mind as most hon. Members, for he had occupied the position of chairman of quarter sessions for many years, and he said deliberately that if the Committee passed this Amendment they would never get rid of any other licensed houses, because the magistrates would take the view that they were doing an injustice and they would not get rid of a single house for which the owner and occupier did not get compensation. That would be the result, and he had come to that conclusion based upon many years experience. He at any rate did not represent the brewers, and in this respect he had a clean slate; he urged hon. Members to pause before they supported this Amendment which would deal a severe blow at the cause which they all desired to serve.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE (Carnarvon Boroughs) said the right hon. Gentleman had just informed them that he found some difficulty in the logic of the hon. Member on that side. He was not surprised at that, because anyone who had supported the Government like the right hon. Gentleman opposite must have got rather confused in his ideas of logic. The right hon. Gentleman had assumed that they simply wished to deal with beer-houses and that they did not propose to do anything in regard to other licences. All they wanted was that the law should take its course. With regard to ordinary licences the magistrates had full and free discretion, but they had no such discretion in regard to beerhouses. He contended that this was not a case for compensation, but if there was a case at all it was that in which there was a Parliamentary title. The Opposition were opposing the whole Bill, but seeing that the House of Commons had carried the Second Reading of the Bill, and the Government were pressing it through, they were now trying by Amendments to narrow it down to the point where there was a Parliamentary title and to that alone. That was the whole position. The right hon. Gentleman admitted that with regard to beerhouses there was a case for a very drastic reform. Everybody had admitted that except the hon. Member for Manchester whose point of view was rather different from that of the majority of the Members of the House. By adopting this Amendment they would provide a fund for this purpose, and they would be able to get rid of a very considerable number of these small beerhouses, leaving the others to the operation of the ordinary law. The Home Secretary seemed to think it would be unfair to enforce a contribution from houses which would not be entitled to compensation when their licences were taken away, but he did not think that followed at all. If they took away a licence in one particular neighbourhood they must necessarily add something to the trade of the remaining houses. This point had been decided in Birmingham by the brewers themselves. Therefore, there was no unfairness in imposing a contribution on the houses which did not share in compensation, because they benefited financially by the withdrawal of the licence which had been taken away. He still hoped that the Government would take into consideration the practicability of doing something on these lines. On the Opposition side of the House they could not accept the principle of the Bill, but at any rate let the Government try to give them something practical in regard to these beerhouses. Both branches of the Licensing Commission were agreed upon this. They were agreed that the beerhouses were far and away the worst features of the licensing system. They were also agreed that there was a distinction with regard to their title. All that his hon. friend was proposing to do now by this Amendment was to proceed on the unanimous opinion of the Commission which sat for years on this subject. He would commend this to the consideration of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Oxford University. The Archbishop of Canterbury was one of those who signed the recommendation that these houses should be deprived of their licences and that full and unfettered discretion should be allowed to the justices, and he went the length of saying that compensation should not be given to them. His hon. friend's proposal was much more moderate. He said that if they were going to give compensation at all, they should get it. He ventured to say that that was a perfectly logical case.

COLONEL PILKINGTON (Lancashire, Newton) said he was sorry the hon. Member for the Spen Valley Division had brought forward this proposal in the way he had done. It was perfectly true that up to now these beerhouse licences had been beyond the control of the magistrates. The owners of these houses could set the magistrates at defiance in regard to sanitary matters if the magistrates wanted them put right. His reason for rising was to ask the Home Secretary whether in future, not only in regard to compensation but also in regard to everything else, these beerhouses were to be under the magistrates. The discussion so far had gone on two lines—one the line taken by the hon. Member for the Spen Valley Division who desired to apply the principle of compensation to the beerhouses; and the other was the line taken by the hon. Member for the Flint Boroughs whose speech was directed to the way in which the beerhouses had been carried on for years, and who desired that the preferential position they occupied now should be discontinued. In some respects the hon. Member for Carnarvon Boroughs had followed on the same line, suggesting the need for reform. What he wanted distinctly stated by the Home Secretary, because he thought it was what was meant, was whether it was the intention of the Government to place the beerhouses in exactly the same position as public-houses, in future, in regard to compensation and all the requirements the magistrates might make. To give them compensation was a very small affair, but to put them under the magistrates on exactly the same terms as fully licensed houses was the reform of all others which should be carried out.

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON said he had ventured to interrupt the Home Secretary because both he and the hon. Member for Oxford University had repeated the statement that this was the first attempt that had been made to bring beerhouses of this kind within the jurisdiction of the magistrates. He happened to have before him a copy of the Bill of 1899, in which there was a proposal to place these beerhouses under the jurisdiction of the magistrates. That was carried on the Second Reading, which was as far as it could be carried, and it was defeated by a considerable majority, in the main Conservative. The Government needed to give a lead to the House on that proposal, for when the hon. Member for King's Lynn asked how they were going to vote, the Under-Secretary of the day said he must "leave that to the superior judgment of the House, and with regard to this Bill or any other Bill of a similar character, the Government could not express any opinion." He remembered the occasion all the better because he believed he was the only one sitting on the Liberal side who spoke against the Bill, and he incurred the displeasure of some of his hon. friends because he objected to it on the ground that it took away a Parliamentary title without any proposal to give compensation. He was supporting this Amendment for the reason which made him oppose the Bill of 1899. This Amendment proposed to do what that Bill did, with the difference that it gave compensation. The Bill now before the House was a Bill to recognise a vested interest and to give compensation. He was willing to give compensation where there was a vested interest, but he was not willing to give compensation where there was no vested interest. The distinction he drew between these beerhouse licences and others was that there was a deal of vested interest, a Parliamentary title, in the one case, and no Parliamentary title in the other. He was certain there was a vested interest in the pre-1869 beerhouses and he was willing to give compensation to them. The value of a licence was due in the first place to the fact that competition was excluded by monopoly, and in the second place to the fact that Parliament, with a fatuous incompetence which could not be too strongly condemned, had refused to look facts in the face, and to ask the licence-holders to yield up their monopoly. In other words, it was the low scale of licence duties which gave the value to licences. That was what they were beginning to see now. He wanted this matter placed on a logical footing by recognising a vested interest only where it existed, and giving compensation only where there was some value to be taken away.

Colonel Pilkington.

MR. CORBETT (Glasgow, Tradeston) said the hon. Member for Salford and the right hon. Member for Oxford University, who had taken part in the debate on this Amendment, had spoken from points of view which were diametrically opposed. The right hon. Gentleman told the Committee that all those who desired to reduce licences must oppose the Amendment, because the justices were so tender in the interest of property that they would refuse to take away licences without compensation. The hon. Member for Salford told them that the justices were so ruthless that if this Amendment were carried out they would take away his coat, his shirt, and even his skin.

*MR. GROVES: I did not refer to the magistrates at all. I referred to what would be done by the so-called temperance reformers on the other side of the House.

MR. CORBETT said the hon. Member had cast a new light upon the matter. The proposal which the hon. Member wished to defend was that these parties were not to be included because the protection they sought was against future Acts of Parliament, and that he thought was one of the most serious aspects of the proposal. It was not merely to protect against the existing danger, but to checkmate the operations of future Parliaments and future generations. He was glad to hear the Home Secretary state that these beerhouses would be brought under the same full control as ordinary public-house licences. He hoped the Home Secretary would give an assurance that they were correct in understanding that the pre-1869 licences would be under as full control as any others dealt with in the Bill.

MR. SAMUEL EVANS (Glamorganshire, Mid.) said it had been assumed by all the speakers on this question that the holders of the pre-1869 licences would be entitled to something in respect of what was called Parliamentary title. He, for one, protested against its being supposed that they had a right to have any compensation at all. His hon. and learned friend the Member for Dundee seemed to think that they were destroying these licences at one fell swoop. Whatever occurred in 1869, he submitted that it was subject to this condition, that, if it appeared that the business of the house, in respect of which a Parliamentary title attached, was being carried on injuriously to the public welfare, the licence should not be continued. This Amendment was to confine the operation of the Bill to these houses, and he thought it was a very wise proposal. He was sorry to hear the right hon. Member for Oxford University say that the magistrates might refuse to exercise their right judicially. He did not agree with the right hon. Gentleman when he said, in effect, that the magistrates would not do their duty. The fact was that the magistrates had been recently awakened to their duty, and this Bill fettered their discretion. He did not think that the magistrates would refuse these licences on mere sentimental grounds, but would deal with them, as in the case of other houses, judicially. There was one reason for pressing this Amendment — and that was in the interest of temperance. It was all very well for the hon. Member for Salford to attack the hon. Member for Spen Valley. After all, the hon. Member for Spen Valley had no personal interest in this matter. He felt anxious to protest when he heard the brewers who were personally interested in this matter attack people on that side of the House who had no personal interest to serve, but whose desire was to pass a measure for the benefit of the community. The reason he urged in favour of the Amendment was that a great deal of work would be put on the magistrates in various parts of the country. The scheme was so big that they would not attack it with hearty will. Hitherto the magistrates were not allowed to deal with the ante-1869 beerhouses, although they knew the character of these houses. And the one thing which facilitated the granting of a new licence was that the brewer came to the magistrates and said, "We are prepared to give up one, two, or even three beer licences over which you have no discretion if you will grant this new licence." He thought the magistrates would bend to their work with a will if they were allowed to pay their attention to these beerhouses, and thereby a great temperance reform would be accomplished by abolishing these beerhouses, which were admittedly the worst.

THE SOLICITOR-GENERAL (Sir EDWARD CARSON, Dublin University) said he thought it was interesting to note the admission made on the other side of the House that the Bill did one good thing — it brought these beerhouses under its purview. He had found great difficulty during the Second Reading of the Bill in getting any admission of that kind. These beerhouses were very nearly one-third of all the licensed houses in England, and it was admitted that they were the worst licensed houses in the country. Therefore if this Bill was not passed the worst beerhouses could not be touched, and those licensed houses that were of a superior class would suffer. After all, that was some justification for the Bill of the Government. Another unfortunate admission was made by the hon. Member who moved the Amendment, whose honesty in the cause of temperance nobody would deny. The hon. Member admitted that under this Bill the levy would be quite sufficient to wipe out the whole of these 30,000 beerhouses. Was it not something that there was to be a levy for the trade, if the Bill passed, that would enable them to put an end to the worst of these 30,000 beerhouses? But the hon. Member went on and said that the Government ought to stop there and leave the Bill alone as regarded the other licensed houses. Now he did hope the House would consider, in coming to a conclusion on this Amendment, the very weighty words that fell from the right hon. Member for Oxford University. The right hon. Gentleman was talking of a matter of which he had had years of experience as a chairman of quarter sessions and he knew what the magistrates were likely to do. But they really did not want the right hon. Gentleman's experience; for it stood to common sense that if this Bill was passed limiting the action to the 1869 beerhouses the magistrates would attack these beerhouses, admittedly the worst, and leave the other houses alone. He should have thought that that would be a most unsatisfactory state of things, when they were told that the magistrates were doing less than before in putting down fully licensed houses. It was perfectly plain that where there was an admitted excess of licensed houses and the magistrates were doing less than before in reducing them, it must be because they did not wish to do an injustice.

Mr. WHITTAKER said that his point was that the difficulty of the magistrates was that they did not like to take away the licences from the best class of houses, but if their hands were left free to touch the beerhouses they would attack them.

Sir EDWARD CARSON said that if the magistrates were to touch the beerhouses and nothing else that would not be a satisfactory condition of affairs. It might be perfectly true that in some parts of the country there were too many beerhouses, but in other parts where there were few beerhouses and a large number of ordinary public-houses, some of which it was desirable to get rid of, the Amendment would operate against that. He therefore hoped the Committee would reject the Amendment. A Question had been put to him by the hon. Member for the Newton Division as to the position of the ante-1869 beerhouses under the Bill. At present the renewal of their licences could not be refused except on four statutory grounds which he need not repeat. When this Bill passed the magistrates in quarter sessions would have the right, on the recommendation of the local magistrates upon any ground, to refuse the renewal of these licences.

Sir ROBERT REID: On payment of compensation.

Sir EDWARD CARSON: On payment of compensation, yes, because they had got a Parliamentary title, and when they were abolishing, in the public interest, what Parliament had previously said they were not to abolish, it was only fair that they should obtain compensation. Something had been said about structural alterations. His own view was that, under the 1902 Act, the magistrates had complete power to order any structural alterations they pleased, and if these were not carried out they had the power of inflicting a very severe fine—he thought 30s. for every day these alterations were not carried out—therefore, there was a power to compel the carrying out of the structural alterations; but if that power was taken away and the man was deprived of his licence he ought to receive compensation. He appealed to the Committee to at once come to a decision.

Sir EDWARD GREY (Northumberland, Berwick) said they could not accept the position of the Solicitor-General or of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Oxford University with regard to the Bill as a whole. The Solicitor-General and the right hon. Gentleman regarded the Bill as a Bill to enable justices to act where they would not otherwise be able to act at all. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Oxford University spoke of human nature; but it was not human nature not to remember the declaration of the Prime Minister, that it was necessary to fetter the discretion of the licensing justices. That was as simple as it could possibly be; and it was impossible not to connect it with the Bill. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Oxford University said that the Committee ought to bear in mind that there had been a great fuss made over the fact that the justices were acting according to the view of the Government; this was an enabling Bill and a temperance Bill. His hon. friend, in moving his Amendment, pointed out that if the Bill only dealt with ante-1869 beerhouses, it might be fairly regarded as a temperance measure, as it would give the magistrates more discretion as regarded these particular licences than they had before. That was so much to the good. The magistrates were not given full discretion, but they were given more than they had before. If the Bill stopped there, it might be fairly described as a temperance measure to which Amendments as regarded details might be suggested, but which would not be seriously fought. He himself would be prepared to support such a Bill if it stopped there. But the Bill proposed a limited discretion over the ante-1869 beerhouses, while taking away the full discretion which the magistrates now had over all other licensed houses. That was the whole point.

MR. TALBOT said that the discretion was, in practice, hardly ever used.

SIR EDWARD GREY said he would refer the right hon. Gentleman to the declaration of the Prime Minister, that it was necessary to fetter the discretion of the magistrates. That was the answer to the right hon. Gentleman in point of fact. He did not understand his hon. friend to say that a measure which dealt with the ante-1869 beerhouses would be the final word on temperance reform. He understood his hon. friend to say that it would be a fair measure for the House of Commons to deal with during the present session. They, on that side, had been taunted by the Home Secretary, who said that they ought to accept the Bill because a Liberal Government had never passed a temperance measure. He thought that the right hon. Gentleman might have explained his statement in attributing to a Liberal Government legislation which came from his own Party. The taunt came very badly from the Home Secretary, who, having been in the House for twenty years, ought to have remembered that for that period a Liberal Government had only had two complete sessions of Parliament. In that time there was one attempt to deal with the question of temperance. The present Government were now making an attempt; but they had not yet passed their legislation. They had heard again and again from the Government that the many mistakes in temperance legislation occurred because the efforts were too ambitious. His hon. friend, by his Amendment, sought to confine the Bill to the ante-1869 beerhouses. That would be a useful measure, which would be certain to pass, and would avoid the very error which the Liberals had been reproached with, of trying to accomplish too much. While he admitted that the Bill, as far as the ante-1869 beerhouses were concerned, was a temperance measure, the other part entirely changed its character and he would therefore support the Amendment.

MR. CAWLEY (Lancashire, Prestwich) said that from an electioneering point of view it would be a great deal better for the Opposition if the Government proceeded with the whole measure and passed it; but he believed they would simplify their task if the Amendment were accepted. A great many of these 1869 licences were held only for purposes of exchange. They were the very worst houses; many of them were not paying; and, therefore, the brewers would not be prejudiced if they were swept away. He had no hesitation in saying that seven-eighths of them were owned by the brewers. All the public-houses ought to contribute to the compensation fund, for all the other houses would gain if the 1869 licences were done away with. He was not very much against the Bill when it was first introduced, because he could not conceive that the Government would adopt it without a time limit; but he was against it now that they had refused a time limit, because it had been quite plainly shown that if the Government put all the other licences in the same position posterity would be in exactly the same position, and in twenty years time would cast the gravest reflections upon the present Parliament. The present Bill would rivet a monopoly upon posterity. It was said the justices would be disinclined to use their discretion if the 1869 houses were the only ones to be compensated. He did not believe that would be the case in the large manufacturing towns. It was well known that before the Prime Minister made his declaration, some time since, the Manchester and Salford brewers had arranged to give up fifty licences without any compensation at all, and that a great many of them were ante-1869 licences. If this Amendment were carried, the justices would in most cases do away with this class of licence because it was the worst class, and they would use their discretion in a proper manner.

Question put.

The Committee divided:—Ayes, 165; Noes, 288. (Division List No. 180.)

AYES.

Abraham, William (Rhondda)
Ainsworth, John Stirling
Ashton, Thomas Gair
Asquith, Rt. Hn. Herbert Henry
Atherley-Jones, L.
Barlow, John Emmott
Barran, Row and Hirst
Beaumont, Wentworth C. B.
Black, Alexander William
Blake, Edward
Boland, John
Brigg, John
Broadhurst, Henry
Bryce, Rt. Hon. James
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Burns, John
Burt, Thomas
Caldwell, James
Cameron, Robert
Campbell, John (Armagh, S.)
Cawley, Frederick
Channing, Francis Allston
Churchill, Winston Spencer
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Corbett, A. Cameron (Glasgow)
Craig, Robert Hunter (Lanark)
Crombie, John William
Crooks, William
Cross, Alexander (Glasgow)
Cullinan, J.
Dalziel, James Henry
Davies, Alfred (Carmarthen)
Davies, M. Vaughan (Cardigan)
Delany, William
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Donelan, Captain A.
Douglas, Charles M. (Lanark)
Duncan, J. Hastings
Dunn, Sir William
Edwards, Frank
Elibank, Master of
Ellice, Capt. E. C (SAndrw'sBghs
Ellis, John Edward (Notts.)
Evans, Sir Fran. H. (Maidstone)
Evans, Samuel T. (Glamorgan)
Farquharson, Dr. Robert
Fenwick, Charles
Ferguson, R. C. Munro (Leith)
Ffrench, Peter
Field, William
Fitzmaurice, Lord Edmond
Flynn, James Christopher
Foster, Sir Walter (Derby Co.)
Fowler, Rt. Hon. Sir Henry
Freeman-Thomas, Captain F.
Furness, Sir Christopher
Grant, Coirrie
Grey, Rt. Hn. Sir E. (Berwick)
Guest, Hon. Ivor Churchill
Hain, Edward
Haldane, Rt. Hon. Richard B.
Harcourt, Lewis V. (Rossendale
Harcourt, RtHn. SirW (Monm'th
Hardie, J. Keir (MerthyrTydvil
Harwood, George
Hayter, Rt. Hon. Sir Arthur D.
Helme, Norval Watson
Hemphill, Rt. Hon. Charles H.
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Holland, Sir William Henry
Hope, John Deans (Fife, West)
Horniman, Frederick John
Humphreys-Owen, Arthur C.
Hutchinson, Dr. Charles Fredk.
Hutton, Alfred E. (Morley)
Jacoby, James Alfred
Joicey, Sir James
Jones, D. Brynmor (Swansea)
Jones, William (Carnarvonshire
Jordan, Jeremiah
Joyce, Michael
Kearley, Hudson E.
Kilbride, Denis
Kitson, Sir James
Labouchere, Henry
Lambert, George
Langley, Batty
Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cornwall)
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Leese, Sir Jos. F. (Accrington)
Leng, Sir John
Levy, Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Lloyd-George, David
Lough, Thomas
Lundon, W.
Lyell, Charles Henry
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
M'Crae, George
M'Kenna, Reginald
Mansfield, Horace Rendall
Mappin, Sir Frederick Torpe
Mitchell, Edw. (Fermanagh, N.
Morgan, J. Lloyd (Carmarthen)
Morley, Charles (Breconshire)
Morley, Rt. Hon. John (Montrose
Moss, Samuel
Norman, Henry
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
Nussey, Thomas Willans
O'Brien, K. (Tipperary, Mid.)
O'Connor, James (Wicklow, W.
O'Doherty, William
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
Parrott, William
Partington, Oswald
Paulton, James Mellor
Pease, J. A. (Saffron Walden)
Perks, Robert William
Price, Robert John
Priestley, Arthur
Rea, Russell
Reddy, M.
Reid, Sir R. Threshie (Dumfries
Roberts, John Bryn (Eifion)
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.)
Robertson, Edmund (Dundee)
Robson, William Snowdon
Roche, John
Roe, Sir Thomas
Runciman, Walter
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Schwann, Charles E.
Shaw, Thomas (Hawick B.)
Sheehy, David
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Sinclair, John (Forfarshire)
Slack, John Bamford
Sloan, Thomas Henry
Soames, Arthur Wellesley
Soares, Ernest J.
Stanhope, Hon. Philip James
Stevenson, Francis S.
Sullivan, Donal

Taylor, Theodore C. (Radcliffe)
Tennant, Harold John
Thomas, Sir A. (Glamorgan,E.)
Thomas, D. Alfred (Merthyr)
Thomson, F. W. (York, W. R.)
Tomkinson, James
Toulmin, George
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Wallace, Robert
Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan)
Wason, JohnCathcart(Orkney)
White, George (Norfolk)
White, Luke (York, E. R.)
Whiteley, George (York, W.R.)
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
Whittaker, Thomas Palmer
Williams, Osmond (Merioneth)
Wilson, Chas. Henry (Hull,W.)
Wilson, J. W. (Worcestersh., N.
Woodhouse,Sir J.T(Huddersf'd
Yoxall, James Henry

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Mr. Herbert Gladstone and Mr. William M'Arthur.

NOES.

Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
Aird, Sir John
Allhusen,Augustus HenryEden
Ambrose, Robert
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster,Rt.Hn.Hugh O.
Arrol, Sir William
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Austin, Sir John
Bagot, Capt. Josceline FitzRoy
Bailey, James (Walworth)
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Baird, John George Alexander
Balcarres, Lord
Baldwin, Alfred
Balfour, Rt.Hon. A.J.(Manch'r
Balfour, Capt. C. B. (Hornsey)
Balfour, Rt. Hon. G. W. (Leeds
Balfour, Kenneth R. (Christch.
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Barry, Sir Francis T. (Windsor)
Bartley, Sir George C. T.
Beach,Rt.Hn.Sir MichaelHicks
Bentinck, Lord Henry C.
Bhownaggree, Sir M. M.
Bignold, Arthur
Bigwood, James
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Bond, Edward
Boscawen, Arthur Griffith
Boulnois, Edmund
Bowles, T.Gibson(King's Lynn
Brassey Albert
Brodrick Rt. Hon. St. John
Burdett-Coutts, W.
Butcher, John George
Campbell, Rt.Hn.J.A.(Glasgow
Campbell, J.H.M.(DublinUniv.
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Cavendish, R. F. (N. Lancs.)
Cavendish, V.C.W. (Derbyshire
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Cecil, Lord Hugh (Greenwich)
Chamberlain, Rt.Hon.J.(Birm.
Chamberlain,Rt.Hn.J.A.(Worc
Chaplin, Rt. Hon. Henry
Chapman, Edward
Charrington, Spencer
Clive, Captain Percy A.
Coates, Edward Feetham
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Coddington, Sir William
Coghill, Douglas Harry
Cohen, Benjamin Louis
Colston, Chas. Edw. H. Athole
Cox, Irwin Edward Bainbridge
Craig,Charles Curtis(Antrim,S.)
Crean, Eugene
Cripps, Charles Alfred
Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Cubitt, Hon. Henry
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Davenport, William Bromley
Davies, Sir H. D. (Chatham)
Denny, Colonel
Dickinson, Robert Edmond
Dickson, Charles Scott
Dickson-Poynder, Sir John P.
Digby, John K. D. Wingfield-
Dimsdale, Rt.Hn. Sir Joseph C.
Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
Dixon-Hartland,Sir FredDixon
Doogan, P. C.
Dorington, Rt.Hn. Sir John E.
Doughty, George
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers
Doxford, Sir William Theodore
Duke, Henry Edward
Durning-Lawrence, Sir Edwin
Dyke, Rt.Hn.Sir William Hart
Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
Elliot, Hon. A. Ralph Douglas
Fergusson, Rt.Hn.SirJ(Manc'r
Fielden, Edward Brocklehurst
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
Firbank, Sir Joseph Thomas
Fisher, William Hayes
Fison, Frederick William
FitzGerald, Sir Robert Penrose
Fitzroy, Hn. Edward Algernon
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Flower, Sir Ernest
Forster, Henry William
Gardner, Ernest
Garfit, William
Gibbs, Hon. A. G. H.
Gordon, Hn.J.E.(Elgin&Nairn)
Gordon, Maj. E. (T'r Hamlets)
Goulding, Edward Alfred
Graham, Henry Robert
Gray, Ernest (West Ham)
Greene,Sir E.W(B'rySEdm'nds
Greene, Henry D.(Shrewsbury)
Greene, W. Raymond (Cambs.)
Grenfell, William Henry
Gretton, John
Groves, James Grimble
Gunter, Sir Robert
Halsey, Rt. Hon. Thomas F.
Hardy, L. (Kent, Ashford)
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Harris, F. Leverton (Tynem'th
Haslam, Sir Alfred S.
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Heath, Arthur Howard(Hanley
Heath, James (Staffords., N.W.
Heaton, John Henniker
Helder, Augustus
Hermon-Hodge, Sir Robert T.
Hickman, Sir Alfred
Hoare, Sir Samuel
Hogg, Lindsay
Hope, J.F.(Sheffield,Brightside
Horner, Frederick William
Houldsworth, Sir Wm. Henry
Hoult, Joseph
Houston, Robert Paterson
Howard, Jn.(Kent, Faversham
Howard, J.(Midd., Tottenham)
Hozier, Hn. James Henry Cecil
Hudson, George Bickersteth
Hunt, Rowland
Jebb, Sir Richard Claverhouse
Jeffreys, Rt. Hon. Arthur Fred.
Johnstone, Heywood (Sussex)
Kennaway, Rt.Hn.Sir John H.
Kenyon, Hn. Geo. T. (Denbigh)
Kenyon-Slaney, Col. W.(Salop.
Kimber, Henry
Lambton, Hon. Frederick Wm.
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
Lawrence, Wm. F. (Liverpool)
Lawson, J. Grant (Yorks., N.R.
Lee, A. H. (Hants., Fareham)
Lees, Sir Elliott (Birkenhead)
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Leveson-Gower, Frederick N.S.
Llewellyn, Evan Henry
Lockwood, Lieut.-Col. A. R.
Loder, Gerald Walter Erskine
Long, Col.Charles W. (Evesham
Long, Rt.Hn.Walter(Bristol,S.)
Lowe, Francis William
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas, Col. Francis (Lowestoft)
Lucas, Reginald J.(Portsmouth
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
Macdona, John Cumming
MacIver, David (Liverpool)
Maconochie, A. W.
M'Fadden, Edward
M'Kean, John
M'Killop, James (Stirlingshire)
M'Killop, W. (Sligo, North)
Majendie, James A. H.
Malcolm, Ian
Martin, Richard Biddulph
Maxwell,RtHn.Sir H.E(Wigt'n
Melville, Beresford Valentine
Meysey-Thompson, Sir H. M.
Middlemore, Jn. Throgmorton
Mildmay, Francis Bingham
Milner, Rt.Hn. Sir Frederick G.
Milvain, Thomas

Mitchell, William (Burnley)
Molesworth, Sir Lewis
Montagu, G. (Huntingdon)
Moon, Edward Robert Pacy
Moore, William
Morpeth, Viscount
Morrison, James Archibald
Morton, Arthur H. Aylmer
Mount, William Arthur
Mowbray, Sir Robert Gray C.
Muntz, Sir Philip A.
Murray, Rt. Hon. A. G. (Bute)
Murray, Charles J. (Coventry)
Murray, Col. Wyndham (Bath)
Myers, William Henry
Nannetti, Joseph P.
Newdegate, Francis A. N.
Nicholson, William Graham
Nolan, Col.John P.(Galway,N.)
Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South)
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Brien, P. J. (Tipperary, N.)
O'Dowd, John
O'Kelly, Jas. (Roscommon,N.)
Parker, Sir Gilbert
Parkes, Ebenezer
Pease,Herbert Pike(Darlington
Peel, Hn.Wm.Robert Wellesley
Pemberton, John S. G.
Percy, Earl
Pierpoint, Robert
Pilkington, Colonel Richard
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Plummer, Walter R.
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Pretyman, Ernest George
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Pym, C. Guy
Quilter, Sir Cuthbert
Rankin, Sir James
Rasch, Sir Frederic Carne
Ratcliff, R. F.
Reid, James (Greenock)
Remnant, James Farquharson
Renshaw, Sir Charles Bine
Renwick, George
Richards, Henry Charles
Ridley, S.Forde(Bethnal Green
Ritchie, Rt.Hn.Chas. Thomson
Roberts, Samuel (Sheffield)
Robinson, Brooke
Rolleston, Sir John F. L.
Rollit, Sir Albert Kaye
Ropner, Colonel Sir Robert
Rothschild, Hon.Lionel Walter
Royds, Clement Molyneux
Rutherford, John (Lancashire)
Rutherford, W. W. (Liverpool)
Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford
Sadler, Col. Samuel Alexander
Samuel, Sir H. S. (Limehouse)
Sandys, Lieut.-Col.Thos. Myles
Sassoon, Sir Edward Albert
Seely, Charles Hilton (Lincoln)
Seton-Karr, Sir Henry
Sharpe, William Edward T.
Shaw-Stewart, Sir H.(Renfrew)
Sheehan, Daniel Daniel
Simeon, Sir Barrington
Skewes-Cox, Thomas
Smith, Abel H.(Hertford,East)
Smith,H C(North'mb.Tyneside
Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
Spencer, Sir E. (W. Bromwich)
Stanley, Hon.Arthur(Ormskirk
Stanley, Edward Jas.(Somerset
Stanley, Rt. Hon. Lord(Lancs.)
Stewart, Sir Mark J. M'Taggart
Stirling-Maxwell, Sir John M.
Stone, Sir Benjamin
Stroyan, John
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Talbot, Rt.Hn.J.G(Oxf'dUniv.)
Taylor, Austin (East Toxteth)
Thorburn, Sir Walter
Thornton, Percy M.
Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
Tritton, Charles Ernest
Tuff, Charles
Valentia, Viscount
Vincent,Col.Sir C.E.H(Sheffield
Walker, Col. William Hall
Walrond, Rt.Hn.Sir WilliamH.
Wanklyn, James Leslie
Warde, Colonel C. E.
Webb, Colonel William George
Welby, Lt.-Col.A.C.E(Taunton
Welby, Sir Charles G.E.(Notts.)
Whitmore, Charles Algernon
Williams, Colonel R. (Dorset)
Wills, Sir Frederick
Wilson, A. Stanley (Yorks,E.R.
Wilson, John (Glasgow)
Wilson-Todd, Sir W.H.(Yorks.)
Wodehouse, Rt.Hn. E.R.(Bath
Wolff, Gustav Wilhelm
Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B. Stuart
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George
Wyndham-Quin, Col. W. H.
Yerburgh, Robert Armstrong
Young, Samuel
Younger, William

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Sir Alexander Acland-Hood and Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes.

MR. COURTENAY WARNER (Staffordshire, Lichfield) said the object of the Amendment he had placed on the Paper was not to injure the Bill in any way, but to give to the publican a greater security than was afforded by the words in the clause. The clause as drafted would not in some cases cover the publican's loss. The licensee might have made considerable alterations in his house for the purposes of trade which would have no value whatever for private purposes, but that expenditure would not come in under the words of the Bill. His proposal was very nearly the same as that in the Bill, but it defined the matter in such a way that the publican was more protected, although the contributors to the compensation fund would not have to pay any larger amount. He begged to move.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 1, line 6, to leave out from the word 'than' to the word 'shall' in line 9, and insert the words 'that the house or shop in respect of which a licence is held, or any adjacent house or shop owned or occupied by the person holding the licence is of a disorderly character, or frequented by thieves, prostitutes, or persons of bad character, or that the holder of the licence has failed to comply with an order for structural alterations under Section 11, Sub-section 4, of the Licensing Act of 1902.'"—(*Mr. Courtenay Warner.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the clause."

SIR EDWARD CARSON said it was impossible to accept the Amendment, the wording of which was much more limited and inappropriate than that of the clause.

MR. COURTENAY WARNER thought the words in the Bill would press very hardly in certain cases. It was true that the Amendment imposed a limit, but it was the old limit, and the persons affected knew what would happen under it, whereas they did not know at all what the magistrates would do under the words of the Bill.

MR. MOSS (Denbighshire, E.) submitted that the words of the Amendment were not narrower than those of the Bill, inasmuch as they extended to "any adjacent house or shop owned or occupied by the person holding the licence."

SIR EDWARD CARSON said that they might go into the character of the licensee.

MR. MOSS agreed that they might go into the character of the licensee, but not into the character of the premises. The house, as well as the person conducting the house, might have a bad character, and if the licensee was the owner of adjoining premises which was of a disorderly character, and that was not to be a ground for refusing the licence, they might have cases in which licensed premises would be evading the law.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE was disposed to agree with the Solicitor-General, but he asked whether the right hon. and learned Gentleman considered that the words would enable the magistrates, if they considered the house to be of bad character, to deal with the matter without compensation being paid.

SIR EDWARD CARSON: It would be "ill-conducted."

MR. COURTENAY WARNER said the publican desired some definition of the word "ill-conducted." A very wide discretion was left to the magistrates, and houses which were considered to be "ill-conducted" in some places would not be so regarded in others.

SIR EDWARD CARSON said he really could not interfere with the discretion of the magistrates in this matter.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Drafting Amendment agreed to.

MR. HERBERT ROBERTS (Denbighshire, W.) (on behalf of the hon. Member for the Spalding Division) moved an Amendment to include, as a ground for refusing the renewal of a licence, the non-provision of reasonable refreshment. Many witnesses before the Royal Commission complained of the difficulty of obtaining reasonable refreshment at public-houses, and it was only right that in a Bill under which a new system with regard to the magistrates' discretion was laid down, it should be made perfectly clear that this was a ground upon which the justices might act without paying compensation. He begged to move.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 1, line 7, after the words 'ill-conducted' to insert the words "or for not having provided reasonable refreshment.'"—(*Mr. Herbert Roberts.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. MANSFIELD (Lincolnshire, Spalding) said the Amendment aimed at stopping the growing tendency to turn the village inn into a drinking shop. A few years ago it was comparatively easy to obtain tea or coffee and something to eat at most public-houses, but any such demand now was usually met by a stony stare, and the would-be customer had to wait an interminable time. A system had grown up under which the sole object appeared to be the sale of intoxicating liquors, and any person who was not prepared to take beer or spirits had to be content with ærated waters, which were more or less alcoholic and almost as poisonous as some of the intoxicating liquors, or to put up with stale ginger-beer. The object of the Amendment was to enable a large body of the general public, such as cyclists, to obtain the refreshment they needed. It was not likely that any bench of magistrates would refuse the renewal of a licence on the ground that tea or coffee had not been provided, but it was desirable that they should retain the powers they at present possessed, because a suggestion from the magistrates often carried more weight than anything else. This proposal was made in order to prevent village public-houses being turned simply into drinking shops, and to make them places where the public could get the refreshments they required. That was why he was anxious that this Amendment should be carried, and it could not possibly do the trade any harm. The brewer and the publican in these debates had been regarded as synonymous terms, but that was not so. The Amendment was not aimed against the interest of the publican, because he would get as much profit out of tea as beer. He had another Amendment on the Paper which had to do with the provision of bedroom accommodation, and perhaps he would be allowed to move that a little later on. This Amendment could not possibly do any harm, and it was certain to do a great deal of good. If the Government were anxious for temperance reform, as they professed to be, then they ought to hail with delight an Amendment to encourage the drinking of tea instead of alcoholic liquors.

MR. CATHCART WASON (Orkney and Shetland) said that although the Amendment of his hon. friend was drawn in wider terms than the one he himself had given notice of he cordially supported it. Every one of them must have experienced the immense difficulty in getting an ordinary cup of tea or even a glass of water at one of this class of beerhouses or hotels in the country, and even in London. This was one of the most important Amendments which had been moved during the whole of the discussion upon this stage of the Bill, and it would do more to promote temperance than any other suggestion which had been made. Many of these beerhouses existed merely for the purpose of selling so many barrels of beer, and that was the *raison d'être* of their existence. They had been established not because the public wanted them, but because the brewer wanted to sell so much beer. They ought to let the country see plainly whether this Bill was moved with the object of promoting temperance, or whether it had been introduced in the interests of brewers. The question was whether those houses were to exist as refreshment houses or whether only intoxicating liquors were to be sold in them. His hon. friend was asking for very little in this Amendment which would do a great amount of good in the direction of temperance reform. There was scarcely 5 per cent. of the hotels in London where a working man could go to and ask for a cup of tea without standing a chance of being kicked out. The public-houses existed in order to provide refreshment for the public, and not simply for the consumption of intoxicating liquors. He hoped that the Government would accept this Amendment.

THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. COCHRANE, Ayrshire, N.) said the Amendment recalled to his mind a debate last year on a private Member's Bill to which he was able to give some sympathy and support. That Bill only sought to affect innkeepers, who were, of course, under a different obligation from that of the ordinary public-house keeper. The law remained that, if the refusal to supply reasonable refreshment was of a gross character, it would constitute misconduct, and in that case the innkeeper would not be entitled under this Bill to receive compensation if his licence were taken away. There was no such obligation in the case of a public-house, and, if the House was unwilling last year to pass a Bill dealing solely with innkeepers, it was unlikely that they would now desire further to extend the obligation in the case of public-houses. He did not think this was a favourable opportunity for promoting an object which in itself was desirable, that innkeepers should more often supply refreshments of a non-intoxicating character. But in all parts of the country shops for the supply of such refreshments were springing up, and if the trade was a paying one he had no doubt that in the course of time it would be extended in the desired direction.

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON, in supporting the Amendment, thought the refusal to serve reasonable refreshments of a non-alcoholic kind ought to be a ground for refusing a licence. There had undoubtedly been too much of this on the part of these public monopolists. They had refused reasonable refreshment to particular classes, and to his mind that was the most serious grievance of all. There had been many complaints that soldiers and sailors in uniform had been unfairly discriminated against, and if he were a magistrate, and found a licensed victualler so treating anyone who wore His Majesty's uniform, he should not hesitate to withdraw his licence. But there was another grievance, which, though less common, was even worse. He referred to the attempted discrimination in regard to persons holding certain opinions. They had in the past seen what was a reign of terror in connection with the South African War. No man who held certain opinions about that war could hold his own anywhere. [AN HON. MEMBER: He can now.] Yes, the tide of opinion has changed on that subject. Opinions which one could now freely express could only be expressed then to the danger of the persons expressing them, and that with the encouragement, he was sorry to say, of persons in high position. There were within his own knowledge and within a stone's throw of this House two cases of hotels which attempted that discrimination. He should have taken away the licences from those houses with as little hesitation as from those that discriminated in the case of soldiers and sailors. On both these grounds he strongly supported the Amendment.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE said he was sorry that the Government could not see their way to accept this Amendment. The Solicitor-General, as they had seen once or twice, exercised an independent judgment on these matters, and he would appeal to him to give the Committee a better answer than had been given up to the present on behalf of the Government. Their acceptance of the Amendment would not interfere with the structure of the Bill, and it would enable them to render one little bit of service to temperance. He hoped the hon. Gentleman would not be intimidated by the fact that he had the hon. Member for Burton-on-Trent sitting behind him. The Under-Secretary had assumed that this was an extension of the obligations of the justices. If this were included in the Bill it would not compel magistrates to refuse a licence simply because refreshments were refused, but it would give them discretionary power to do so.

SIR EDWARD CARSON indicated assent.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE said he was glad that the Solicitor-General assented to that proposition. The proposal in the clause was depriving the magistrates of that power. A great monopoly was given to them by the public, and the magistrates, on behalf of the public, should be able to bring pressure to bear on them to exercise it fairly towards the public. What was the position at present when a licence-holder was asked for a cup of tea or coffee, or some substantial refreshment? He had known cases where the persons making the request had been rather insolently refused because it meant too much trouble. He was told by a former Member of this House, who was not a teetotaler, that on asking a publican in the country for a cup of tea he was answered in a perfectly insolent fashion. That gentleman wrote to the chairman of the bench of magistrates, and the same thing, he believed, would not occur in that public-house again. But if this Bill were passed what could the publican do? He would know perfectly well that the magistrates could not interfere, and that if they took away the licence because of the refusal to supply a cup of tea they could only do it by giving compensation. The magistrates should have the power to warn the publican not to repeat the offence, and that if it was repeated they would consider next year whether they would renew the licence. That sort of warning was useful without actually depriving a man of his licence. He asked the Solicitor-General whether he could not see his way to include that in the Bill. It would not come within the category of an ill-conducted public-house. He believed that on both sides of the House they wanted to discourage the mere drinking saloon. That was the sort of thing that had been done in America by men who were against prohibition, and in favour of a modified form of drinking saloon. The old inn which provided bedroom accommodation and refreshments for man and beast was disappearing in this country, and it was for the beasts alone that accommodation was provided in a good many of them. He was dwelling on this at the present moment because the Amendment was the first of a series of the same kind. The houses recently set up by the public-house trusts were working on the line of providing something besides intoxicating liquors. They were engaged in providing non-intoxicating refreshments and rather restricting the sale of drink. He was not suggesting merely the form of words contained in the Amendment. If the Solicitor-General could suggest any other form to carry out the object in view they would be acceptable to Members on that side of the House. The Government by accepting the Amendment would be able to render substantial assistance to the cause of real temperance. The Government must remember that the state of things had been considerably aggravated of late by the tied-house system, and that was why greater emphasis ought to be placed on Amendments of this character. In this matter no encouragement would come from the brewery company or managers, because they did not wish to develop trade on those lines. Pressure must come from the magistrates who represented the public and they must have the power of insisting on reasonable refreshments being provided for the public.

Mr. ASQUITH (Fifeshire, E.) said he had hoped that the Solicitor-General would have risen in response to the invitation of his hon. friend, but the right hon. Gentleman had given no indication that he desired to do so. He wished to reinforce what had been said. He looked upon this as a very important Amendment, but the Under-Secretary in the remarks he made had not appreciated the real position. It was not a question as to who was under legal obligation. He quite agreed that the obligation was cast upon innkeepers and innkeepers alone. It was a question of policy, and the position was that in a large number of cases, owing in a considerable degree, as his hon. friend had stated, to the development of the tied-house system, persons who previously carried on these public-houses to all intents and purposes as inns as well as places for the sale of drink had come under the strongest inducement to subordinate that side of the business, and in some cases to stop it altogether, and to become agents for the sale of drink of one particular brewery. Places which were undoubtedly intended, when the law conferred on the occupiers the monopoly in a district of supplying intoxicating liquors, as places to which everybody could resort for reasonable refreshment, had more and more degenerated into mere drinking saloons. He did not think anybody who was acquainted with the social conditions of the country would say that that was an exaggerated picture. It really was, in many of our rural districts, in particular, a serious provocation to intemperance. How had the magistrates dealt with this? The magistrates at present had absolutely unfettered discretion when a licence-holder came and asked for a renewal of his licence. It was perfectly competent for them to say: "You shall not have this monopoly for the sale of drink unless you will at the same time undertake that the wayfarer and sojourner in this part of the world shall at your premises find reasonable refreshment." A reasonable condition or stipulation to annex when conferring a monopoly. Many magistrates had taken the view that a matter they might fairly take into their consideration was whether a particular applicant should or should not have his licence renewed in these circumstances. That was the state of the law. Let them look at the state of the law that would be created by this Bill. That power was taken away entirely from the magistrates, because this was not one of the grounds enumerated in the Bill in which the magistrates could continue to exercise the unlimited discretion which they at present possessed. What followed? He would suppose a flagrant case where licensed premises which might have been used as a place of refreshment had been turned into nothing more nor less than a drinking shop. The licensing justices would have no jurisdiction in the matter at all. They would have to go to quarter sessions, and quarter sessions would be in this dilemma. Either they must renew the licence, or, if they refused to renew it, compensation must be paid out of the fund. In the majority of cases the licence would be continued to a person who had shown himself unfit to possess it. That was what the effect of the Bill would be unless the Amendment were accepted. They were discussing here a question of principle, and what they wanted was to get from the Government some indication of opinion that they would continue to the magistrates their present discretion to refuse the renewal of licences in cases when tea and coffee were not provided.

Sir EDWARD CARSON said that, in considering this Amendment, it was necessary to distinguish between the ordinary inn and the ordinary public-house. The right hon. Gentleman opposite said unless food and tea and coffee were provided in inns, they became nothing but drinking saloons. In the case of the ordinary inn, there was a common-law obligation on the keeper to provide reasonable refreshment, food, and accommodation, and, therefore, as he could be indicted for a refusal to discharge that obligation, his premises would come within the Bill as ill-conducted premises. He thought it was hardly in doubt that if a man was indicted for this particular offence and convicted before a jury and if that conviction were brought before the licensing magistrates they would arrive at the conclusion that he was not a fit person to have a licence. As the hon. Member the Under-Secretary for the Home Department had stated, a Bill was brought in last year to provide an easier method by summary procedure to compel the innkeeper to discharge this obligation. The Bill passed this House by a large majority, but for some reason or other it was dropped in another place and never became law. The main discussion on this Amendment, however, and certainly the opening statement of the hon. Member who moved it, had reference to the owners of public-houses who were not discharging the duty they ought to perform in failing to provide reasonable refreshments. The case of the ordinary public-house was much more difficult than that of the ordinary inn. What the hon. Member who put the Amendment on the paper wanted to do was to turn every public-house into a hotel.

Mr. MANSFIELD: Into an inn.

Sir EDWARD CARSON said that the Amendment proposed that the keeper of an ordinary public-house should give to everybody who demanded it "reasonable refreshment." He hoped the Committee would not think he was not trying to do what was best in relation to these public-houses. The hon. Member for Carnarvon made an appeal to him to give way on this Amendment. Well, if there could be a means of putting an obligation on the owner of a public-house to give refreshment in certain cases, he could not say that there would be any objection to that, but what he wanted to point out was that the penalty proposed for failure to provide refreshments was far too great. What the hon. Member opposite wanted to enact was that if a public-house keeper did not provide "reasonable refreshment" —whatever that might mean—he could be deprived of his licence without compensation although he had subscribed to the insurance fund. That was a penalty that would be out of proportion to the offence he had committed, in most cases at all events. They all knew that there had been a great increase in the number of those houses which did supply refreshments; but he might mention that he had had several letters since the Bill was brought into the House expressing the hope that the Bill would not, at all events, increase the amount of refreshments that were given in public-houses, on the ground that the providing of tea in public-houses might be a temptation to a man who only wanted a cup of tea to take intoxicating liquor. [Opposition laughter.] He did not say he agreed with that, but that view had been put before him. Take the case of a public-house where month after month refreshments outside drink had not been asked for. Was the owner of that public-house to keep on his premises always "reasonable refreshments" when they might not be inquired for, and would be wasted? He could not say more than that he would consider the matter, and see whether, if the power the magistrate now had was taken away, they could not put pressure in some other way on the publicans to supply these refreshments without subjecting them to a penalty out of all proportion to the offence, of depriving them of their licences without compensation.

*Sir HENRY FOWLER (Wolverhampton, E.) said the Amendment did not propose to enact that the magistrates should refuse to renew the licence of a publican who did not supply temperance refreshments. All it proposed to do was to leave in the hands of the magistrates the discretion they at present possessed with regard to the management of public-houses. The Solicitor-General had not referred to the cases of refusing refreshments to soldiers and sailors in uniform. Did the right hon. Gentleman sympathise with those refusals?

SIR EDWARD CARSON: I do not.

*SIR HENRY FOWLER said that they could not expect a soldier or a sailor to take action in such cases, although it was a direct insult to the uniform. To meet such cases the magistrates should continue to have the power to refuse the renewal of the licence. The mere threat to do that would put a stop to such practices. There had been many cases where soldiers had been refused refreshment, and the licensee, when he came up for renewal of his licence, had promised it would never occur again. He did not think it would be necessary to take a division if the Home Secretary would give a pledge to reconsider the question, and bring up a clause on Report which would end the grievance of a sailor or a soldier in uniform being refused refreshment, to which he was entitled just as much as any other man in his working clothes.

MR. STUART WORTLEY (Sheffield, Hallam) said that while he was in sympathy with the principle of the Amendment, he objected to its form. If it were adopted, it would practically amount to compelling the magistrates to treat a refusal to supply refreshment on the same footing as unfitness or want of character. That would create a new condition of affairs. He thought there were some grounds for a new clause in another part of the Bill to define what reasonable refreshment meant, but to withdraw a licence because a man refused on one occasion to supply a cup of tea would be ridiculous and unreasonable. The Committee ought to be glad that the Solicitor-General had undertaken to consider the Amendment, and to bring forward a new clause.

MR. BROADHURST (Leicester) said that before the Opposition decided not to take a division they should receive something stronger than the promise of the Solicitor-General. When, two or three years ago, another Licensing Bill was under discussion the feeling of the Grand Committee was strongly in favour of the proposal, and the Amendment was only defeated by the Government declaring that it would not fit in with the general scheme of the Bill. The hon. Gentleman the Member for South Derbyshire, who spoke with great authority on this question, promised to support him if he would give him an independent proposal. On that point he divided the House on the Report stage of the Bill, and was defeated by eighteen votes only. Again the Government expressed full sympathy with the proposal, viz., that the licensed houses should be compelled by law to supply these refreshments. Subsequently he brought in a Bill on the subject. His hon. friend the Member for North-West Norfolk moved the Second Reading, which was carried, and the Bill went to the Grand Committee, where it was defeated in consequence of some proceedings in connection with the Copyright Bill. As the law stood there was no legal remedy whatever. The only satisfaction a complaining party could get, to whom light refreshments were refused, was to make a complaint at the brewster sessions. He knew a case where a gentleman travelled from Lancashire to the Isle of Wight specially for that purpose. The Solicitor-General had said that the number of houses supplying these refreshments was on the increase. He would like to know what authority he had for making that statement. His belief was that these houses were decreasing. As the tied-house system extended the freedom of the tenant was curtailed, and he was prevented by his agreement with the brewer from selling anything in which the brewer had not an interest. He appealed to the Government to make the concession.

MR. MIDDLEMORE (Birmingham, N.) said that he had heard with very great satisfaction that the Government proposed to accept, not this Amendment because it appeared to be impossible, but something in that direction which would not inflict any injury whatever on the trade. This was really a very important proposal in the interests of temperance, and one which was fair and just to the very poor. What was the condition of a man who lived in the most wretched quarter of his own constituency? He had to live in a dark, ill-lighted street, with a limited view of the sky. Such a man naturally sought light and refreshment, but the only condition on which he could visit a public-house involved his taking alcohol. That was unfair, because if he was a weak man he formed the alcoholic habit, and became a drunkard. That should be prevented. He thought very strongly that the present monopoly should not be continued except conditionally, and one of the conditions should be that a man should be able to have a cup of tea or coffee.

MR. BRYCE (Aberdeen, S.) said he hoped the Home Secretary would reconsider the question from the point of view of the immense increase in the demand for refreshment on the part of persons using the roads of the country. The hon. Member who had just spoken said, very truly, that there was often a demand in the lower quarters of the great towns for refreshment which could only be obtained at a public-house. Having recently made extensive excursions through England, he was very much struck by the immense number of people who used the roads, and who sought refreshment at the smaller wayside inns. There was no doubt that in many parts of England there was an insuffîcent number of places supplying refreshments. This was perhaps not the best form in which an Amendment of this kind should be introduced, but the only answer which the Solicitor-General had made was that the licensing justices had power to deal with the matter. Surely they could trust the magistrates to use this power in a reasonable way. He hoped the Home Secretary would give the Committee a pledge that the Government would deal with this matter.

*MR. AKERS-DOUGLAS said the hon. Member who moved this Amendment contended that reasonable refreshments ought to be provided at all licensed houses, and he asked the Committee to repudiate the action of innkeepers who refuse to serve soldiers wearing the King's uniform. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Aberdeenshire had alluded to the difficulty of obtaining reasonable non-alcoholic refreshment in certain districts in the country, which he had illustrated by his own personal experience, and he had also stated that he thought it was desirable that all licensees should be compelled, as a condition of their licence, to supply refreshments of this sort. He agreed that inconvenience did arise from inability to get light refreshments at public-houses; but he could not agree to accept the proposed Amendment, because it would mean that a man's claim to compensation might be refused on the ground that he had not supplied this class of refreshment. He could not consent to accept this Amendment, or agree to any Amendment which would place so great a hardship upon the owners of houses. The Solicitor-General had promised to consider this question, and to see whether it was possible, in another portion of this Bill, to insert a clause to meet the desires of hon. Members who thought this class of refreshments should be provided in all houses. He would confirm the undertaking given by the Solicitor-General to give consideration to the question, and see whether, in some other part of the Bill, the desire of hon. Members could be given effect to. If the Amendment were introduced in the clause as proposed, it would be unfair to the licensee He agreed with the hon. Member for Sheffield that if this Amendment were passed the justices would look upon it as a direction to refuse compensation if the licensee had not agreed to supply light refreshments of this character. Upon this point he could not go further than the Solicitor-General had gone.

MR. TREVELYAN (Yorkshire, W.R., Elland) said the Home Secretary took up the position that it would be a hardship to refuse compensation in the case of a public-house which had not performed its obligation. But, after all, the obligation proposed was very small, namely, that a certain amount of non-alcoholic refreshment should be forthcoming. It was not the small out-of-the-way public-houses which failed in that respect. He knew very few places in the out-of-the-way parts of Northumberland where people could not get tea and bread and butter, or eggs and bacon, simply for the asking. The real grievance was experienced in the case of the big public-house where they had so much custom in alcoholic liquors that there was no inducement to them to supply other kinds of refreshment. Moderate reformers should press for this Amendment because it would tend to improve the character of public-houses and make them places to which respectable people might resort for necessary refreshment, and where, at present, in many instances no respectable person would think of entering. For these reasons he thought this Amendment was an eminently useful one and ought to be pressed to a division.

MR. AUSTIN TAYLOR (Liverpool, East Toxteth) said the confusion upon this question had arisen owing to the limitation of the discretion of magistrates to the particular grounds specified in the Bill. In the past there had been no limitations of this character, and the magistrates had had an absolute discretion. Consequently, in considering the renewal of any licence, they were able to take into their purview such grounds as were covered by the Amendment which had been moved by the hon. Member opposite, and though, of course, they were not bound to refuse the renewal of the licence they were able to take into consideration offences more or less parallel to that which was the subject of this Amendment. By the terms of this clause they were limited to the specified conditions and, therefore, such matters as were dealt with by this Amendment were ruled out. Consequently they would probably be confronted with a series of attempts to widen the terms and conditions under which a magistrate might refuse the renewal of a licence without compensation. The essence of temperance reform was that the divorce between eating and drinking in the public-house should be removed and an encouragement given to licensed premises to provide for the consumption of food as well as of liquor. The Amendment would not meet the particular grievance it was designed to remove. Drinking was divorced from eating in ordinary public-houses, because the provision of eatables did not pay so well as the provision of drink. That was the real difficulty of the situation, and, so long as it paid him better, the publican would naturally prefer to supply drink rather than food. He failed to see how the Amendment, if accepted, would operate in favour of temperance. There were three specified grounds upon which the magistrates could refuse the renewal of a licence without compensation, and the Amendment sought to add a fourth. His own view was that the more the particular grounds on which the renewal of licences could be refused were defined, the more would the discretion of the magistrates be limited. The vaguer the terms of the conditions upon which the magistrates were allowed to exercise their discretion the more widely they would be able to utilise their powers for the advancement of temperance. He, therefore, thought the Government were wise in refusing to accept the Amendment at the present stage, though he felt that the Home Secretary had somewhat "watered down" the pledge of the Solicitor-General to deal with the question in a later portion of the Bill. He hoped that when the time came the Government would see that the obligation was imposed upon the tenants of public-houses to supply more solid refreshment and not to rely chiefly upon the supply of alcohol.

SIR ROBERT REID said that when publicans were being placed by Parliament in an exceptionally favourable position it was not right that they should be allowed to refuse to serve any class, whether soldiers or anybody else, or to discriminate in any way as to the persons they would supply, so long as the applicants were sober and behaved themselves respectably. The Government had intimated their disposition to remedy or to palliate that state of things. Their task, however, was a very difficult one, because the clause was so drawn as to cover much more than at first met the eye. The idea generally entertained with regard to the clause was that when licences were discontinued in the public interest compensation was to be paid, and the judges of the compensation were to be not the local magistrates, but the quarter sessions. The scope of the clause, however, was much wider. The local justices had power to refuse renewals only upon three grounds, subject to appeal. All other grounds upon which under the existing law the magistrates were able to discontinue licences vanished at once, because they were remitted to quarter sessions, and, if they were acted upon, compensation became payable. He felt bound to express his admiration of the draftsman of the Bill; a more cunningly devised or deftly constructed measure he had never seen. It was necessary to watch every line closely to see how the Bill went. The measure was so constructed that it went miles beyond compensating the man whose business was taken from him in the public interest. The Amendment afforded an apt illustration. If a soldier in uniform went into a public-house, asked for a glass of beer, and was refused service, the magistrates under the existing law would probably ask for an explanation from the publican and intimate that if there was any recurrence of such conduct the renewal of the licence would be refused. But, under the present Bill that was not one of the specified grounds; there was no obligation to serve any man, and, as the matter would be remitted to quarter sessions, if any action was taken compensation would be payable. That was only one illustration of the consequences that would flow from the Bill as constructed. It meant that local magistrates might, if they chose, upon one of three specified grounds, refuse licences absolutely, but beyond that they had no power whatever. All the pressure they were able to exercise in virtue of their present full discretion disappeared, and the publican was given not merely a right to compensation when his licence was taken away in the public interest, but also immunity from magisterial control except in certain small details. The object of the Bill was understood to be to provide for the payment of compensation when a licence was discontinued on public grounds, but the measure was so drafted that the Opposition would be compelled to enumerate the different offences for which the local justices should be at liberty to discontinue licences.

Mr. CRIPPS (Lancashire, Stretford) said he so fully agreed with the remarks of the hon. and learned Member opposite that he ventured to make an appeal to the Government. Personally he was prepared to give compensation only when a licence was taken away owing to public requirements. The Committee would get into the most indefinite discussion if they attempted by enumeration to limit the discretion of the magistrates beyond that particular. The discretion of the magistrates would undoubtedly be taken away except in the cases specified in the Bill. He did not think that was right, nor did he believe it was the intention of the Government when they introduced the Bill. It was really a drafting question, and the only way in which it could be properly dealt with was to say that where a licence was taken away on the ground of public requirements the case should go to quarter sessions and the principle of compensation apply. That was the only sound basis for a Bill of this kind, and if it were once departed from the greatest difficulty would ensue. The Amendment was inadmissible at the present stage, but he was not prepared to interfere with the discretion of the local magistrates except in the one case he had mentioned. If the Government would consider the question as a matter of drafting they would be able to make the position clear, and to avoid the difficulty with which they would otherwise be faced.

SIR EDWARD CARSON said this was a very important matter. He assured the Committee that the Government had no intention of going beyond providing compensation for licences taken away in consequence of public requirements. That had been the intention of the Government all through, but the hon. and learned Member opposite appeared to think that this clause had been drawn as if the Government wished in some way or other to cover up something else. He assured hon. Members that this was not so. This matter had been considered by the Law Officers on many occasions, and it was not so easy a question of drafting as seemed to be supposed. If they put in words relating to public requirements they would have to define them. What the Law Officers thought was that the words in the clause covered everything else, but they were prepared to consider other matters which might be suggested. Suppose the magistrates said a house was a tied house. Could they then take the licence away on the ground that it did not meet the public requirements?

Sir ROBERT REID said that when he spoke of public requirements he meant those cases in which houses were taken away because they were not needed in the district.

Sir EDWARD CARSON said suppose the magistrates thought it extremely disadvantageous to have a public-house in the immediate neighbourhood of a chapel or school or workmen's dwellings, might that licence be taken away on the grounds of the public requirements? Some Benches might take that view. He assured the Committee that there was no sinister purpose in the way the clause was framed. That was the sole object of the Government, and if any other cases could be shown which did not come within the scope of the clause, all he could say was that they would be considered. He was perfectly certain that if they wanted any uniformity of practice and not to leave it to some Benches to deal in one way and other Benches in another way with the same question it would be better to lay down the law clearly and leave no loophole as to putting a matter into one category when it ought to be put into another.

Mr. LAWSON WALTON (Leeds, S.) said the difficulty, as he understood it, was due to the view of many magistrates that the number of the houses was out of proportion to the needs of the district, and that in discriminating between the houses to be preserved and those to be destroyed there was no principle of equity by which the discrimination could be made. Therefore if they cut down the number they must cut it down upon the footing that the licences which were extinguished should be compensated because their extinction had not been attended by any misconduct, or by reason of their failing to conform to the standard of requirements that the magistrates had imposed upon them. The aim of the Government was to send to quarter sessions only those cases in which the very difficult problem was to be dealt with of limiting the number of houses in a district which was over-supplied. If that was so, the clause might be amended to read in this way—

"The power to refuse the renewal of an on-licence on the ground that the number of licensed houses exceeds the reasonable requirements of the district shall be referred to quarter sessions."

That would meet the whole case. That was the sort of case they wished to take out of the consideration of the local justices and to leave the county authority to deal with it on the principles of administration applicable to the whole county. They administered the fund connected with the whole county, but where the public-houses in a particular district were to be regulated the discretion of the magistrates ought not to be interfered with.

Mr. J. CHAMBERLAIN (Birmingham, W.) said they had arrived at a condition of things which was really not uncommon in discussions in Committee. That condition was that practically and substantially they were all agreed as to what they wanted, and the only difficulty was to find the exact expression which would give them what they wanted. It was the duty of everyone to make suggestions for that purpose. The hon. and learned Gentleman had made a suggestion which apparently he thought provided the exact solution required. He thought he could show him that that was not so. Take the case where a public improvement was required—a new street, for instance—and a licence stood in the way—a licence which, if compensated under existing circumstances, would add very materially to the cost of the improvement. Under this Bill, it was quite conceivable that when the licence came up for renewal the magistrates might say, "We are going to take it away because the public interest requires that it shall be removed, and we are going to refer it for compensation to the fund which does not come out of the public pocket but out of the pockets of the trade." Under the Amendment of the hon. and learned Gentleman they could not do that. He thought if they tried to limit the matter as strictly as was suggested they would find that they would arrive at exactly the opposite result to that which they intended, and the number of licences taken away would be less. He thought that the obligation of supplying reasonable refreshments should be imposed upon licence-holders and a definite penalty, which would, no doubt, take the form of a fine, should be provided in the Bill. It would be a tremendous penalty to take away a man's property and livelihood merely because he had refused or neglected to supply food. He thought that the case of a licence-holder refusing to serve a man because he was wearing His Majesty's uniform would come under the definition of misconduct. If that was not the case, it would be possible on the Report stage so to extend the meaning of "misconduct" as to include cases of that kind. He did not think the object of the Committee would be attained by accepting the suggestion of the hon. and learned Gentleman opposite.

MR. ASQUITH said that after the interesting and instructive speech to which they had listened he wished to put one Question. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham had taken the case of a public improvement and of licensed premises standing in the way of that improvement and he appeared to suggest that under the provisions of the Bill it would be in the power of quarter sessions to take away the licence and give compensation to the ex-licensee out of the fund contributed by the trade. Was he to understand that it was really the view of the right hon. Gentleman that where a licence was withdrawn because it stood in the way of a public improvement, the compensation would come out of the fund contributed by the trade and not out of the rates.

MR. SAMUEL EVANS said that where a licence was withdrawn because it stood in the way of a public improvement the compensation would come out of the rates. Therefore, the right hon. Gentleman's illustration was an unfortunate one. But they were dealing with the clause as it stood now, and he should be very glad indeed if the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham, and the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Stretford, were so strong as to say to the Government that they should recast the clause in such a way as to place an obligation on all licence-holders to provide non-intoxicants and reasonable refreshments. Before the Committee came to a determination on this Amendment, he wanted to know what was the view of the Government upon it. He knew that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham agreed with those on that side of the House and would like to see an obligation imposed on the licence-holder to supply reasonable refreshments. The Home Secretary, following the Solicitor-General, said that the Government would consider this matter. But what was the matter they were going to consider? Were they agreed to insist that all licence-holders should provide reasonable refreshments?

SIR EDWARD CARSON said that what he had stated was that by reason of this Bill certain pressure which the magistrates now put on the licence-holder would be taken away, and that he would consider whether, in lieu of that pressure, the Government might frame a clause which would enable the same object to be carried out by making it compulsory on the licence-holder, where the magistrates thought fit, to supply these refreshments.

MR. SAMUEL EVANS asked if the Solicitor-General would see that it was put perfectly clearly that the Government were prepared to say that they would put an obligation on the licence-holder to supply reasonable refreshments? That was a very simple, clear, and definite question. If the Government were not in favour of placing any such obligation on the licence-holder, then the Amendment was absolutely necessary. If they were willing, then he thought this was the proper place to deal with it, for they would be dealing with the power which would still remain with the local justices if the licensee did not do his duty. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham said that this would be an awful penalty to impose on the licensee if he failed to fulfil this obligation from a mere slip; but the right hon. Gentleman knew that the licensing justices were reasonable men. The licensing justices had been very active in Birmingham, and he was quite certain that the right hon. Gentleman would not say that the licensing justices in that city would not take a reasonable view of this question. At the present moment there was no obligation at all on the licence-holder to supply anything except drink. The Committee would be interested to know that according to decisions there might be an obligation on the part of temperance hotel keepers to supply reasonable refreshments while these licence-holders were not under obligation to supply soldiers and sailors with food. The substance of the Amendment was of importance. All real temperance reformers wanted to see two things, viz., the improvement of these licensed houses and the moral welfare of the people who went to these houses. Evidence was forthcoming that when a man came to the licensing justices and asked for a licence he made all sorts of promises that he was willing to supply his customers with food, but immediately the licence was granted that was lost sight of, particularly if it was a tied house because all the brewers wanted to make was large profits, and the difficulty was that they did not get as much profit out of food as from intoxicating liquors. When Parliament was giving this monopoly to licence-holders they ought to place them under an obligation to supply food to people who demanded it. It was agreed by everybody, except those on the Front Treasury Bench, that this was a matter which should be left in the discretion of the local justices. The Home Secretary had acquired the excellent power of saying nothing in very many words. He did not say that offensively to the right hon. Gentleman; that was sometimes very necessary when the speaker wished to leave some question indefinite. But nothing could be simpler than the matter with which he and his hon. friends were seeking to deal. He asked finally, was the Government now prepared to say that there should be an obligation on the part of these licensees to supply refreshments, and if there were a breach of that obligation that ought to come within the purview of the licensing magistrates and power be given them to give an absolute refusal of the renewal of the licence without the right of compensation?

COLONEL PILKINGTON said that the Government ought to give their attention to the question about all the licences being granted on exactly the same terms by the local magistrates and by the quarter sessions. If refreshments were systematically refused and only drink supplied, surely that was a case where the licence ought to be taken away. It would be very undesirable to grant new licences without very definite conditions on this subject; and he thought, therefore, that the Government might undertake to look at the clause again, and see whether it could not be made stronger. He was perfectly certain that a condition of every new licence should be that tea and other refreshments should be supplied; and he did not understand why a provision to that effect should not be put in Clause 1. The Government were taking away the power of the local magistrates, and they ought accordingly to give equal power to the quarter sessions.

MR. EDWARDS (Radnor) said he spoke as one who had suffered in this matter. He had oftentimes found it difficult to get refreshments of a non-alcoholic kind in places which were supposed to be houses of entertainment. These houses were licensed not for the benefit of the publican but for the benefit of the public. It had been said "Oh! If the public-houses will not give you tea, you can go to a tea-house and get it there." But in some country districts with which he was acquainted there was no such thing as a tea-house but there was a public-house. He thought there was a great deal in the remark that had been made that the power of refusing licences on the ground that reasonable refreshment had not been supplied would have the effect of making these houses better conducted than they were now. Exception had been taken by the Solicitor-General that the penalty was too great for such an offence. But he thought the justices might be trusted in this matter. In the past they had done their duty fairly well on the whole. Evidence of that fact was to be found in the Report of the Licensing Commission. They would not outrageously ruin a man's livelihood because a licensee had refused to supply reasonable refreshment on one occasion. It had also been said that it would be hard for a man who had contributed to the compensation fund to receive no part of it. But that point was dealt with in the Bill, because if a man lost his licence through the house being badly conducted, although he contributed to the fund, he would not receive compensation. He cordially supported the Amendment.

MR. SEELY (Lincoln) said he thought the hon. Gentleman would be wise if he withdrew his Amendment. He understood the Government had agreed to the suggestion of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham that an obligation should be placed upon licensed victuallers to supply refreshment. The Home Secretary had stated that the power of magistrates to deal with this question was now taken away, and that the Government proposed to bring in a new clause, under which means would be devised for seeing that reasonable refreshment was provided by licensed holders. He pressed his suggestion still more upon hon. Members opposite, because this was the very thing in the Licensing Bill of 1902 they pressed upon the House. The hon. Member for Leicester spoke to the same effect as the Home Secretary, that the existing power to deal with the question was far too strong and stringent to put into force and he wished the Government to agree to more moderate penalties being placed upon licence-holders if they did not provide reasonable refreshments. He agreed with the Government that the clause they were considering was not a good place to insert the proposal. He trusted they would bring in a clause giving effect to it. If it were properly drawn it would be one of the greatest temperance reforms ever passed.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE said he merely wished to ask that a definite answer should be given to the suggestion of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham. The hon. Gentleman who had just spoken misapprehended the position because the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham was not now a member of the Government. That suggestion was that there should be an obligation cast upon the licensed holder to provide reasonable refreshment, and that if he failed to perform the obligation he should be liable to a penalty. He would point out that that suggestion had already been incorporated in the Scottish Act of last year so that there was a precedent which the Government could follow. Section 41 of that Act required the keepers of these houses to provide a sufficient supply of drinking water and eatables as might be laid down by the by-laws. Section 53 laid down that anyone guilty of not providing eatables should be liable to a fine of £5 for the first offence and £10 for the second offence, with a possible forfeiture of the licence. A very definite suggestion had been made by the right hon. Gentleman opposite which was incorporated in the Bill passed last year, and he thought they were entitled to some answer from the Government upon this point, more especially when the suggestion had come from such an influential quarter and when it had been found to work well in another part of the country.

*SIR J. STIRLING-MAXWELL (Glasgow, College) asked whether the suggestion of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham would be in order if carried out in this Bill, and whether a separate clause could be introduced dealing with this subject.

*THE CHAIRMAN: I do not think it is open in this Bill to amend the Licensing Acts generally because this is a Bill to amend the Licensing Acts only in respect to the extinction of licences and the grant of new licences. Therefore any new clause would have to come within that purview.

*SIR J. STIRLING-MAXWELL: Then our only chance of obtaining this clause may be to obtain it at this moment, and I, for one, shall feel it my duty to vote for the Amendment before the House.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN asked if the right hon. Gentleman was correct in his interpretation of the ruling which had just been given.

*THE CHAIRMAN said that he did not wish to mislead the Committee in any way, but would rather not pronounce an actual opinion until he saw the clause. What he understood was first suggested was that power should be given to the brewster sessions to impose certain conditions upon licensees in respect of the provision of food and drink of a non-alcoholic character. It seemed to him that that might possibly be within the four corners of the Bill, but to put into this Bill proposals for fines and other punishments creating new offences would not come within the four corners of this Bill.

Mr. McKENNA (Monmouthshire, N.) said the Bill was introduced as a temperance measure for the purpose of reducing licences. They were originally told that the magistrates, not having the power to grant compensation, were unwilling to take away licences; now they were told that the magistrates would abuse their power and withdraw licences unreasonably. It should be remembered that in every case there would be the right of appeal to a Court of quarter sessions. There was a contest between the brewers' claims and the public rights, and they asked that the public rights should not be limited. It lay with the Government to define the specific cases in which compensation should be given. The case had been put most admirably by the hon. Member for the Stretford Division. The words which had been suggested by his hon. and learned friend would limit the right of the brewer's claim for compensation, and they appeared to him to meet the exact case of the Bill as originally drawn by the Government. It was not fair to put upon the Opposition, who were defending public rights in this matter, the obligation of singling out every individual infraction of those rights, and it was the duty of the Government to carry out the pledges which they gave when the measure was introduced. Those pledges were that they only proposed to give compensation where the licence was taken away through no fault of the holder. Where the licence would be taken away owing to the default of the owner was not a case in which compensation should be given. If the Government did not respond to the appeal which had been made, with all respect he ventured to say that they were departing from the pledges which were given when the Bill was brought in.

Mr. ASQUITH said that after the course which the debate had taken it was quite necessary that they should come to a definite understanding as to what the position of the Government was. Numerous appeals had been made to the Government from their own side to deal with this matter in the sense, if not in the terms, of this Amendment. In view of the ruling which had been given, it was clear that it was only in the first clause that the safeguards which both sides regarded as essential could possibly be introduced. He did not wish in the least to pledge the Government to the words of his hon. friend's Amendment, which were not very artistic in form, although their substance was excellent. It was quite possible that the Amendment ought to come rather later in the clause. He suggested that they should report Progress in order that the Government might have an opportunity between then and to-morrow of considering the best form of Amendment.

*Mr. AKERS-DOUGLAS said the Government had already stated, in view of the wish of the Committee that any liability which there was on the licensee to supply food and drink of a non-alcoholic character should be enforced if possible, that it would be most satisfactory, and they were quite willing to bring up words to deal with the question at a later stage of the Bill. But they could not accept this Amendment, because it would place upon the licensee an absolutely intolerable penalty. They agreed with the gist of the Amendment, however; and if, on consideration, they could incorporate words to enable the justices to make such a stipulation in future, they would be prepared to do it. He hoped he had made clear what was the offer of the Government, that they would consider either a clause or an Amendment to carry out the wish which had been expressed on both sides of the House, although they could not accept the present Amendment.

Mr. ASQUITH said he could not allow to pass without protest the right hon. Gentleman's suggestion that the Amendment of his hon. friend, if carried, would impose a penalty of any kind. It did nothing of the sort. The effect of the Amendment was merely to retain the power which the magistrates already possessed to stipulate, when application was made for a renewal of a licence, that the licensee should provide reasonable refreshment to all persons. He understood the right hon. Gentleman to pledge the Government to bring up a form of words which, in their view, would carry out the wish of the Committee that this should be regarded in future as one of the obligations which the licensee took upon himself, and that if that obligation was not fulfilled the withdrawal of the licence without any compensation would necessarily follow. He understood that to be the position of the Government [MINISTERIAL cries of "No"]; he was in the recollection of the Committee. As there still seemed so much possibility of misunderstanding he thought the best course would be to report Progress. He therefore moved.

Motion made, and Question, "That the Chairman do report Progress; and ask leave to sit again,"—(*Mr. Asquith.*)—put, and agreed to.

Committee report Progress; to sit again this evening.

EVENING SITTING.

ADJOURNMENT (UNDER STANDING ORDER No. 10) (ARMY REORGANISATION).

MR. BECKETT (Yorkshire, N.R., Whitby), in moving the adjournment of the House for the purpose of discussing a definite matter of urgent public importance, viz., "the alarming deficiency in the drafts required for India and South Africa, and the confusion and uncertainty now prevailing in the War Office and the Army owing to the prolonged delay in the announcement of a definite scheme of Army reorganisation," said:—In proposing this Motion I hope I may not have to make too large a claim upon the indulgence of the House, as I do not rise to discuss the Report of the War Office Reconstitution Committee, or the Report of the Militia and Volunteers Commission, or to attack or defend any particular scheme of Army reform, but only to deplore the absence of any such scheme, and to implore the Government to put an end to the doubt and uncertainty now prevailing which has produced a state almost of chaos and paralysis in the War Office and the Army, and to present their scheme to the public with as little delay as possible. I do not make this demand prompted by an idle curiosity. The Government cannot fail to be aware that there is on the part of the House and the nation a universally felt and generally expressed desire that we should know, and know quickly, what is going to be done with our Army, and if I may venture to do so I would warn them, in no unfriendly spirit, that they cannot thwart or set aside this desire without serious consequences to themselves.

The state of our Army is an urgent and pressing question, a question which, at the present moment, far transcends in its urgency any other question that is before the public, and which is causing the gravest possible anxiety to those who are behind the scenes. It is a question that cannot be trifled with or ignored, or postponed to a more convenient season. It is not a question like that of Tariff Reform which can be ruled out during the present Parliament, it cannot be pigeonholed like a Resolution or massacred like a Bill. It is a matter of the first importance which clamours for immediate settlement. I think I do not use language too strong when I assert that this deficiency in our drafts for India is alarming. Of course the recruiting difficulty is the *fons et origo mali*, and is the cause of this alarming deficiency. Last year my right hon. friend the Secretary of State for India boasted of the number of recruits he was obtaining, looked forward to the future with hope and confidence, and cheerfully anticipated that the necessary numbers would be forthcoming. He recognised that the Army, whether organised on his system or upon any system, was dependent on its recruits not only for its efficiency, but for its very existence, and no one knew better than he that if at least 45,000 recruits were not obtained annually his scheme would entirely break down. To protect himself against this possible breakdown he changed the terms of enlistment from seven years with the colours and five with the Reserve, to three with the colours and nine with the Reserve. He was warned most emphatically again and again that unless a certain proportion, stated by some at 70 per cent. and by himself at 50 per cent. a year, agreed to extend their term of service that the armies of India and South Africa could not be kept up to the strength below which they could not fall without danger to our position and authority in those vast dominions of the Empire. He believed that by raising the pay of our soldiers from 1s. to 1s. 6d. he would be offering a pecuniary inducement sufficient to secure the re-engagement of the percentage he wanted. Last year I pointed out that the fate of the British Army was a gamble on the sixpence.

Now, Sir, what has happened? The number of recruits for our Army has fallen from 51,000 to 29,324. There has been a reduction in the infantry of the Line of 18,709, notwithstanding the fact that mounted corps have been closed, and that recruits wishing to enlist had practically only the infantry open to them. Moreover, as the Inspector-General for Recruiting points out, "it is very unsatisfactory to notice a considerable increase of the percentage rejected for various ailments. The percentage is higher than it has been for nine years." And these disturbing figures are all the more remarkable because there has been a slackness in trade with an inevitable increase in the number of unemployed, which hitherto has always meant a corresponding increase in the number of recruits. Now, Sir, I ask the House to look at the very serious state of affairs that is revealed. The Secretary of State for India, reckoning upon an annual supply of recruits amounting to at least 45,000, told us that if his short-service system was to succeed, not less than 50 per cent. out of the 45,000 must agree to extend their term of service, that is to say, he wanted at least 22,500 men per annum to re-engage, whereas it is unfortunately the fact that only 13 per cent. have consented to re-engage. Now 13 per cent. of 45,000 amounts to about 6,000 men, so that here we have a shortage of about 16,000 men. But we must remember we have not got our 45,000 recruits, we have only 30,000, and 13 per cent. of that number does not amount to much more than 4,000 men, a number totally and ridiculously inadequate for the purpose of supplying drafts to India and South Africa. I ask the House to look at the figures given in the Answers to Questions yesterday, from which it appears that the number of men in the infantry of the United Kingdom who have extended their service to complete eight years is only 1,405. Surely, I think that everyone will agree that this is a definite matter of urgent public importance.

The War Office are doing the best they can to meet this desperate situation. They are sending out men to India who have not ten months to serve, and men to South Africa who have not six months to serve, which is a most expensive arrangement waiting, like Mr. Micawber, "for something to turn up," and hoping that they may be able to persuade men by bribes and doles to re-engage in numbers large enough to save them from military bankruptcy. We must all condole with my right hon. friend the Secretary for War in the difficulties with which he is confronted. He is not responsible, he has merely to try and work an unworkable system. He has been set to make bricks without straw, and I feel sure that everyone must extend to him their heartiest sympathy.

What is to be done? We must revert at once to our old system of enlistment. Under that old system we secured annually from 250,000 to 280,000 years of service. Under the new system we secure annually barely 90,000 years of service, leaving a deficiency of nearly 200,000 years, so that each of the 1,405 would have to serve more than 100 years if that deficiency is to be made up. Is not this statement enough in itself to show us our peril and make us prefer the old system to the new. The old system, with all its defects, gave us at a much smaller cost an Army that could supply the drafts we required for service abroad. It also gave us an efficient Reserve, so efficient that the Secretary for India adopted the short-service system largely because he wanted to fill up his depleted Reserve as rapidly as possible. Under the new system we have failed to get the drafts we require in the attempt to re-create a Reserve, and, if the House will allow me, I will once again quote the very remarkable prediction of Lord Roberts made twenty years ago, which exactly anticipates our present dangerous predicament. He said—

> "We are sacrificing our Army to obtain a Reserve. Any attempt to make the Foreign Service Army subservient to the Reserve must end in failure, and, I confidently predict, in disgrace and disaster."

The force of these words must come home to us painfully at the present moment, far more so than when I quoted them a year and a half ago. We are indeed sacrificing our Army to obtain a Reserve, and the attempt has ended in failure, but I hope with all my heart that the disgrace and disaster confidently predicted by Lord Roberts may still be averted. Something might be said for this sacrifice if by it we obtained such a Reserve as was built up before the war, and which did such splendid work and proved so invaluable to us during the war. But a Reserve composed of men who have served seven years with the colours is a very different thing to a Reserve composed of men who have served three with the colours. In the one case we get trained, hardy, experienced soldiers thoroughly imbued with the military spirit, who know and take kindly to their work. Can the same be said of three-years men? They become civilians almost as soon as they have learned to be soldiers. They re-enter civil life when they are still very young, and before long would hardly regard themselves as soldiers at all. The knowledge of their military duties stored up during three years would soon be forgotten, and in the event of war we should find that the percentage of men who presented themselves was much smaller, and that the quality and military efficiency of those who did come forward was decidedly inferior to what they have been. And there is this further disadvantage, not to say danger, in the short-service system. We must have the men, for drafts, and if the bribe of an extra sixpence is not sufficient we are inevitably tempted, if not compelled, to increase the bribe, so that practically our Army may be at the mercy of the men whom we place almost in the position of being able to make their own terms. Is this a safe or dignified position for the country to occupy, to say nothing of the expense in which we should be involved? In the Question I put on the Paper yesterday, I asked my right hon. friend if the number of those who had agreed to extend their term of service was sufficient to supply the necessary drafts for India and South Africa for the next twelve months. To that Question he made no reply, and the inference is obvious. I wish to make no attack on my right hon. friend. I have great confidence in his judgment and experience, and few men have rendered such signal services to the cause of Army reform as he has done. I feel sure he would like to act and act quickly, as no one is better aware than he that this condition of doubt and uncertainty into which the hesitation and indecision of the Government have plunged the Army and the country is having a very bad effect upon the Army itself. It feels it has been thrown into the melting-pot, and Ministers and Committees sit round it with long sticks all anxious to give it a stir, and each one trying to tilt the pot, so as to pour it out into his own particular mould. No Army in the world could long stand such a process as this, and I feel I need no justification for making this Motion as a means of applying to the Government the force and pressure of public opinion. Surely the Government have had time to make up their minds, or is it that they are so permeated with the policy of unsettled convictions that they have no minds to make up? It has come to be considered in some quarters that the highest achievement in politics is to halt gracefully between two opinions, and that the true test of statesmanship is to serve God and Mammon at the same time without declaring yourself on the side of either. However well this may answer in some matters, it is fatal as regards the Army.

What is the position? We fought a great war, out of which, after many reverses, after much tribulation, after a great sacrifice of life, after an immense dissipation of our national resources, from the effects of which we are suffering grievously to-day, we emerged victorious. During the course and progress of the war, the Army was reorganised by my right hon. friend the Secretary of State for India upon a German basis, and, with a loud fanfare of trumpets, six Army Corps came into being. They flourished in the Army List, and figured in the Estimates, but, after a brief and troubled existence, they came to an untimely end, and might claim as their own the well-known epitaph—

> "If I was so soon to be done for,
> I wonder what I was begun for."

We all wonder that now. But let us proceed with our story. In fulfilment of pledges, reluctantly given by the Government to stave off criticism while the war was going on, at the conclusion of the war a Committee was appointed on 11th October, 1902, to sit and inquire into the military preparations and other matters connected with the war in South Africa. They ended their labours and reported on 9th July, 1903. During that period they collected an immense mass of useful information, and, founded upon that information, they presented a Report, which, though couched in the most careful and moderate language, has been generally accepted by the public as reflecting severely upon much that preceded the war, and upon many things that took place during the war, and as forming a weighty indictment of our existing system of Army organisation. The publication of that Report threw the public into a state of great uneasiness, which would have probably been far more pronounced and acute, had not the Tariff Reform agitation diverted their minds into other channels. But that Report, and the evidence in support of it, still remained for the consideration of the Government, and no Government worthy of the name could have refused to give it their most earnest and serious attention. For nearly a year that Report has been under the eyes of the Prime Minister, of the Cabinet, of the Defence Committee, and of the War Office, and surely they have had ample time for the digestion and assimilation of its contents and conclusions. But that is not all. The Prime Minister, and the Cabinet, and the Defence Committee, and the War Office did not venture to rely on their own unassisted wisdom. Apparently this was a matter that was too hard for them, so they called into counsel a Committee of Three, and from them sought enlightenment and instruction. This was a brilliant idea on the part of the Government, for if the Prime Minister and the Cabinet and the Defence Committee and the War Office were enable to make up their minds, the Committee of Three had no doubt whatever about theirs, and went to work in the most slashing and business-like style, so much so that some of the remarks, with which they accompanied their most valuable recommendations, rather reminded me of the concluding chapter of Revelations in which the most dreadful penalties are invoked upon those who might be presumptuous enough to add to or take away aught from what was written therein. Surely with these text-books before them, written in such clean strong, straightforward language and containing such a clean-cut plan and system of Army reorganisation one would have thought that the Prime Minister, the Cabinet, the Defence Committee, and the War Office could have laid their heads together and produced a scheme. From information which I have received, I am led to believe that they did lay their heads together with the result that it was found that there were almost as many schemes as there were heads. The Prime Minister had his scheme, the Defence Committee had its scheme, the War Office had its scheme or its several schemes. The Cabinet was the only body that did not produce a scheme, but I daresay each member of it would have modestly produced his scheme had he been individually consulted in the matter. We are told that in the multitude of counsellors there is safety, but Solomon never told us what would happen if they all counselled different things. But I think we could tell Solomon confusion happens, and doubt, and uncertainty, producing paralysis and almost chaos, where order and method should reign and hearty co-operation for a recognised object.

Mr. Beckett.

One cause of confusion is that so many new men occupy old places. That may be a good or bad thing, and of course they take a little time to settle down to their work, but it is impossible for them to work with advantage or effect unless they work upon some plan and system—I don't want to exaggerate my case. Men are drilling in the Long Valley as usual, and clerks are writing in the War Office as usual, and officials are inditing despatches as usual, and heads of departments are sending long minutes as usual, and money is being spent like water as usual, but all this is no proof that "huge confusion and dismay" does not exist in the War Office and the Army. If I were at liberty to repeat half the statements that have been made to me I should have to detain the House till midnight. But I might sum them up by saying that they all point to much profitless work and much preventable waste. If the Government were not able to work out the details of their scheme they might at least have laid down the broad lines and principles upon which others were to work. But here again there is confusion and uncertainty. To take an illustration. The Norfolk Commission received a communication which they were told was the authoritative expression of the views of the Secretary of State. Two minutes later they were told it was not authoritative, and in reply to their repeated inquiries on this very important question of what forces were required for home defence they were told to work on a basis that was hypothetical and was liable to be changed later on. By their own confession the lack of decided direction greatly hampered and impaired their work. We were led to expect by the Prime Minister that a definite statement would be made on Thursday, 16th June. That statement was postponed, and judging by the reply made by the Prime Minister yesterday to the Leader of the Opposition, we are left entirely in the dark as to when this statement will be made, or whether it will be made at all during the present session. Had the Prime Minister given a pledge that the statement would be made within a reasonable time I would not have moved the Adjournment of the House. But from information that has reached me, I am led to believe that the Government are still casting about for a scheme—much of my information is confidential, but this I am permitted to divulge, that on a certain Wednesday a communication was made to the War Office that a scheme of Army reorganisation was to be produced on Saturday. Certain gentlemen in the War Office were immediately set to work in order to formulate a scheme by Saturday. They tackled this almost impossible task with the utmost zeal and ability, extending their deliberations far into the night, and, wonderful to relate, by Saturday a scheme was forthcoming, and was sent in to the Government. The Government, however, would not accept this scheme, and returned it saying that another scheme was to be produced by Monday. This was too much for the hard-worked gentlemen at the War Office; and having the fear of the Lord's Day Rest Association before their eyes, they declined the task. However, I am given to understand that on Monday they resumed their labours and for aught I know, they are still engaged in hatching schemes. If the matter were not so serious, it would afford material for comedy, but as it is, I am afraid that tragedy is more likely to be the result. The danger is now that we may be served with a hash and hotch-pot of schemes, instead of a scheme carefully thought out in all its details and coherent in all its parts. But I hope for the best, and I rely on my right hon. friend, as I do not think he would remain in office unless he had to administer what he considered a sound and workable scheme.

But, Sir, if ever there was a matter of urgent public importance, this must undoubtedly be so described. I do not know what line my right hon. friend will take to-night. I only hope he will not take the line adopted by his predecessor in the defence of his Army Corps, and produce an array of statements and figures which serve to obscure the facts of the case, and to hide the real gravity of the situation from the public. I cannot help thinking that if War Ministers had the courage to tell the public the truth about the Army, they would gain a far larger measure of support than they imagine. The British public is a good-natured public. It is never extreme to mark what is done amiss; and I feel convinced it would do its best to help an embarrassed Minister in an embarrassing situation, if only he would frankly take it into his confidence; but as it is, it has a not unfounded suspicion that the Secretary of State for War is apt to make out a case to suit the Parliamentary situation, and to stave off Parliamentary criticism, which does not correspond with the actual state of the Army. It is true that the problem is a difficult one, but it is not impossible of solution. The more I study it with the aid of those who have all the complicated points at their fingers' ends, the more I am convinced that for £25,000,000 you can get a thoroughly well-trained and efficient Army, able to do the work which it is expected to do both at home and abroad. But to get this Army you must go the right way to work, and must consult the sentiments and ideas of the Army itself, and the feelings and opinion of the public. The thing can be done, and it should be done. At present we are working upon the rags and tatters of a discarded scheme, and none of us know where we are. But almost any scheme is better than none; and it is because under this present lack of system the necessary recruits are not forthcoming, and the necessary cohesion and organisation are entirely wanting, that I have taken this step, in the hope that the Government may be stimulated thereby to terminate this period of confusion and uncertainty, and to produce their scheme of Army reorganisation, which I sincerely trust may meet with a better fate, and enjoy a more successful career, than any of its predecessors. I may be told that this Motion is an obstructive Motion. I regret it should bear that character, but in any case I am not alarmed by the charge. I believe that the present state of the Army is a danger to the country. I may be mistaken. I really hope so, but I do not think I am. My heart is wrapped up in this question. I have studied it closely. I have pondered over it long, and I declare to you frankly that the continuance of this or that Party in office is as nothing to me compared with the welfare of the Army. You can give days to the discussion of your Licensing Bills, of your Aliens Bills, of your Education Bills, and it would be monstrous if you grudged three hours for the discussion of the most important question that at the present time can engage the attention of the country. You may condemn me here on these Benches, but I appeal to a larger and more generous public outside and by them I do not believe I shall be condemned. I beg to move.

*Sir J. DICKSON-POYNDER (Wiltshire, Chippenham) said he rose with pleasure to second the Motion, because he believed that his hon. friend in moving it was discharging in the truest sense, and by no means for the first time, a great public duty. His hon. friends near him cheered when the word "obstructive" was mentioned. Whatever his hon. friends might think with regard to the Motion, he felt confident that the people in the country would not regard it in the same way. He believed the time had arrived when the country should have a clear and definite statement of the Army policy of the Government. What was the position to-day? They knew hardly anything, and the little they knew caused the greatest anxiety and apprehension. It was not his intention to utter a word of attack against his right hon. friend the Secretary for War. This Motion, whether his hon friends considered it obstructive or not, was not a hostile Motion. Its sole object was to elicit a clear and definite statement from the Minister responsible for the Army Department. Questions upon this subject had been put in the House and the Answers which had been given to them had only confirmed that grave anxiety and apprehension. The time had now arrived when some immediate steps should be taken to remedy the evils which undoubtedly existed. It was common knowledge that confusion and chaos reigned at the War Office. Nor was it to be wondered at, for they now had an old scheme, which had been wholly condemned and partially abandoned and partially retained, switched on to a new scheme, which was incomplete and had been brought to an abrupt conclusion. What they wanted to know was when the old condemned scheme was to be removed from the purview of Army organisation, and when the new scheme, so abruptly brought to a conclusion, was to be developed in its entirety. The authors of the new scheme have only guaranteed its success if taken *en bloc.* The reply which had been given to a recent Question showed that there was cause for apprehension. The trooping season had not begun this year, and yet we saw that in the past year 2,400 drafts had been sent out to India whose service would expire any time between now and two years hence. He did not think it was unreasonable to anictipate that a very small proportion of men would rejoin under the present inducements offered. He wondered what was the expense to the State of sending these soldiers to India and bringing them back again, because this was a matter which the House and the country should take clear note of. There were hundreds and possibly thousands of men going to be sent out to India and the Colonies, each of whom must cost the State anything between £20 and £40.

CAPTAIN NORTON (Newington, W.): £120.

*SIR J. DICKSON-POYNDER said they must cost the State £20, £40, or £50 more than the normal cost, and that money was wasted if they refused after a short while to re-engage. How in these conditions were we to get the men necessary to supply the establishment in India and the Colonies? We had to supply 70,000 men in India and 20,000 in South Africa. While nothing had been done in the way of a new scheme, a serious indication of the tendency was furnished by the proposal that had been made with regard to the reduction of the establishment of the Imperial Yeomanry in this country. Speaking as a member of the Imperial Yeomanry he greatly deplored that reduction.

MR. SPEAKER: It will not be in order for the hon. Member to discuss that question upon this Motion.

*SIR J. DICKSON-POYNDER said he only pointed out this matter in connection with the Imperial Yeomanry as an indication of the tendency of the new scheme, which was going in the direction of a reduction of a very important and what he regarded as an integral part of the Army in the future. The time had come when the House and the country should have a clear statement of the policy of the Government in regard to the provision of troops for the Indian Empire and the Colonial garrison. It was a grave question, and one which bristled with difficultie, but it was one which must be confronted, and it was with that object that his hon. friend had moved this Motion.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House do now adjourn."—(*Mr. Beckett.*)

*THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Mr. ARNOLD-FORSTER, Belfast, W.): Mr. Speaker, the very terms of the Motion before the House indicate that this debate has a double character. The two portions of the Motion are very dissimilar, and I cannot find any very strict logical connection between them. I do not complain of the fact, but I note it. Possibly the debate also may have a double character. I am inclined to divide hon. Members to whom I desire to reply into two classes. There are those who to some extent agree with me as to the proper methods of treating our great Army problems, and there are those who differ from me. To both those sections I shall endeavour to reply. It is possible that there is a remaining section which will be inclined to discuss this matter from the altogether alien standpoint of Party advantage, and to them I will not address myself. The question of the Army is a sufficiently serious one for us to deal with it on its merits, without reference to any other question. The speech of my hon. friend the Member for Whitby contained a few lapses which I regret, but which I do not think had much to do with the Army; but I am certainly not going to impute to him or the hon. Member who seconded his Motion any motives other than those which they assigned themselves. My hon. friend is an ardent student of problems in which both he and I take an interest, and I shall endeavour to reply to his speech in the same tone in which he has addressed the House.

I propose to deal first with the question of drafts. The hon. Member who proposed and the hon. Member who seconded this Motion have pointed out that the adoption of the three-years system of enlistment has had a most prejudicial effect in connection with the drafts for our Army across the sea. It would be idle for me to pretend that that system has been to the advantage of our service of drafts to India and the Colonies. I agree with my hon. friend that this matter is a very grave and a very important one. I do not want to say more about the origin of this proposal than that it was one which was absolutely forced on the Government, at the time, by the circumstances which existed at the time. The Government had to deal with a falling market, and my right hon. friend had to consider by what immediate step he could provide for the necessities of the nation. He has, I think, not been rewarded in one sense, but he has been rewarded in another. My hon. friend the Member for Whitby suggested that the result of the change had been that recruiting for the Army had largely fallen off. That is an error. My hon. friend was quoting from a document the figures in which were for nine months only. It is not a fact that the recruiting of the Army has fallen off. It has been steadily maintained. I think it is very much owing to the steps taken by my right hon. friend that the recruiting has not continued to fall off, as at one time it threatened to do. We have got the recruits, but we have not retained the recruits, and that has been the danger of the situation. The danger I have been the first to admit, and, in view of the answers I have already given, I do not pretend that this was other than a danger. This year the recruiting is numerically satisfactory; but it is very difficult to exaggerate the seriousness of the position which has been created by the failure of men to respond to the expectations which had been formed with regard to their retention. I do not know whether all hon. Members are as familiar as I am with the exact character of the engagement into which the soldier now enters. He enters into an engagement for three years at a certain rate of pay and on certain terms of service. At the end of two years he is eligible to extend for a longer period of service at an increased rate of pay. Unless he does extend, he has a right at the end of three years to pass into the Reserve. It is a fact with which I have to deal, and which undoubtedly does cause serious anxiety to myself and those who are working with me, that the extensions of the men have not nearly come up to the anticipations which were formed, and that there has been a very great deficiency in the number of the extensions. In the infantry we should require, in addition to the extensions which have taken place, 9,730 men to extend. In the garrison artillery we should require 775 more men to extend.

Mr. WINSTON CHURCHILL (Oldham): How many men have extended?

*Mr. ARNOLD-FORSTER: The extensions must be divided into two parts. There are the men who have extended after six months of service; and the men who have extended after two years of service and thereby become eligible to get the increased pay given on extension. The total number of those who have actually extended in the United Kingdom is 900. I am speaking of the infantry. Of course we have to consider also the extensions in India, which are very relevant to this discussion. We have had to send to India a number of men who have not yet extended, and who, in some cases, have only ten months to serve. If it were the case that these men were not willing to extend, we should undoubtedly be put to the expense of bringing them back to this country. The expense is less than my hon. friend suggested.

*Sir J. DICKSON-POYNDER: Can my right hon. friend give us the approximate expense?

*Mr. ARNOLD-FORSTER: I think it is about £10 each way and not £150; but whether it be less or more it is, of course, an expense which we ought to endeavour to avoid. Fortunately, the extensions in India have been much more encouraging than the extensions in this country. The extensions in India have been, in cavalry and garrison artillery, perfectly adequate to the needs of the service. I am glad to say the extension of the Royal Artillery at home, and the cavalry also, have been perfectly equal to the needs of the service. There has been a much larger percentage of extensions in India, and the extensions have already reached 54 per cent. of the men who are capable of extending under the two-years rule. But it is a fact that the extensions at home and in South Africa have not reached anything near that point, and that does undoubtedly cause a very serious situation.

Now, if I am asked what is my conclusion upon this matter, I would say that it is that the system is not one which can be continued with advantage. It is perfectly clear to me that when we consider what are the real needs of the Empire, it will be seen that we cannot indefinitely continue a system which exposes us to the least uncertainty in regard to the organisation of our Army; because, be it remarked, the question of uncertainty is a much more important factor than the actual question of numbers. I have little doubt that a great number of these men will extend; and I am positive of this, that neither I, nor any successor, if I may venture—perhaps I ought not—to speak in the name of any successor, will ever consent to give way to that policy of bribes and doles which my hon. friend has suggested as a remedy for the difficulty in which we find ourselves.

The remedy is a different one. The remedy for the moment is to find the drafts as best we can and to relieve ourselves from the difficulty as well as the circumstances allow. The difficulty has not become acute; but those who are responsible for the administration of the Army have to look ahead and anticipate the day when it will become acute. But it certainly does not enter into the programme of the War Office to hold out any prospect of bribes or doles to the men who serve. We believe that there is another remedy, and that consists in altering this system and substituting for it one more in harmony with the traditions of our Empire. I may point out in passing that this introduction of the three-years system has had a very peculiar effect on the drafts for India. It will be seen on reflection that if you do not allow a man to make his election until he has been two years in the service, the period of his departure for India is considerably postponed. A great many men who were the requisite age for India, namely, twenty years, used to go out long before they had completed two years service. Now, a man has the option of waiting for two years of his service before he extends; and the result is that, if the trooping season does not coincide—and very often it does not—with the date of the termination of his two years service, his departure is postponed until something like two and a half years after the date of his enlistment. The result of that is that the period of his service in India and the Colonies is decreased, the period in this country is increased, and the number requisite to furnish the drafts is increased in proportion. I think I have met the hon. Member's Question fairly and openly. My reply is that I am as concerned as he can be as to the possible consequences of the continuance of this system, and I am as convinced as he can be that it is our duty not to attempt to tinker with the system, but to alter it so that we may be free from the uncertainty in advance as to the prolongation of the period of service.

My hon. friend spoke of the desirability of some pronouncement being made by the Government with regard to their intentions in respect to the Army at large. He suggested that it is my duty to propound a remedy for the evils which I, in common with himself, believe exist in the organisation of the Army. I admit the soundness of that proposition, and I agree with his conclusions. I should like to make it quite clear to hon. Members that, whatever they may think about the times and seasons of my statement on the subject, there is no question at all about the indefinite prolongation of the present system. We feel that there are difficulties connected with the present system which can only be met by an alteration. Therefore, I beg hon. Members to dismiss from their minds the belief that there is any conflict of opinion, or can be any conflict of opinion, upon this question at all. What we are face to face with is not having to make up our minds as to whether a change is necessary or desirable. Many things have happened—among other things the Report of the Commission on the War, which my hon. friend most justly said was a pronouncement which was bound to have weight with any responsible Government—many things have happened which have confirmed some of us in the belief, and created the belief in others, that a change in the organisation and administration of our Army is absolutely essential. I do not agree with the general charge that my hon. friend made as to the existence of chaos in the War Office and the Army. The War Office, as responsible for the Army, has undoubtedly had to go through a time of difficulty and trial, but I would ask the House to remember what has been the task imposed on the War Office and on those who are responsible for its direction. By, I believe, an almost universal desire, a change has been made in the constitution of the War Office. That change has involved very drastic alterations in the constitution of the Department, and those changes have been effected, I believe—despite all that has been said on very slight information and often on no information at all—with the minimum of friction and the maximum of good will.

I have been reproached for adding to this supposed chaos because in the time that has elapsed since this change was decided upon we have not elaborated the whole of the scheme which I believe, and my hon. friend believes, the War Office ought to carry through. I would ask my hon. friend to put himself in my position—[AN HON. MEMBER: "No, don't do that," and cheers and counter-cheers]—I would ask my hon. friend to put himself in my place and to ask himself whether he considered it a bad record. He very justly pointed out—and I entirely sympathise with what he said—what must appear to many of us the almost patent absurdity of some correspondence which took place in connection with the Auxiliary Forces Commission. It is true that when the different Departments of this country were called upon to give coherent information as to the real duties of the forces of the country they were not able to give it. Well, but what is the answer? Is that a new state of things? That has been our infernal heritage from years past; and it is because we believe it to be one of the greatest dangers of this country that the first care of the War Office has been to give effect to the principal recommendation of the War Commission and to form a body which, imperfect as it may be, and imperfect as may be its knowledge, is yet, as I believe, seeking not without success to give an answer to these very problems which my hon. friend truly pointed out were not solved and could not be solved at the time this Commission was appointed. We have reconstituted the whole staff of the War Office, and if hon. Members knew the complexity of this problem I think they would not be so ready to say that we have been dilatory. But I believe that every hon. Member will consider that the most important part of that task has been accomplished in a way which, I believe for many years to come, the War Office and the country will be glad to recognise.

Mr. Arnold-Forster.

We have also reconstituted and added to the strength of the Intelligence branch of the Army, so as to put it on a level with the wishes of all hon. Members who have felt that we have been lamentably weak in this particular. That is an event only of the day before yesterday; and it may be a couple of months before we are able to go through the necessary preliminaries, to examine the staff of every department, to compare the cost of every change, to obtain the sanction of the Treasury for those changes involving reductions in some cases, and in those which concern the staff, involving an excess of expenditure. I do not believe that the time allotted to us has been long.

We have been blamed because we have not carried out the reorganisation of the Army throughout the United Kingdom. That is true, but we have given an immense amount of attention and care to this matter. It is obvious that, if we are to reorganise the entire Army on some basis which is more consonant with the ideas of the House with regard to expenditure and the number and efficiency of men, it would be idle for any department of the War Office to come to a final conclusion as to the allocation and distribution of commands in the United Kingdom, until we could say what the commands would be and the number of men that would be desirable. My hon. friend has rebuked the Government and myself for failure to produce, on a definite basis, the scheme which was to be the redemption of the promise which, I fully admit, I have made myself responsible for. It was a promise that I would produce to the House the scheme which I believe was needed by the necessities of our Empire and which was consonant with the views of the House and the country generally in the matter of expenditure and the efficiency and character of the men. I did not redeem that promise on the particular Thursday which the hon. Member desired; but I would most respectfully remind the hon. Member and the House that this problem is one of some complication.

It may be said with some fairness that we have been given a good deal of time, but there have been some new facts imported in the situation which have gone some way to complicate it. As the

Minister responsible for this Department, I say that there have been added difficulties. We have had the guidance of the Committee of Defence, working, as it is now working, practically and vigorously in the direction we wish to see it work. We have their views upon the general problem as to the work the Army has to do outside the United Kingdom, and we have realised that oversea work would be the great demand on our Army. Of all the problems of oversea, the most pressing, the most definite in one sense, the most indefinite in another sense, must be the problem which may arise on the only great land frontier we have. The Indian problem is a very complicated one. We have recently had the advntage of having with us a servant of the State who is probably better informed about that problem than any other man in the King's dominions; and we have naturally turned to him to know his opinions on the question. I mean the Viceroy of India.

We have had another element to consider; we have had another addition to the factors of this problem. We have had the Report of the Auxiliary Forces Commission. It would be out of order if I were to discuss that Report now, and I have not the slightest intention of doing so, but I think it should be known to the House that the view of the Government—and I fully share the view of my colleagues on this matter—is that a portion of this Report is impossible of acceptance; I mean the proposal about conscription, which, if adopted, would add enormously to the expense of our Army. It is not one which can be taken seriously into consideration; but there are points in that Report which deserve the serious consideration both of the House and of the country. I have explained to the House what are the kind of difficulties that meet one in dealing with a task of this magnitude. It was my duty to give this Report careful consideration. I set to work, and I analysed its recommendations. I added to everyone of the recommendations my own views on the questions for what they were worth, and I have circulated these recommendations among the authorities most concerned. That is not an operation that can be undertaken in a day, but it has undoubtedly led to this result; when the effect of these recommendations is examined it is seen that the vast majority of them mean an addition to the expenditure which I believe to be already much too heavy.

These are some of the complications of the problem withwhich we have had to deal; and I must ask to be dispensed, at any rate in answer to my hon. friend, from the necessity of naming a day. I believe, as has been said, it will be a very great mistake for any one who dares to face this problem to bring it before the House in anything but what he believes to be a complete condition. I agree absolutely with the dictum, that any proposals ought to deal with this question with a knowledge of its intricacies and details and with a clear grasp also of its principles; and until I am able to fulfil all those conditions it will be premature for me to bring forward proposals.

I think the problem is clear. We have got to get an Army suited to the needs of the country and the Empire. We have got to have an efficient Army in the first place. That is an absolutely dominating condition. The second thing is to make very large reductions in our Army expenditure. I believe, when I say that, I am representing the opinions of nine-tenths of the Army Members of this House. I believe there is almost absolute unanimity in this House, and a very large consensus of opinion out of the House, that we must have large reductions in our Army expenditure. The resources of this country are limited. Quite apart from that fact, I believe there is a new and better school of thought dictating the arrangements of our defensive and offensive forces, which would rather contribute any additional expenditure we were able to incur to another branch of the defensive forces rather than the Army. And there is a third problem, which I do not say rises superior to, but to a certain extent dominates the other two. To reduce the cost of the Army you must reduce the strength of the Army; and when you come to reduce the strength of the Army you must reduce A, B, C, D, E, or F—something already existing in the Army; and it is an addition to the problem which I have to attempt to solve that the reductions must be such as will commend themselves to the general feeling and general acceptance of this House, will make our Army efficient, and at the same time will be consistent with sound economy. I do not despair at all. I believe with my hon. friend that the problem is soluble. If I did not believe that I should not be here. I am quite well aware of the indulgence with which I have been treated, not only by my hon. friends, but by the House. The House may be perfectly sure that I shall not overstay my welcome. I am as convinced as my hon. friend can be that this question of the Army is one of absolutely paramount importance, and that it must be dealt with, and—for the reasons he has given and for many other reasons—drastically and soon. I am sanguine enough to believe that I can suggest a remedy which shall be fully acceptable to the House and the country. If I did not believe that I should certainly not trespass further on the good will of my hon. friend. But I will ask him, if he will give me that indulgence, not to press me unduly, and at any rate to remember that the problem is complex, and, if he finds me fail, to remember that I shall be as conscious of the failure as he can be. I shall, at any rate, not ask him to accept anything which I do not believe to be in the true interests of the Army and which does not conduce in every respect to its best administration.

Sir H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN (Stirling Burghs): The right hon. Gentleman has spoken throughout in a tone which commands the sympathy and respect of the House. He only said one thing which I wish he had not said—when he implied that there was some section of Members who were treating this as a Party question and bringing it forward for Party purposes. I have known Motions on the Army brought forward for Party purposes and in a Party way, but I can lay my hand on my conscience, wherever it is (Laughter)—no particular organ has ever been pointed as the habitat of the conscience—and assert that I have never said a word which had a Party tendency on the subject, and I have even avoided saying things and bringing forward matters when I thought it was not my duty to bring the interests of the Army into the Party arena.

I am very glad that my hon. friend the Member for Whitby has taken the step he did to-night, although it may have laid him open to the animadversions of some of his friends on the other side, because it is already justified by some information which the right hon. Gentleman has given us. The right hon. Gentleman said the Motion was of a double character; it dealt with two questions which were really to a large degree separate from each other. I would go further and say the questions raised are three. There is first of all the question of the failure in the drafts for India, a most serious and urgent matter, and in itself justifying the attention of the House being called in this somewhat irregular way to the circumstances of the hour. There is the question of the reorganisation of the War Office; and there is the question of the reorganisation of the Army, which is a totally different matter, although it is often in the minds of men confused.

I will first say a few words with regard to the failure in the drafts. I think that ought to have been anticipated and indeed expected. The Secretary of State for India introduced the new term of service under the pressure of circumstances, but I think he introduced it merely as an experiment, not being himself perfectly sure what the result would be. For my part, I would say, I have never regarded the result as likely to be good from the first. I have always advocated, from this place and from the other, elasticity of engagement, elasticity of service, and the due admixture of long and short service; but I have always viewed with suspicion and apprehension any attempt to have a secondary engagement—a primary short engagement and then a secondary longer engagement arising out of that. The reverse is the course to take, the course that has been taken with success for years—that you should engage the man for the longer period, but let him away at the conclusion of a shorter period if the circumstances of his battalion or unit, as the phrase is, and his own conduct and the general requirements of the service admit of it. To engage a man for short service and to do so with the knowledge on his part that you are depending on him for the maintenance of your foreign Army—on his re-engaging for a longer term—is to place yourself at his mercy; and if you find a great reluctance for any reason—it may be good or it may be bad, it may be the idea that perhaps a bounty may be extorted from the needs of the Administration, or any other motive that you like — that is in itself a fatal condemnation of the system. However, we need not discuss that much longer, because the right hon. Gentleman has admitted that it has not succeeded and that it must be departed from. He has not told us what he proposes to put in its place. That will also be a part of the new organisation of the Army of which we have heard so much.

Now I pass to the other question. The right hon. Gentleman has not carried us much further in what he has said with regard to the organisation either of the Army or of the War Office than where we were left at the beginning of the session. I think he began his recital on that occasion by saying, "Story, God bless you, I have none to tell, Sir." I think "Story, God bless you, I have none to tell, Sir," is very much what he has said to us to-night on the larger question, on which not only this House and the Army, but the country, is impatient to know the decision of the Government. Let me call the attention of the House to the position of the Government in this matter. This is no ordinary Government. This is not a Government which, finding itself in office, and some new subject and new anxieties arising, has to deal with them afresh. This Government came into power, or remained in power, on purpose to reform the Army, declaring to everybody that they were the only people in the world who could reform the Army. Have they had time? Have they been pressed? Has the Opposition, whom they have always treated with scant respect—[MINISTERIAL cries of "No," and "Withdraw"]—I do not mean personal respect, but scant respect looking upon it as an Opposition, regarding it as almost unworthy of their attention—has the Opposition put any impediment in their way? Has it pressed upon them to come to any premature conclusion? Has it interfered with them in any way? Not at all. They have had ample time. They have had an overwhelming majority in this House. They have had a docile House of Lords. They have had every opportunity, every advantage. Three years have passed, and it is not unnatural that we should expect that they should now be ready with some sort of scheme.

I will not go into the question of the Royal Commission which sat and of the proceedings which followed their Report. But, however it arose, at the beginning of this session we were startled by the most revolutionary proceedings being applied to the War Office. Three gentlemen of great eminence were appointed who were able in a month to produce a new War Office and to lay down, with regard to almost every particular, all the details of the reorganisation of that Office; and, as the hon. Member opposite pointed out, they made it—what is surely unusual on the part of any Committee—a condition that every part of their recommendation should be adopted, otherwise the whole scheme would fall. This was a very startling event. It was a lightning-like revolution followed by action on the part of the Government, who accepted a large part of the recommendations of that Committee at once. I have ventured on many occasions to put before the public what seemed to me to be the comic side of this transaction. I see its comic side very strongly still—the almost unnatural and miraculous rapidity with which this little Committee was able to elaborate a scheme and the action of the Government in accepting a great part of it and proceeding summarily to eject from office in the War Office many of the most experienced and trustworthy men in it, civilian and military, with scant courtesy, I believe [MINISTERIAL cries of "No!" and OPPOSITION cries of "Hear, hear!"] and to replace them by new nominees, entirely new men. I am one who, like the Government, approve of many of the recommendations of the small Committee; I have always been in favour of assimilating the administration of the military and naval forces of the country as far as it can possibly be done; but the two services differ materially in many respects.

I do not see how their organisation can be made anything like identical, but so far as it can be done it ought to be done. There were, however, a great many other things that were open to doubt; and to those of us who had some knowledge of the working of the old system there were proposals which did not give promise of successful and efficient working. But, then, we wanted to know from the Government how much of this system they were going to adopt, and we do not know that to this day. The Committee was incited, or invited, or, at all events, allowed, to publish to the world these summary conclusions in a stand-and-deliver fashion. The Government ought not to have been a party to that proceeding unless prepared within a very short time to say how much of the recommendations they approved and how much they did not. But we do not know to this day what they approve. The right hon. Gentleman says they have not been idle. He says that the day before yesterday—which I think was a Sunday—they appointed a great number of new officers in the Intelligence Department. I am very glad to hear it; but I do not think it is such a wonderful thing to have selected a number of able men to fill these posts. What we want to know is the principles which they have accepted, the principles of organisation to which they have said Aye or No; and we are entirely in the dark to this day on that subject. Notwithstanding the extraordinary haste, as I have said, with which the recommendations were concocted by the Committee and issued to the public, the Government hung fire; and to this day we do not know what they approve and what they do not approve. That is the point on which the right hon. Gentleman ought to have been able to give some more information. He says that they have found the problem very complicated, but that is the problem of the organisation of the Army, and not the problem of the War Office.

The problem of the War Office is a comparatively simple problem. It amuses me to find so much stress laid on the perplexity of the case. The Prime Minister, after studying the question for three or four years and having placed himself at the head of the Imperial Council of Defence because of his interest in the subject, only discovered between a Tuesday and a Wednesday that this was a very complicated problem, because, when he came to explain that the Secretary of State could not make his statement, he said, "I have to confess to the House that I find it a much more complicated problem than I expected." Well, I should have thought that the complexity was in full degree within his knowledge long before. Yet this day was appointed for the explanation by the right hon. Gentleman of this new Army scheme, and it was only at the last moment that the intention was abandoned. The right hon. Gentleman has told us nothing about it; we are left entirely in doubt and bewilderment as to what the cause of delay can be, because, as I say, the Government have been doing nothing else for the last three or four years but considering Army reform. They were put into power for nothing else, they were put into power to settle affairs in South Africa—I will not go back on the question whether the war was ended—and to reform the Army. Here they have been reforming the Army ever since; but between a Tuesday and a Wednesday the right hon. Gentleman discovers that it is a very complicated problem. I think there must be some other cause besides that. I am not of a suspicious nature, but my ingenuousness does not carry me so far as to make me think that is the real reason. The right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War says there is no conflict of opinion at all. I did not understand among whom he meant, because he speaks for so many people. Does he speak as a member of the Army Council, or as a member of the Cabinet, or as a member of the Council of Imperial Defence, when he uses the word "we"? What particular "we" is it he means?

*Mr. ARNOLD-FORSTER: I speak for all three.

Sir H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Then this is the most remarkable circumstance ever related by a Minister in the House of Commons, when he, belonging to these three separate bodies, who might be expected to take different views on the matter before them, says there is no conflict of opinion. If there is no conflict of opinion, then we may ask, "Why tarry the wheels of his chariot?" We are not allowed to-day, and it would not be profitable for us to do so, to enter on the merits of this question; I am not going to say a word as to what I think of any possible scheme that may be adopted for the War Office or the Army; but surely, when all are agreed, we are entitled to be taken into their confidence. and as we have never hurried them—hustled them, I think, is the term used—we ought to be treated a little better than we have been treated. The right hon. Gentleman has not even indicated that some day during what is left of this session, be it long or short, a full statement will be made on this subject. I need not say it will have to be a full statement. The right hon. Gentleman has very properly said he did not wish, and certainly it would not be right, to bring this great question before the House in a partial way; but after three years of cogitation and after having fixed a day for the statement two or three weeks ago what on earth prevents the right hon. Gentleman from naming some approximate time when we may expect to receive the information we require? I think the hon. Member for Whitby is entirely justified, not only by what he has said as to the urgency of the matter, but also because of the nature of the speech we have just heard—entirely justified in the course he has taken in calling the attention of the House to this most important matter.

The PRIME MINISTER and FIRST LORD of The TREASURY (Mr. A. J. Balfour, Manchester, E.): I do not propose to long detain the House with any reply that requires to be made to the speech just delivered; but some remarks I think I ought to make, and I begin by saying that I think the attack the right hon. Gentleman has made on my right hon. friend the Secretary of State for India in connection with the alterations he made in regard to enlistment was surely made in complete oblivion of the circumstances in which the change was made. We were in the midst of a great conflict in which it was requisite, in which it was absolutely necessary for the interests of the country that recruits should be obtained for service in the Army. Everybody knows the difficulties under which any country labours which has to raise a large army by voluntary enlistment, because that necessarily means the country must go into the market and can only obtain the commodity required at market price. My right hon. friend was face to face with the most difficult problems a Minister for War could have to deal with; and in such circumstances—if the House has sufficient historic memory to recollect to what straits the Government of this country was reduced during the Crimean War and to what devices they had to resort before they could obtain, I will not say recruits from England, Scotland, or Ireland, but the services of anybody at all to help them to carry on warlike operations—they will feel that the plan adopted by my right hon. friend in the situation in which he found himself did the highest honour to his constructive ingenuity. Whether it be or be not possible to continue it as part of our permanent system, it at all events got us out of a great national crisis without friction and without dishonour. Those who remember the circumstances in which this change was made will realise the difficulties to be met, and will be forced to do honour to my right hon. friend for the courage he showed. However, this part of the case, if I may judge by the general course of the debate, is not the matter in which the House is chiefly interested to-night. If I may judge from the speech of the right hon. Gentleman who has just sat down what he is anxious about is what I may perhaps, without offence, describe as the Party aspect of this question [Ministerial cries of "Hear, hear!" and Opposition cries of "No, no!"] by which I do not mean, and I hope the House will not think I mean, that the right hon. Gentleman is not earnestly interested in Army matters, genuinely interested apart from any Party purpose in Army matters, but the particular debate to-night has not been for the purpose of advancing an Army discussion; it was not for that the adjournment was moved.

Mr. BECKETT: After the speech of the Secretary for War I think the Prime Minister is hardly justified in making that remark.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I do not quite follow my hon. friend's interruption. The Secretary of State for War has made a most interesting contribution to the debate, and my hon. friend may have the whole credit of that speech to himself. I can assure my hon. friend and the House in general that whenever an adjournment of the House is moved I think there will be an interesting speech from this Bench. But I do not think that is an adequate justification for moving the adjournment of the House. If we are to deal with these larger Army problems, I do not think we can do so on a Motion for the adjournment of the House; and I hope my hon. friend will allow me to say that I had no intention of referring to him in the observation which I made as to the motives for a Motion for adjournment—I was alluding to the right hon. Gentleman opposite, quite justifiably in my opinion. [OPPOSITION cries of "He did not move it."] He made a speech on it, a very interesting speech; but I shall venture to observe to the House that it seemed to me, quite naturally in the circumstances, not to be so much a contribution to the general solution of the Army problem——

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I was not allowed to enter into the merits of the Army problem. What we have to allude to is the conduct of the Government.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The right hon. Gentleman has, as I should have expected put what I was endeavouring to say in my stunted fashion in far more pointed language than I aspire to, and has given a complete answer to the hon. Gentlemen behind him. The right hon. Gentleman admits that it is not the Army problem that he called attention to, it is the conduct of the Government. [Cheers and counter-cheers, and OPPOSITION cries of "You are responsible."] I happened to describe that as looking at it from a Party point of view. I do not know whether that is an excessive phrase. When the Leader of the Opposition says he is calling attention to the failings of the Government — which is his duty — that may be described by many epithets, but I think that probably the best description of it is that he is taking a Party view, and that is all I said.

What is this attack which the right hon. Gentleman is making upon the Government? I cannot for the life of me make out whether it is because we have been too quick or because we have been too slow. [OPPOSITION cries of "Both."] How is it possible to please an audience so fastidious? Whatever the particular velocity of your movement may be, it is either too slow for their taste or too quick for them. The right hon. Gentleman tells us that we have been incubating an Army scheme for three years, and therefore we ought to have it ready. Well, Sir, within the last six months there have been two important Reports of two great Commissions, putting the Esher Commission altogether on one side; there have been the Report of the War Commission and the Report of the Commission upon the Auxiliary Forces.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN interjected a remark which was inaudible in the Gallery.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: My right hon. friend, who came into office in October, came in immediately after the Report of that Commission was in the hands of the public. I ask, is it reasonable that he should bring forward a scheme which had been in incubation for three years, before he accepted office and before he saw that Report? Is it reasonable that the Government should have time to take into account all these recommendations and all the further information that has come upon us within the last six months? We have never suggested to the House, so far as I know, in the first two-thirds of the years to which the right hon. Gentleman refers, that in our opinion the time had come for a change in a system which, to do him justice, he has systematically and consistently defended from the time when he first had some experience of the War Office. Nor do I think that we should be well advised in recommending to this House any fundamental alteration in that scheme until we have all the available information before us, and until the fullest consideration has been given to the complicated problem that any such change necessarily involves. Sir, it is possible to reform an old scheme the principles of which are still accepted without very prolonged consideration, or without any very elaborate estimate of the relations between the various parts of the whole instrument on which we rely for Imperial defence. But when once you come to the conclusion that the old system requires something more than mere reform—requires alteration—then I do not think it for the interest of the country that we should unduly hasten our decision, and I do not think it would be for the interests of the House that we should make any premature statement upon the changes that we propose to make.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: My point is that the right hon. Gentleman named the day. If all that the right hon. Gentleman says is true, why did he promise to tell the House all about it on 15th June?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I did not notice that that point formed an integral part of the Motion for Adjournment. I am quite ready to deal with it. What is the day of the month? It is a fortnight since this breach of promise was committed. According to the right hon. Gentleman we have been incubating this scheme for three years.

MR. KILBRIDE (Kildare, S.): When will you hatch the egg?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: When the period of incubation is three years a fortnight makes very little difference.

MR. KILBRIDE: The egg is addled then.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: And that really is the answer to the right hon. Gentleman. Does it matter either to the House or to the country or to the Army whether a scheme is propounded to the public on 15th June or 15th July? It matters nothing whatever. It has no relation whatever to this year's Estimates. It has no relation to any action which has to be taken by the House during the course of the present session. It is a general statement of our views, which is as good in the month of July as it is in the month of June, and would be as good in June as it would have been in the month of May. All that this House need take to heart is this. We are doing our very best to deal with a problem the complexity of which I suspect most of the Members I am addressing have very small notion of. It involves something much more serious than a mere slight modification of this or that traditional plan; and the least I think that ought to be granted us is that, provided we can do so while the House is still an effective body, and before it has dissipated itself for the autumn recess, we should produce a scheme which represents our matured reflections upon this difficult subject. I have never suggested for one moment that there were any difficulties in the way of that except the complexity of the problem. The right hon. Gentleman has attacked the Government for a purely imaginary failure. He has fallen, as, perhaps, we are all apt to fall when we are not in the secret, into the illusion that the Cabinet is divided between those who like the old system and those who like the new system, and that it is because they are so divided that the scheme was not propounded on 15th June. I think the mistake is a natural one, and I do not blame the right hon. Gentleman for making the best of it. But it happens to be a mare's nest. Cabinets have often been divided—as the right hon. Gentleman well knows—and they may have been divided upon very fundamental points of policy. This Cabinet is not divided upon any fundamental point of policy connected with the Army, and if it were not outside the terms of the Resolution I would let them into the secret that it is not divided upon any fundamental point whatever. But that is not what is before us now. What is before us is the insinuation or the suggestion of the right hon. Gentleman, made no doubt in perfect good faith, that we are divided on the question as to whether the old system should be retained or whether a new system should be substituted for it. We are all of one mind that a new system must be found in accordance with the new situation and the new difficulties which are confronting us at home and abroad. The old system

—I have not a word to say against it—was well suited for the time when it was established and for the military and naval views—military views, at all events—that then prevailed. But that system, in our judgment, is not suited to the new lines and the new views. While that view is taken, certainly by myself and my right hon. friend, I can assure the House and I can assure the right hon. Gentleman that it is not on that point that any difference exists in the Cabinet. The difficulties are difficulties of detail and of detail alone; and if it is my unhappy fate to have to tell the House that we shall not be able to make any important disclosures on the subject either in the course of this week or next week, it is not to be taken as showing the smallest question of our power to give to the House a clear account of our general views as to Army reorganisation or as in any sense damping the ardour of my right hon. friend, who, I am confident, will at no distant date be able to address the House at length on this topic.

*Sir CHARLES DILKE (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean) said that the Prime Minister was under the impression that this Motion was not put down for the purpose of Army reform. Surely his hon. friend the Member for the Whitby Division did not deserve the taunt that this Motion was not brought forward in the interests of Army reform. His hon. friend it was who led the opposition to the Army Corps scheme of the Secretary of State for India. He was supported by a large minority of the House; and that minority was now a majority. All hon. Members now accepted the views which his hon. friend then put forward. His hon. friend was one of many of them who were prepared to give support to the Government in absolutely revolutionising the present military system; and he did not think his hon. friend deserved the taunt of the Prime Minister or the cheers with which it was received. When his hon. friend asked leave to move the adjournment there was not a single dissentient voice, which was most unusual.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: I said No.

*Sir CHARLES DILKE said that Mr. Speaker did not hear any dissentient voice.

Mr. SPEAKER: Yes, I heard the right hon. Gentleman say No.

*Sir CHARLES DILKE said he would withdraw that statement. Neither himself nor hon. Members sitting near him, however, heard any dissentient voice. The Motion related to the terrible deficiency in the Indian and South African drafts and to the urgent necessity for an immediate statement by the Government of their plan. With regard to the Indian drafts, they had no reason to suppose that the present Secretary for War had changed the views he had always expressed, and those were the views of his hon. friend opposite, and the views which the reformers in that House had always entertained. Those were the views which he believed would prevail. The problem, however, had been enormously complicated by the deficiency in the South African drafts, as to which not a word had been vouchsafed. In order to save the finance of South Africa we had ceased to employ there the force of constabulary which had been thought necessary, with the result that the Army at present, to the destruction of its efficiency and discipline, and to the infinite damage of recruiting, was being sent to South Africa to do duties which the constabulary were intended to perform. Those who had opposed the South African War, largely in Imperial interests, because they foresaw what a heavy drain would be made for garrisons after the war, had not foreseen that result. Half a battalion was posted here, in an unhealthy station, and another half battalion there, on the top of mountains; Sir William Butler himself had called South Africa the great recruit-killer of the British Army at the present time.

The Prime Minister had fenced with the Questions of the Leader of the Opposition as to the change of intention on the part of the Government. At the beginning of the session the Prime Minister had volunteered the statement that they should have two considerable debates — one on the creation of the nucleus of the Committee of Imperial Defence, and the other on the Government's Army scheme. Then came the occasion to which the Leader of the Opposition had referred, when the Prime Minister made his announcement, and alleged the Report of the Norfolk Commission as the reason for further delay. Now, the Secretary for War had stated that there were new facts, and had only very gently alleged the Report of the Norfolk Commission, because, of course, they all knew that the nature of that Report was known for months before the Report was made. The right hon. Gentleman had also alleged the presence in this country of the highest authority on India. Lord Curzon. But, with Lord Roberts, Sir William Nicholson, and Sir Ian Hamilton recently at the War Office, there could hardly be much that was new to be learnt from Lord Curzon. They knew that there was a conflict of opinion in the Cabinet. The Secretary for India up to the moment when he left the War Office held one set of views, and the present Secretary for War held a diametrically opposite set of views; and if that conflict was at an end it could only be by those who held the views which the Government held up to last autumn coming round to the views of the present Secretary for War. The Motion for adjournment was amply justified by the speech of the Secretary for War. In another place the Under-Secretary for War was authorised to say that the Government would adopt the suggestions as to the reduction of the Regular Army at home. The Secretary of State had attacked the problem from another side and had spoken of a very large reduction of the charge. Putting these two statements together, it was clear that the Government scheme was ready. The question was whether the whole Cabinet was for the scheme. He could not but think the difficulties were not really Army difficulties, but personal difficulties which prevented the scheme being put before the House. The matter did not involve the War Office alone. It involved the general consideration of the whole problem of national defence. And when the right hon. Gentleman told them that the Cabinet had decided to greatly reduce the cost of the home Regular Army, it meant that the opinion of the Admiralty had really prevailed over the opinion of the War Office on the question. He thought the Prime Minister was largely to blame for the confusion to which the question of Army reform had been reduced. The right hon. Gentleman at the time the Army Corps scheme was promulgated declared that the problem which had to be met was the invasion of the country. Now the right hon. Gentleman pronounced views of a diametrically opposite nature. If the Government had from the first accepted the view of the Admiralty, that the country was free from the fear of invasion owing to the predominance of the Fleet, this confusion and the cost to the taxpayer of the chopping and changing from system to system would have been avoided.

Sir CARNE RASCH (Essex, Chelmsford) said that the difficulty was to obtain the Indian reliefs under the three-years system. They knew perfectly well that if a man with ten months service was sent to India, and then brought back at the end of a year, that the country could not stand the cost. When the soldier had been acclimatised it would be time to bring him home. The man whom the Government wished to re-engage knew his own value, and put up his price to an impossible extent; and, therefore, he had to be brought back. No one could blame the present Secretary of State for War in this matter. It was not his ewe lamb at all. He did not think that the present Secretary of State for India could be blamed either. The right hon. Gentleman found that the three-years service worked well in the Foot Guards. The men re-engaged without bounties; and the right hon. Gentleman naturally thought that he had only to hold up his hand to get as many men as he wanted. He was wrong; but the mistake was a pardonable one. The right hon. Gentleman had, however, forgotten that it was one thing to ask a man in the Foot Guards to re-engage where his duties were at Wellington Barracks or Hyde Park, and another to ask a man to re-engage for service in the tropics. The difficulty could only be met by the scheme which had been propounded again and again by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the Forest of Dean—a long-service Army for

India with higher pay, and a short-service Army for this country. Several plans had been propounded as to how the men were to be got. Lord Wolseley the other day said that the men must be paid the average wages of artisans in this country. That was, however, a counsel of perfection. Then the Commission suggested conscription; but he thought that the water was quite hot enough already. There were, however, other plans. The resources of civilisation were not exhausted. It was not at all necessary to pay enormous bounties in order to get the men to re-engage. It would be a great step in the right direction if the soldier serving in India were given to understand that after long service or good conduct he would be absolutely entitled to demand civil employment from the Government. He knew it would be difficult; but he did not see why it could not be done. Again, it ought to be right well rubbed in that the soldier led a decent, clean, and honourable life. Further, all State schools ought to have drill—not necessarily military drill—in order to accustom boys to soldiering in a harmless kind of way. He knew there were objections. For instance, that august body the London County Council——

MR. SPEAKER intimated that the hon. and gallant Member was going beyond the Motion on the Paper.

SIR CARNE RASCH said he would not pursue the matter. Another point was that employers constantly refused to employ men because they were Reservists. He suggested that they should be told that if they continued to do that they would have to shoulder the rifle themselves. The only way to avoid conscription was to make the service popular in these small details. There were two other matters he was almost ashamed to bring before the House, because they were so absolutely trifling in themselves, but they carried great weight with the soldier, viz., "bell-bottoms" and "quiffs." When a man went on furlough, in order to improve his appearance he frequently cut a triangular piece out of the end of the trouser leg so that it would shape over the foot. On his return to the regiment the adjutant would make him either have a new pair of trousers or get the old ones altered back to their original state, an operation which meant probably a couple of months pay. Why should not the soldier be left alone in regard to these small details? A "quiff" was the fringe of hair worn under the forage cap. It did no harm to anybody, and why should not the colonel allow it to be worn? These were wretched details, but they exercised a considerable influence on recruiting. The Secretary of State for War had a long and hard row to hoe. He had to keep a large Army in the tropics; he had a small Army at home, which, according to many people, left much to be desired; and he had to deal with an unwarlike population. Having to work with these unpromising materials, the right hon. Gentleman deserved all the time the House could afford him and all the consideration he could get.

MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL said the House had listened to an interesting and pleasant debate. It was satisfactory that the Prime Minister had assured them that the Cabinet were not less united on the subject of Army reform than they were on any other great question now before the country. A pleasing feature of the debate had been the frank and manly speech of the Secretary for War which was admirably calculated to disarm criticism and to produce such an effect on the House that it almost seemed ungracious to press the indictment against the Government. But he did not think that they ought to allow the effect of that speech to blind them to the real issues raised by the Motion. The Secretary for War had not any direct reponsibility for the circumstances that produced the present situation, and he was very glad that the right hon. Gentleman did not attempt to deny how grave those circumstances were. The Motion raised two distinct issues—first, the delay in presenting to the House the new Army scheme, and, secondly, the question of the reliefs for our foreign garrisons. It was surely not unreasonable that the House should be anxious about the production of the Army scheme. They were told at the beginning of the session that the question of the reform of the Army was of such urgency that in order to bring the matter forward with the least possible delay, officers in high positions had been removed from their appointments; and, moreover, the House was induced to vote Estimates which were practically Estimates in dummy, containing Votes for offices which had been abolished, and for new offices which had been created, but in regard to which no explanation had been forthcoming. The breakdown in the reliefs for India was perhaps even more urgent and important. The supply of drafts for India was the first and most vital duty of the Secretary for War, and it was admitted that there was a grave difficulty in the way of carrying on that supply.

How had the difficulty arisen? He had heard with amazement the suggestion of the Prime Minister that the alteration in the system of Army service was made for the purpose of finding men to continue fighting the South African War. He saw the Secretary for India opposite. He did not think the right hon. Gentleman would assert that he made the alteration from seven years to three years colour service with that primary object. If hon. Members would read the speech of the right hon. Gentleman on the introduction of the change, they would find that the war, which had been put forward by the Prime Minister as the one cause of the change, played a very small part, if any, in the right hon. Gentleman's argument. But they knew the rhetorical ability of the Prime Minister, and the ease with which he could turn such a point to debating advantage. He had employed it to pass off this great Army change as one of the disorganisations that resulted from the struggle in South Africa. The present situation was the logical and the inevitable result of the Army scheme of 1901. When the scheme was introduced it was prophesied that the men would not be found to fill the *cadres*. The right hon. Gentleman proposed two great alterations which were the sources of our immediate difficulty—increase of pay and an alteration in the period of service. In so far as any general approval was given to the scheme by unofficial Members, it was extorted by the assurances of the right hon. Gentleman that so far as human prescience could foretell the men would re-engage when the time came. The actual facts had singularly belied the forecast. Both proposals had been an utter failure. The increase of pay had not brought more or better men into the Army, and the alteration of the period of service had not fulfilled the expectations which had been held out. The House realised at the time the great burden that would be cast on India. The right hon. Gentleman looked at the matter from a very different point of view now. A burden of £700,000 or £800,000 was cast upon the finances of India, and there was now the charge of bringing men home from India frequently within a few months of their arrival. If the administrative deadlock continued he would not be surprised if India were called upon to pay a further bounty to tide over the difficulty.

All these things had been foreseen. A year and a half ago the hon. Member for Whitby described the whole proceeding as a gamble on a sixpence. Last year a proposal was made to reduce the Army by 27,000 men, and the right hon. Gentleman described it as the most reactionary proposal of the last fifteen years. Would he repeat that statement now to the Secretary for War? If so, he imagined the House would shortly be able to estimate the unity of the united Cabinet on Army reform. The responsibility for the difficulty which had arisen lay entirely upon the Prime Minister and the Secretary of State for India. Through no fault of his own, the Prime Minister was not present. He did not wish to attack the Prime Minister in his absence, but when they reflected on the contradictory positions which he had repeatedly assumed, when they remembered that at the beginning of the session he sent the Report of the Esher Commission to the papers on account of its urgency and the immediate necessity for considering it, and that now he expressed surprise that anyone should want to discuss it at all, when they considered that last year he resisted all reductions in the strength of the Army and suggested that those who moved it were unpatriotic—when they remembered how he had used menacing language about the threatened invasion of India by a

Power upon its north-west frontier, and before the year closed had defended a much larger reduction of the Army than had been proposed in the Committee—when they reviewed all these contradictory positions, assumed as the exigencies of Party politics dictated, he submitted they were bound to admit that the Prime Minister had no right to pose in the country as an Army reformer. No part of the indictment which could be framed against the present Administration was stronger or more capable of coherent statement than that which related to their Army policy. Rather than admit that the scheme introduced in 1901 was wrong, they had been willing to cast the whole service into the melting-pot, to spend any quantity of public money, and, when occasion required it, even to break generals according to their convenience. There was confusion at the War Office and widespread unrest and uncertainty throughout the Army. Regimental officers hardly dared to embark with care and patience upon the task of training their men, because they were in a state of uncertainty as to whether the whole service would not be changed from top to bottom. He had heard more than one great officer say that he had no certainty that his appointment would not be cancelled if the cancelling were likely to improve the position of the Government in a division in the House of Commons. The phantom Army Corps remained phantom Army Corps; the skeleton units were still unclothed with flesh, although largely increased sums had been spent on the service; the Army was still deficient in artillery and intelligence.

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! The question of Army reform is not before the House. The question is whether or not the Government ought to be ready with a scheme.

MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL said he was merely endeavouring to justify the Motion, but he had now finished with that part of the case. The cause of the present position was not far to seek. At the very time when the Army needed most of all a period of recuperative repose after the great strain to which it was subjected in the war it had been made the victim of a number of vast and reckless experiments. He admitted that those experiments were dictated partly by ill-directed zeal for the Empire, and partly by an unfounded apprehension as to the security of the dominions beyond the seas, but they were also dictated by a desire to have something which could be put before Parliament session after session in order to distract attention from administrative shortcomings—experiments rendered possible only by a willingness on the part of the late Secretary for War and the Prime Minister to use, when occasion made it convenient, the interests and the fortunes of the Army as a pawn in the Party game.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Mr. BRODRICK, Surrey, Guildford): I have heard a good many speeches which at different times during this session have made reflections on the policy which I have at different times introduced to the House; and I should not have risen now to reply to the hon. Member for Oldham, who has spoken in so different a strain from that of many who have preceded him, if it had not been for his last accusation against the Government, that changes in the Army which have been called for throughout the country, and called for by nobody more loudly than by the hon. Member himself, have been brought forward solely with the desire to put something before the attention of Parliament—a charge which might perhaps be applied to the speech we have just listened to—and not from any patriotic motives. The hon. Member has singled me out for special comment, but he has left me the minimum of time in which to reply. In the few minutes at my disposal, I may just recall to the House what was the position with which I had to deal when I introduced the three-years system on which the hon. Member has poured so much scorn and contempt. The hon. Member said that it was in order to sustain the inflated armaments that I had urged the House to adopt. There is not a shadow or shred of foundation for that statement. In 1901 I was responsible for the new Army scheme. As far as I know I did not add a single man to the regular establishment of the Army. The whole of my policy was directed to the troops that were in need of recruiting. I had two problems before me—to maintain a largely increased establishment which, by a succession of War Ministers and by the unanimous call of the House and the country, had been added to the Army, and at the same time to carry on the war. In 1901 and 1902, when I introduced this particular change, we had actually 240,000 men in the field. The ordinary recruiting of the Army amounted to between 30,000 and 40,000 men, taking every "special" we could—30 per cent. of "specials"—up to the time when the war broke out. I had to meet a deficit of 10,000 in the number of recruits which was not of my creation and not due to any scheme of mine, and which was supplemented by the enormous drain of the war. I adopted the three-years system which had long been pressed upon the House by the right hon. Baronet the Member for the Forest of Dean.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE: Not in that connection.

MR. BRODRICK: Excuse me, I cannot give way as I have only two or three minutes in which to speak.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE: But I must protest against the statement expressed in that form.

MR. BRODRICK: It was a system the weakness and dangers of which I had repeatedly pointed out to the House. But I adopted it with the additional advantage of an increase of pay, which enabled the men who re-engaged in 1904 to draw 1s. 6d. against a net 7d. enjoyed by men in the same service at the time I addressed the House. The effect of that change was that in the first year we took 52,000 recruits. In the second year, stopping all "specials," and not recruiting for the cavalry or artillery, which were more than full, we obtained over 40,000; and this year we are more than maintaining the increase. I have not time to complete my case; I hope on a future occasion to refer to the numerous criticisms that have been made, but I point out now that the changes in the terms of enlistment had nothing to do with the Army Corps scheme. They were merely to maintain the establishment of the Army and to provide for the drain of the war. If any hon. Member will consult the newspapers, Lord Kitchener's despatches, or the representations made to me by the military authorities throughout 1901 he will see that it was absolutely impossible to do this under the old system. Whatever defects the present system may have, whatever excellent reasons my right hon. friend, in a time of peace, under different circumstances, and under the necessary review of the military and naval position which the First Lord of the Admiralty and I were the first to bring to the notice of the Prime Minister, may have for making changes, I say that the changes made in 1902 to meet the emergency then existing had the effect they were intended to produce. We had to find the men and we found them to meet an emergency. We had to give them a chance of re-engagement, and if the men have not re-engaged in sufficient numbers my right hon. friend is amply justified in coming before the House with a different scheme.

MR. BECKETT: Against the valuable speech of my right hon. friend the Secretary of State for War, I am prepared to withdraw the Motion if he will give us a pledge [Cries of "No!" and "Order!"]——

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! the Clerk will now proceed to read the Orders of the day.

And, it being Midnight, the Motion for the Adjournment of the House lapsed without Question put.

Adjourned at three minutes after Twelve o'clock.

[APPENDICES.

APPENDIX I.

PUBLIC BILLS

DEALT WITH IN VOLUME CXXXVI.

Those marked thus * are Government Bills. The figures in parentheses in the last column refer to the page in this volume. "[H.L.]" following title indicates that the Bill originated in the Lords.

(A.) HOUSE OF LORDS.

Title of Bill.	Brought in by	Progress.
Hall Marking of Foreign Plate	*Earl of Lytton*	Read 1ª 20th June (407)
Irish Land [H.L.]	*Lord Muskerry*	Read 2ª 24th June (1092)
*Light Railways [H.L.]	*Lord Wolverton*	Read 2ª 23rd June (944) Committee Report, 28th June (1394)
Local Authorities (Qualification for Women) [H.L.]	*Earl Beauchamp*	2nd Reading (defeated) 28th June (1367)
*Married Women's Property Act (1882) Amendment [H.L.]	*Lord Chancellor*	Read 2ª 14th June (7) Committee 16th June (259) Report 21st June (623) Read 3ª and passed 23rd June (967)
*Merchant Shipping [H.L.]	*Lord Wolverton*	Committee 23rd June (945)
*Naval and Military Medals [H.L.]	*Earl of Donoughmore*	Read 2ª 14th June (4) Committee 16th June (259) Report 21st June (623) Read 3ª and passed 23rd June (967)
*Open Spaces [H.L.]	*Earl of Onslow*	Committee 16th June (257)
Railways (Private Sidings.)	*Lord Wolverron*	Read 1ª 20th June (407)
Registration of Clubs (Ireland)	*Lord Colnbrook*	Read 1ª 20th June (407)
Reserve Forces [H.L.]	*Earl of Donoughmore*	Read 2ª 14th June (4) Committee 23rd June (958)
Re-Vaccination	*Duke of Northumberland*	Read 2ª 16th June (248) Committee 23rd June (966)
Seamen and Soldiers' False Characters	*Earl of Donoughmore*	Report 14th June (3) Read 3ª and passed 16th June (260)

(B.) HOUSE OF COMMONS—*continued.*

Title of Bill.	Brought in by	Progress.
County of Suffolk	*Sir C. Quilter*	Read 1° 20th June (500)
*Crown Lands	*Mr. Victor Cavendish*	Read 1° 23rd June (1015)
*Education (Scotland)	*Mr. A. Graham Murray*	Committee 14th June (30) (115) Committee 15th June (156) (223)
*Finance	*Mr. Austen Chamberlain*	Committee 20th June (501) (579) Committee 21st June (707) (764) Committee 22nd June (841) (895)
Hall-Marking of Foreign Plate	*Mr. Samuel Roberts*	Consideration Read 3° and passed 17th June (375)
*Labourers (Ireland)	*Mr. Wyndham*	Read 2° 24th June (1120)
*Land Tax Commissioners' Names	*Mr. Victor Cavendish*	Read 1° 16th June (289)
*Licensing	*Mr. Akers Douglas*	Committee 27th June (1268) (1331) Committee 28th June (1422)
*Marine Insurance	*Sir Robert Finlay*	Read 1° 16th June (290)
Naval and Military Medals		Read 1° 27th June (1268)
Railways (Private Sidings)	*Sir John Brunner*	Consideration Read 3° and passed 17th June (362)
Registration of Clubs (Ireland)	*Mr. O'Neill*	Consideration Read 3° and passed 17th June (404)
Savings Bank Acts Amendment	*Sir Albert Rollit*	Consideration 17th June (394)
*Seamen's and Soldiers' False Characters	*Mr. Arnold-Forster*	Read 1° 21st June (707)
*Telegraph Construction	*Lord Stanley*	Read 1° 15th June (186)

APPENDIX II.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, SESSION 1904.

LIST OF RULES, ORDERS, &c., which have been presented during the Session, and are required by Statute to lie for an appointed number of Days upon the Table of the House.

[*In continuance of List given in preceding Volume.*]

Title of Paper.	Date from which the Period runs.	Period to lie upon the Table.
Public Records (Office of His Majesty's Woods, Forests, and Land Revenues),—Copy of Schedule containing a List and Particulars of Classes and Documents in the Office of His Majesty's Woods, Forests, and Land Revenues which are not considered of sufficient public value to justifiy their preservation in the Public Record Office [40 and 41 Vic., c. 55, s. 1]	15 June	4 weeks
Factory and Workshop Acts (Special Exception—Meal Hours in Iron and Steel Foundries),—Copy of Order, dated 23rd June 1904, made by the Secretary of State for the Home Department in pursuance of Section 40 (4) of The Factory and Workshop Act 1901, extending the Special Exceptions as to Meal Hours to male young persons employed in Iron and Steel Foundries, and repealing the Order of the 14th July 1903 [1 Edw. VII., c. 22, s. 126(3)]	27 June	40 days
Public Records (War Department)—Copy of Sixth Schedule conaining a List and Particulars of Classes of Documents pertaining to the office of His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for War, and deposited in the Public Record Office, but which are not considered of sufficient public value so justify their preservation therein [40 and 41 Vic., c. 55, s. 1]	27 June	4 weeks
Universities (Scotland) Act, 1889 (Ordinance),—Copy of University Court Ordinance No. X. (Aberdeen, No. 2) (Regulations for the Degree of Doctor of Science in Agriculture, D.Sc. (Agr.) [52 and 53 Vic., c. 55, s. 20]	27 June	12 weeks

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[AUTHORISED EDITION].

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Secretary of State for India
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Secretary for Scotland
Mr. A. Graham Murray.

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